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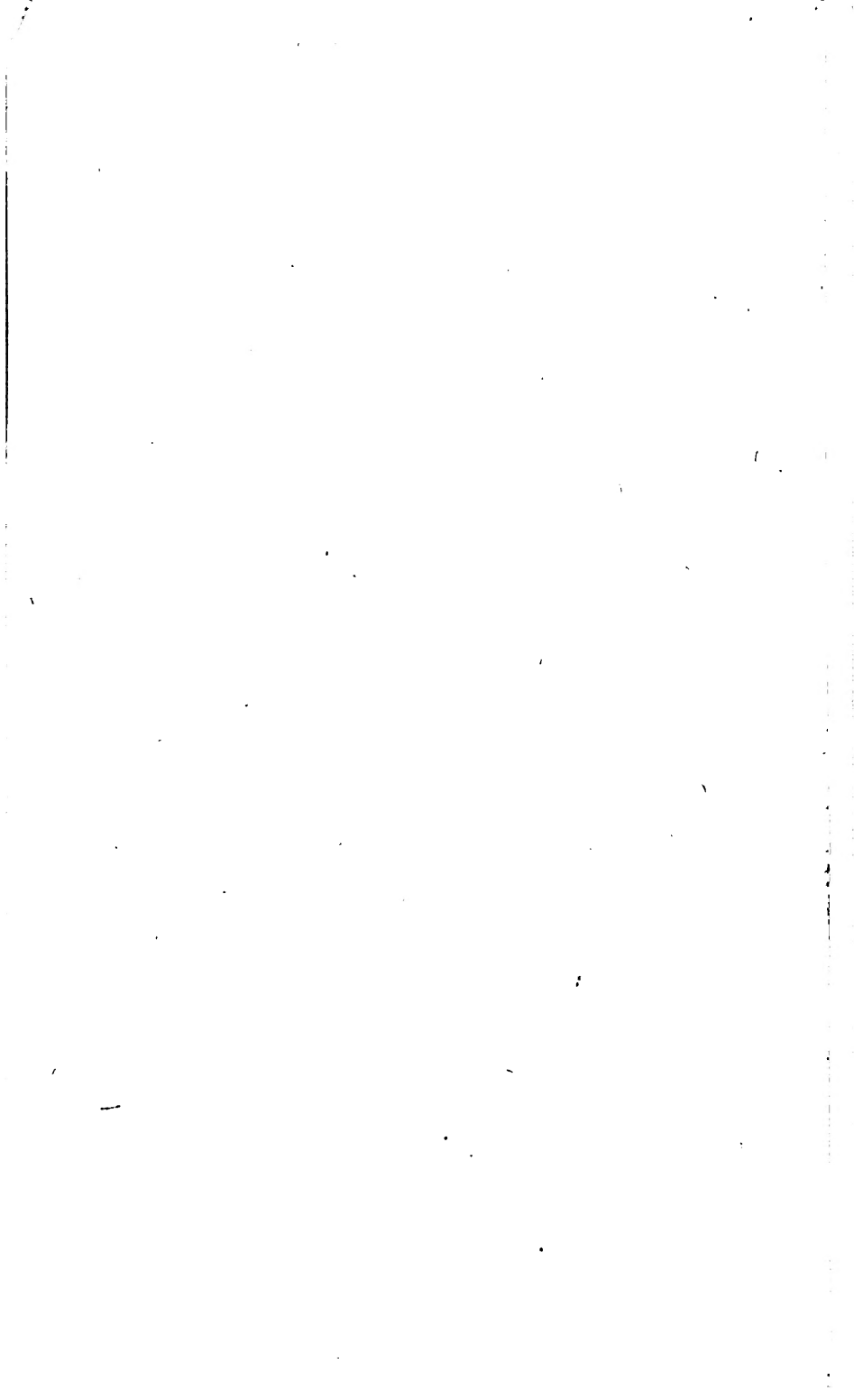


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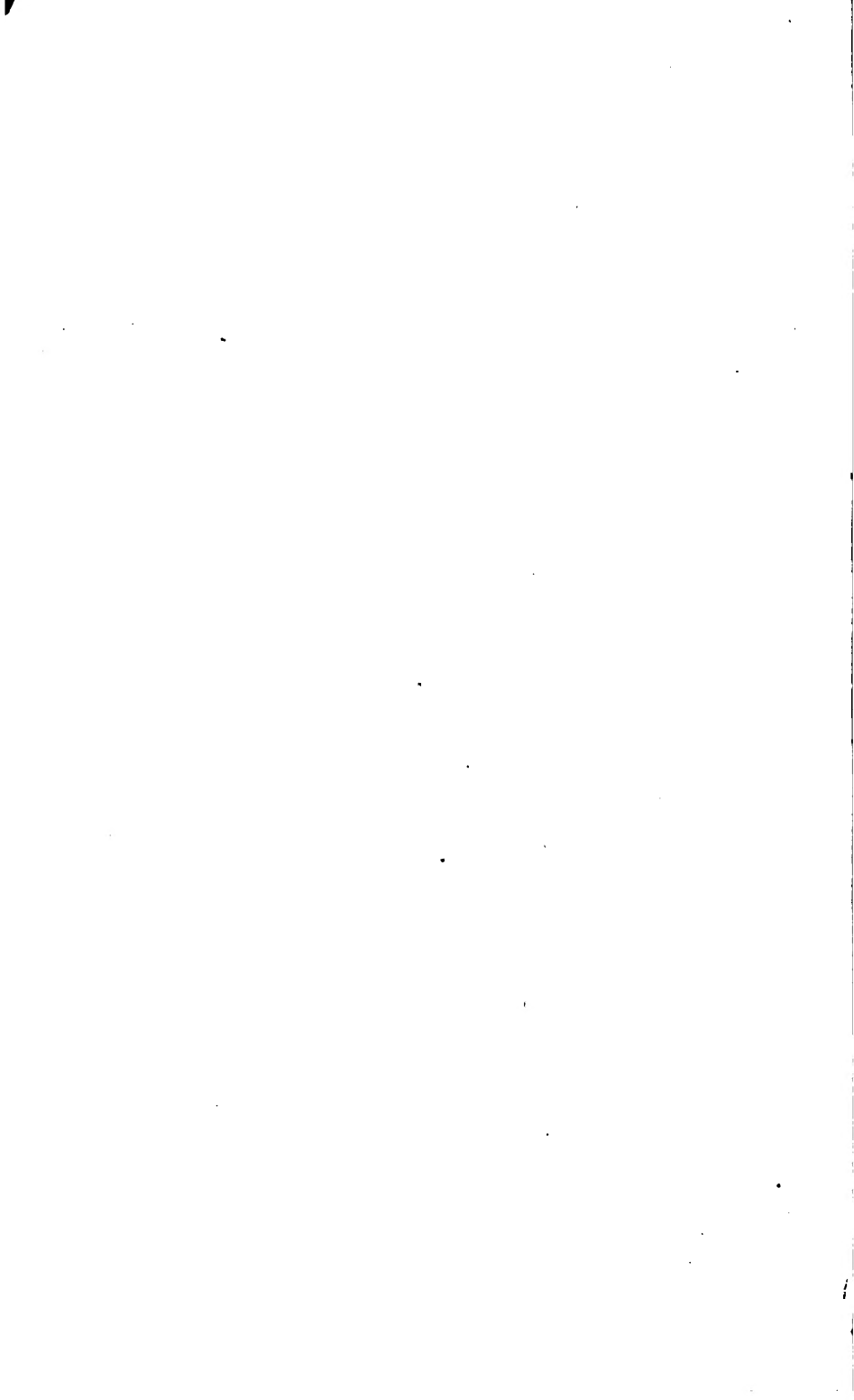




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No. I.

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ART. I.—*Remarks on the Epistles of Ignatius.*

THE Epistles of Ignatius may be said to be the sheet-anchor of diocesan Episcopacy. They are implicitly relied on, continually quoted, and made the subject of unceasing boast, as decisive witnesses for prelatical bishops. Whatever testimony may be doubtful on the subject, *this* has been pronounced, for more than two centuries, altogether unquestionable. In short, so much has been said concerning these Epistles, in reference to the Episcopal controversy, that the opinion seems with many to be taken for granted, that if their authenticity can be established, the cause of Presbyterianism is, of course, defeated. On this account, we presume that a few simple statements respecting the history and character of the Epistles in question, will not be uninteresting to our readers.

Ignatius, as Eusebius tells us, was bishop or pastor of Antioch, early in the second century. Where he was born; how educated; when, or by what means, converted to the Christian faith; and at what time inducted into the pastoral charge of the church of Antioch—are all points concerning which nothing is now known. Some of the ancients alleged that he was the “child”



whom the blessed Saviour "took in his arms," and placed before his disciples as a pattern of humility; and on this account, as some imagine, the name Theophoros, was given to him, as indicating one "carried" or "borne of God." There is no other evidence of this, however, than a very vague tradition; and in opposition to it, Chrysostom, who flourished in the fourth century, expressly says of him, "That he never saw the Lord, nor enjoyed any converse with him."

The first writer that mentions him as bishop of Antioch, is Origen, in the third century. All the succeeding Fathers, who have occasion to mention him, follow this account. When this fact is stated concerning him, there can be no doubt that the title imports, simply, that he had the pastoral charge of that church; as it is perfectly evident that the title of bishop was applied, in the apostolic age, to all Presbyters who were pastors of churches; and it is no less certain that the title was applied in the same manner by Clemens Romanus, who was contemporary with Ignatius. Indeed the very Epistles of which we are now speaking, contain, as we shall afterwards have occasion to show, inherent and abundant evidence of the same fact.

The story concerning this venerable father is, that he suffered martyrdom during the reign of the emperor Trajan; that he was carried a prisoner for this purpose, by a strong military guard, from Antioch to Rome, where he was put to death by being thrown to wild beasts; and that while he was on this last journey, and suffering all the restraint and insult which the ruffian soldiers by whom he was conducted were so brutal as to employ, he wrote a number of Epistles, which are still extant, and which have given rise to so much warm and learned controversy.

Several of the circumstances included in this account have been called in question by grave and learned writers, as altogether deficient in evidence and probability. Among others, bishop Stillingfleet, in his *Irenicum*, speaks thus: "And truly the story of Ignatius, (as much as it is defended with his Epistles) doth not seem to be any of the most probable. For wherefore should Ignatius, of all others, be brought to Rome to suffer, when the Proconsuls and the Præsides Provinciarum did every where, in time of persecution, execute their power in punishing Christians at their own tribunals, without sending them so long a journey to Rome to be martyred there? And how came Ignatius to make so many and such strange excursions as he did by the story, if the soldiers that were his guards were so cruel to him, as he complains they were? Now all these uncertain and fabulous narrations as to persons, then arising from want of sufficient re-

cords made at those times, make it more evident, how incompetent a judge antiquity is to the certainty of things done in apostolical times." So that we may say, there is scarcely any thing related by the ancient writers concerning this father, which does not seem to rest on doubtful evidence, and which has not in fact been called in question. Some men of great learning have even supposed that we have no satisfactory proof of Ignatius having ever written any Epistles; while others, no less entitled to respect, believe that, although he probably did write certain Epistles, the alleged copies of them which we now possess are entirely spurious. Those who wish to examine impartially and extensively every thing that can be now known concerning this man and his works, are referred to the very able and learned treatise of John Daillé, a French Protestant divine, *De Scriptis Ignatii Antiocheni*; to bishop Pearson's *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ*; to bishop Beveridge's *Annotations* on the writings of this father; to L'Arroque's *Defence of Daillé's* work; to Jameson's *Nazianzenian Querela*; and to what archbishop Usher, Vossius, archbishop Wake, and others, have said in less formal and voluminous publications.

The history of the Epistles under consideration is undoubtedly curious. They were first, it is believed, printed at Strasburg in the year 1502. They were then eleven in number. In an edition published a few years afterwards, there appeared twelve. And not long after that a third, in which their number was increased to fifteen, together with an additional letter from the Virgin Mary to Ignatius! These Epistles have commonly been divided, by careful writers, into three classes. The first contains three Epistles which are extant only in Latin, and addressed, one of them to "the Virgin Mary," the other to "St. John." The second comprehends five Greek epistles, which are not mentioned either by Eusebius or Jerome, and of which the first is addressed to Mary Cassabolita; the second to the "inhabitants of Tarsus;" the third to the "Antiochians;" the fourth to Hero, deacon of the church at Antioch; the fifth to the Philippians. These are so full of superstition and folly, that no impartial reader can doubt a moment concerning them. They have some warm Popish advocates, but are rejected as spurious by all Protestants. The third class consists of the seven Epistles supposed to be taken notice of by several respectable early writers; the first, to the Ephesians; the second, to the Magnesians; the third, to the Trallians; the fourth, to the Romans; the fifth, to the Philadelphians; the sixth, to the Smyræans; and the seventh, to Polycarp. The whole of these Epistles, taken together, amount to but little in quantity.

They fill but forty-one octavo pages in the American edition of archbishop Wake's translation of the apostolic Fathers.

With regard to these seven Epistles, the only ones, as before stated, which Protestants now acknowledge, they have appeared before the public in two very different forms. The editions of them which were published prior to the year 1644, were much more voluminous than those which are now considered as genuine; and are distinguished from the latter by the title of "the Larger Epistles." Soon after these appeared, they were denounced by some of the most learned Protestant divines as grossly interpolated, and unworthy of credit. Among these, were Calvin, the Magdeburgh Centuriators, Rivet, and Scultet, of the continent of Europe, and the learned Whitaker and Perkins of the Church of England. Here were Presbyterians, learned Lutherans, and no less learned Episcopalians, all uniting in this judgment. Still, however, on account of their being considered as strong witnesses in behalf of Episcopacy, they had many zealous high-church advocates; such as archbishop Whitgift, bishop Bilson, bishop Downham, Peter Heylin, and others of similar stamp, who insisted on their genuineness; appealed to them as affording the most credible testimony; and treated with no little severity those who were not ready to give them implicit confidence. In short, let it ever be remembered, that high-church Episcopalians, when there were no other known than these "larger Epistles," contended for them as the genuine remains of Ignatius with as much confidence and zeal, as they have ever since done for the "smaller Epistles."

While things were in this situation, about the year 1644, archbishop Usher found two copies of these seven Ignatian Epistles, not in the original Greek, but in a Latin translation; one in the library of Caius College, Cambridge; the other in the library of bishop Montague, who had deceased several years before. These copies differed materially from the "larger Epistles" which had been before published. They were much shorter, leaving out much that the larger contained, and containing some things which were not found in the larger, but which were quoted by Eusebius, and other ancient writers. Not long afterwards, the learned Isaac Vossius, a native of Holland, who, in advanced life, removed to England, and enjoyed preferment there, found a copy of these epistles in Greek, in the library of the Duke of Tuscany, at Florence. This copy, which was published at Amsterdam, in 1646, very nearly agreed with the Latin copies found by archbishop Usher in the two libraries in England. When these were published, the tide immediately turned. The high-toned friends of prelacy, who had so long and so strenuously contend-

ed for the genuineness of the "larger Epistles," now gave them up; acknowledged the validity of the arguments by which they had been opposed as grossly corrupt; confessed that their title to credit could no longer be maintained; and immediately transferred all their old zeal to the new and "shorter Epistles." Accordingly, from the time of Usher and Vossius, no other than these "shorter Epistles," have ever been quoted or defended by the mass of Protestant writers. The learned, but not very judicious, William Whiston, it is believed, stands almost alone, among Protestants, in insisting that the "larger Epistles," are more genuine and worthy of credit than the "smaller."

But even with regard to the seven "smaller Epistles," the opinions of their Episcopal advocates are not uniform. Even archbishop Usher, their learned restorer, was inclined to the opinion that the seventh of this number, entitled the "Epistle to Polycarp," ought to be regarded as spurious, or, at least as "doubtful." He thought that Ignatius probably addressed no letter to Polycarp; but that his "Epistle to the Church of Smyrna," was intended and directed both to them and their bishop jointly. And he also supposed that this was the opinion of Jerome. The learned prelatist, Dr. Cave, also, after enumerating those alleged "Epistles of Ignatius," which are unquestionably spurious, sets down the seventh of the "smaller Epistles," addressed to Polycarp, as "doubtful."

The following, then, is a summary of the undoubted facts concerning the far-famed Ignatian Epistles, viz.

1. It is acknowledged on all hands, by Protestants, that *a gross and wicked forgery has been practised with regard to the writings of this father*. In other words, that out of fifteen Epistles confidently ascribed to him, eight are certainly spurious.

2. It is quite as universally and explicitly acknowledged, even by prelatists themselves, that the remaining seven of the fifteen, have been wickedly tampered with, and grossly interpolated; not merely by the addition of words and sentences in a few places, but so freely and largely, as to render them far more voluminous than there is any reason to believe that Ignatius left them.

3. It is notorious that one, even of the seven expurgated and shortened Epistles, of which so much clamorous use is now made, is considered by some of the most competent Episcopal judges, as spurious, or at least, as doubtful; and consequently, as unfit to be quoted with entire confidence.

4. And finally, it is known to all well-informed readers, that a number of the most learned Protestant writers of Europe, of

various countries, of different religious connections, and of different habits of thinking, have concurred in pronouncing even the seven "shorter Epistles," which have been so fully described, as probably spurious, or at least as so much interpolated, that there is no safety in quoting them as the genuine work of Ignatius. After all that has been said in vindication of these Epistles, by Pearson, Beveridge, Wake, Usher, Smith, &c. &c., it is a fact of no small weight in the controversy, that such men as Daillé, L'Arroque, Rivet, Blondel, and Salmasius, utterly deny that they are worthy of credit; and contend that their whole history places them under an aspect so suspicious and disreputable, that they ought never to be quoted, and above all, in support of any fact or principle connected with the Episcopal controversy.

We appeal now to every candid reader, whether it is any wonder that Presbyterians demur when the testimony of Ignatius is confidently and boastingly adduced, as it so often is, in aid of the claims of prelacy? When prelatists pronounce the testimony of this father in favour of their cause, decisive—impregnable—and even unquestionable—it is truly amazing that persons who know the statement which has been given to be correct, can allow themselves to speak thus; and still more amazing that any intelligent readers believe them! Is it not a fact too evident to be denied, that it is a testimony against which a "bill of attainder," so to speak, has gone forth, so weighty, and so widely spread, that it cannot be despised by any thinking man? It is undoubtedly without prejudice or exaggeration, a suspicious testimony; rendered suspicious, not by "false reports," trumped up by ignorance or ill-nature; but by a series of unquestionable facts, really adapted, in the view of every reflecting mind, to destroy their credibility. Certain it is, that no jury in the United States, would assign the least weight to testimony, in an important cause, which had been so strongly marked with tampering and corruption in every period of its history.

For ourselves, we are not disposed to unite with the learned men, before alluded to, who doubt whether Ignatius ever wrote *any* Epistles, and consequently consider it as probable that every thing which has appeared under his name is a total forgery. On the contrary, we are of the opinion, that Ignatius did write at least six Epistles; and that the "shorter" ones, which now bear his name, are, substantially, his real productions. At the same time, we are persuaded, with some of the ablest and wisest ecclesiastical antiquaries that ever lived, that they have all been more or less interpolated; that this interpolation was



mainly intended to favour the hierarchy; that the corrupt insertions to favour this object are numerous, fulsome and disgusting to the last degree; and that, of course, in relation to that point, no sentence from any of the Epistles, "larger" or "shorter," can be safely or wisely produced. We say this, not because we have any fear of the bearing of this testimony, as we shall presently take occasion to show; but, simply, on account of the history of the documents containing it. If this history be not highly disreputable, then we know not what can deserve to be so stigmatized.

Similar to our own is the judgment of many impartial Episcopalians, who have frankly acknowledged that in the controversy respecting prelacy, they did not dare to bring forward Ignatius as a witness. The following remarks of a member of the Church of England, evidently well-informed and candid, are a specimen of what might be produced from many pens in the same communion.

"Could six of the seven Epistles usually ascribed to Ignatius be cited in this cause, with the same undoubting confidence which, in the writer's mind, has accompanied all the foregoing quotations, the controversy concerning the early existence of Episcopacy would be at an end.\* He must be a captious adversary who, for the acquisition of a few years, would exclaim, that we had now passed the threshold of another century, and that our contemporary authorities were exhausted. This is not the misfortune; but that after travelling so long in comparative obscurity; after being compelled to close and strongly directed attention, in order to pick up three or four rays of scattered light, we are, in a moment, oppressed and confounded by the brightness of the mid-day sun. For in these Epistles we have the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, marshalled with unreasonable exactness, and repeated with importunity and anxiety. Precept is heaped upon precept, *μη αντιστοιχεις επισκοπω, υποταγηταις επισκοπω*, and much more to the same purpose. Besides, these charges are reiterated to so many churches, the circumstances of all which at the same time would scarcely require them alike. There appear, moreover, so many symptoms of contrivance, and such studied uniformity of expression, that these compositions will surely not be alleged by any capable and candid advocate for primitive Episcopacy, without

\* We totally differ from this writer as to this point, as will afterwards appear. If every word and syllable could be proved to be authentic, the cause of Episcopacy could gain nothing in the view of impartial interpreters. We merely quote the passage to show that some well-informed Episcopalians do not believe in the integrity of these Epistles.

great hesitation: by many they will be totally rejected. I do not mean to insinuate that the whole of these six Epistles is a forgery; on the contrary, many parts of them afford strong internal evidence of their own genuineness; but with respect to the particular passages which affect the present dispute (Episcopacy) *there is not a sentence which I would venture to allege; the language, at the earliest, is that of the third century.*"\*

In like manner, the learned Professor Neander, of Berlin, probably the most profoundly accomplished ecclesiastical historian now living, while he pronounces with confidence that the Epistles of Ignatius have been "corrupted in favour of the hierarchy," freely quotes them on other subjects, and evidently considers them as entitled to some degree of confidence; as containing much that was really written by the father whose name they bear.

Indeed the language of archbishop Wake, in reference to the absolute integrity of these "Shorter Epistles," is such as ought to put every candid reader on his guard. Though a warm advocate of their general authenticity, he, nevertheless, speaks thus: "As for what we find a late learned writer advancing in opposition to the authority of these Epistles, that our copies, though exceedingly more perfect than any that were ever extant before those great men, Bishop Usher, and Isaac Vossius set out, the one the old Latin versions, the other, the original Greek, from the manuscript which he found of it in the Florentine library; yet there may be reason still to suspect that they are not so free from all corruptions as were to be wished: I reply, that if he means that the same has happened to these Epistles, as has happened to all other ancient writings, that letters, or words have been mistaken, and perhaps even the pieces of some sentences corrupted either by carelessness or ignorance of the transcribers; I see no reason why we should deny that to have befallen these Epistles, which have been the misfortune of all other pieces of the like antiquity. This, therefore, it has been often declared that neither do we contend about; nor can any one who reads the best copies we have of them, with any care or judgment, make any doubt of it."†

Nor can we resist the belief that such is the impression which the slightest perusal of the Epistles themselves is adapted to produce on a candid unsophisticated mind. The following anecdote will at once illustrate and confirm our remark. A candidate for the ministry in the Presbyterian Church, was, not long since, earnestly solicited by a theological student of the

\* Christian Observer. Vol. II. p 723, 724.

† Preliminary Discourse to the Genuine Epistles of the Apostolic Fathers, chap. 4, sect. 19.

Protestant Episcopal Church, to form a plan for reading together the Epistles of Ignatius; the latter at the same time expressing a confident opinion, that the perusal, if candidly conducted, would convert his Presbyterian friend to Episcopacy. They formed the plan, and forthwith entered with zeal on its execution. But before the proposed perusal was completed, the young Episcopalian was himself so revolted and disgusted by the studied, unseasonable and fulsome repetition of the precepts about bishops, and felt that it bore so strongly the stamp of either miserable interpolation, or an unworthy spirit in the writer, that he was not disposed to pursue the task; and, instead of winning over his Presbyterian brother to Episcopacy, was almost tempted to transfer his own allegiance to the Presbyterian Church; or, at any rate, entirely to abandon Ignatius as a witness in favour of his denomination.

We could wish that these far-famed Epistles were in every Presbyterian habitation in the United States, and could be carefully and dispassionately read over by every individual of that communion. They would soon see what a perfect ecclesiastical imposture the whole argument in favour of prelacy, drawn from these Epistles, is; and that in two respects.

1. They would perceive at once, that the language of these Epistles in reference to the bishop's office, is so urgent, so unseasonably introduced, and so incessantly repetitious, as to be perfectly disgusting; and to satisfy them that a grave writer, at the beginning of the second century, could not possibly have penned it.

The following specimen of this language, if we mistake not, will be sufficient to manifest and to justify our meaning in the view of every intelligent reader.

In the Epistle to the Ephesians, the following passages occur: "I received, therefore, in the name of God, your whole multitude in Onesimus; who by inexpressible love is ours, but according to the flesh is your bishop; whom I beseech you by Jesus Christ to love; and that you would all strive to be like unto him. And blessed be God, who hath granted unto you, who are so worthy of him, to enjoy such an excellent bishop." "For what concerns my fellow servant Burrhus, and your most blessed deacon in all things pertaining to God; I entreat you that he may tarry longer, both for yours and your bishop's honour. It is therefore fitting that you should by all means glorify Jesus Christ, who hath glorified you; that by a uniform obedience ye may be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment; and may all speak the same things concerning every thing; and that being subject to your bishop, and the

presbytery, ye may be wholly and thoroughly sanctified." "But forasmuch as charity suffers me not to be silent towards you, I have first taken upon me to exhort you that ye would all run together according to the will of God. For even Jesus Christ, our inseparable life, is sent by the will of the Father; as the bishops appointed unto the utmost ends of the earth, are by the will of Jesus Christ." "Wherefore it will become you to run together according to the will of your bishop, as also ye do. For your famous presbytery, worthy of God, is fitted as exactly to the bishop, as the strings are to the harp." "For if I, in this little time, have had such a familiarity with your bishop—I mean not a carnal but spiritual acquaintance with him—how much more must I think you happy, who are so joined to him, as the church is to Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ to the Father; that so all things may agree in the same unity." "For if the prayer of one or two be of such force, as we are told, how much more powerful shall that of the bishop, and the whole church be!" "Let us take good heed, therefore, that we do not set ourselves against the bishop, that we may be subject to God." "It is evident, therefore, that we ought to look upon the bishop even as we would look upon the Lord himself." "Obeying your bishop and the presbytery with an entire affection."

In the Epistle to the Magnesians, such passages as these occur: "Seeing, then, I have been judged worthy to see you, by Damas, your most excellent bishop; and by your worthy presbyters, Bassus and Apollonius; and by my fellow servant Sotio, the deacon in whom I rejoice; forasmuch as he is subject unto his bishop as to the grace of God." "Wherefore it will become you also not to use your bishop too familiarly upon the account of his youth; but to yield all reverence to him, according to the power of God the Father." "It will, therefore, become you with all sincerity to obey your bishop, in honour of Him whose pleasure it is that ye should do so." "I exhort you that ye study to do all things in divine concord; your bishop presiding in the place of God; your presbyters in the place of the councils of the apostles; and your deacons most dear to me, being entrusted with the ministry of Jesus Christ, who was with the Father before all ages." "Let there be nothing that may be able to make a division among you; but be ye united to your bishop, and those that preside over you, to be your pattern and direction in the way to immortality." "As, therefore, the Lord did nothing without the Father; so neither do ye do any thing without your bishop and presbyters." "Wherefore come ye all together as unto one temple of God; as to one altar; as to one

Jesus Christ; who proceeded from one Father, and exists in one, and is returned to one." "Be subject to your bishop, and to one another, as Jesus Christ to the Father according to the flesh."

In the Epistle to the Trallians, he speaks as follows: "Whereas ye are subject to your bishop as to Jesus Christ, ye appear to me to live not after the manner of men, but according to Jesus Christ." "It is therefore necessary, that as ye do, so without your bishop, you should do nothing." "In like manner, let all reverence the deacons as Jesus Christ; and the bishop as the Father; and the presbyters as the sanhedrim of God, and college of the apostles. Without these there is no church." "Continue inseparable from Jesus Christ, our God, and from your bishop, and from the command of the apostles. He that is within the altar is pure; but he that is without, that is, that does any thing without the bishop and presbyters, and deacons, is not pure in his conscience." "It becomes every one of you, especially the presbyters, to refresh the bishop, to the honour of the Father, of Jesus Christ, and of the apostles." "Fare ye well in Jesus Christ; being subject to your bishop as to the command of God, and so likewise to the presbytery."

In the Epistle to the Philadelphians, he speaks thus: "Ignatius, who is also called Theophoros, to the church of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, which is at Philadelphia in Asia; which has obtained mercy, being fixed in the concord of God, and rejoicing evermore in the passion of our Lord; which I salute in the blood of Jesus Christ, which is our eternal and undefiled joy; especially if they are at unity with the bishop and presbyters who are with him, and the deacons appointed according to the mind of Jesus Christ." "As many as are of God, and of Jesus, are also with their bishop." "Wherefore, let it be your endeavour to partake all of the same eucharist. For there is but one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ; and one cup in the unity of his blood; one altar; as there is also one bishop, together with his presbytery." "I cried whilst I was among you, I spake with a loud voice—Attend to the bishop and to the presbytery, and to the deacons. Now some supposed that I spake this as foreseeing the divisions that should come among you. But he is my witness, for whose sake I am in bonds, that I knew nothing from any man. But the Spirit spake, saying on this wise; do nothing without the bishop; keep your bodies as the temples of God; love unity, &c." "The Lord forgives all that repent, if they return to the unity of God, and the council of the bishop."

The following passages are found in the Epistle to the Smyrnæans:

"See that ye all follow your bishop, as Jesus Christ, the



Father; and the presbytery as the apostles. Let no man do any thing of what belongs to the church separately from the bishop. Let that eucharist be looked upon as well established, which is either offered by the bishop, or by him to whom the bishop has given his consent. Wheresoever the bishop shall appear, there let the people also be; as where Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic church. It is not lawful without the bishop, either to baptize, or to celebrate the holy communion; but whatever he shall approve of, that is also pleasing to God; that so whatever is done, may be sure and well done." "It is a good thing to have a due regard both to God and the bishop. He that honours the bishop shall be honoured of God; but he that does any thing without his knowledge, ministers unto the devil."

In the Epistle to Polycarp, we find the following language; and in order to understand the language of this epistle, let it be remembered that Polycarp was at this time the bishop or pastor of the church of Smyrna; and that this letter purports to have been addressed to him for the purpose of exciting him to diligence and fidelity in his official character.

"Let not the widows be neglected. Be thou, after God, their guardian. Let nothing be done without thy knowledge and consent; neither do thou any thing but according to the will of God; as also thou dost with all constancy. Let your assemblies be more full. Inquire into all by name.\* Overlook not the men nor maid-servants; neither let them be puffed up; but rather let them be more subject to the glory of God; that they may obtain from him a better liberty." "If any man can remain in a virgin state, to the honour of the flesh of Christ, let him remain without boasting: but if he boast, he is undone. And if he desire to be more taken notice of than the bishop, he is corrupted. But it becomes all such as are married, whether men or women, to come together with the consent of the bishop, that so their marriage may be according to godliness, and not in lust. Let all things be done to the honour of God." "Hearken unto the bishop, that God may also hearken unto you. *My soul be security for them that submit to their bishop*, with their presbyters and deacons. And may my portion be, together with theirs, in God!"†

Such is the language ascribed to a man who lived toward the close, and a little after, the apostolic age; who, at the time he is alleged to have written thus, was a prisoner of the Roman government, on his way to Rome, with a full expectation, which the event speedily justified, of suffering martyrdom for the cause of Christ! That, in these circumstances, with a violent and awful

\* In the original, "Inquire after, or seek out, all by name."

† See archbishop Wake's *Apostolical Fathers*.

death fully and immediately in view, and when other thoughts might be expected to occupy his mind than those which related to official dignity and pre-eminence; that, in these circumstances, he should be so incessantly harping on the claims of the bishop; begging the people to honour their bishop, to submit to the bishop, to adhere to their bishop, to do nothing without their bishop, assuring them that if they honour their bishop, God will honour them; and declaring, "My soul be security for them that submit to their bishop," &c. is truly one of the most incredible of all allegations! The general character of Ignatius is a guaranty that such unceasing incense to the dignity and the pride of office cannot be his. Nor is this all. The utter discrepance between this language and that of all the other writers who wrote about the same time, must strike every attentive reader. It is, undoubtedly, language foisted in by some presumptuous interpolator, at least two hundred years after Ignatius had gone to his reward.

This supposition is confirmed by the notorious fact, that in the earlier ages of the church, large numbers of spurious writings were attempted to be palmed on the religious public, and actually obtained no small currency; and that the practice of interpolating the genuine writings of popular and highly venerated men, for the purpose of accommodating them more to the taste of an age becoming more corrupt, both in doctrine and order—had a wide prevalence, is too well known to render formal proof necessary. It was so much the standing trade of the day, that one-tenth part of the testimony which we actually possess, that the Epistles of Ignatius have been tampered with, would be sufficient to render the charge an exceedingly probable one.

The charge of interpolation, which, for more than two centuries, has been constantly brought against these Epistles, has a particular respect to "the hierarchy," as Neander expresses it; that is, mainly to the exaltation of the bishop's office. They have never been specifically charged, so far as is now recollected, with having been altered to favour the scriptural doctrine of the Trinity, or any of the leading articles of Christian orthodoxy. The learned and indefatigable Lardner, who was himself a Unitarian, in speaking of the integrity of the Epistles in question, expresses himself thus: "Whether the small Epistles are the genuine writings of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, is a question that has been much disputed, and has employed the pens of the ablest critics. And whatever positiveness some may have shown on either side, I must own, I have found it a very difficult question. I shall, however, deliver my opinion, formed upon the inquiry I have made into this controversy. Consider-

ing the testimonies I have alleged, and also from the internal characters of great simplicity and piety, which are in these Epistles (I mean the smaller) it appears to me probable that they are, for the main, the genuine Epistles of Ignatius. If there be only some few sentiments and expressions, which seem inconsistent with the true age of Ignatius, 'tis more reasonable to suppose them to be additions, than to reject the Epistles themselves entirely; especially in the scarcity of copies, which we now labour under. As the interpolations of the "larger Epistles" are plainly the work of some Arian; so even the "smaller Epistles" may have been tampered with by the Arians or the Orthodox, or both; though I do not affirm there are in them any considerable corruptions or alterations."\*

The foregoing remarks are intended to give such of our readers as may not have had an opportunity of being acquainted with these Epistles, and with the controversy respecting them, as correct a view of the leading facts in the case, as we are able to present in a few pages. Such is the history, and such the character of these far-famed remains of antiquity. That they are all an entire forgery, we do not believe. That they exhibit the substance of what was written by the venerable martyr whose name they bear, we admit as highly probable, and as sustained by a majority of impartial judges. That they have been tampered with by corrupters and interpolators, is acknowledged on all hands. No Protestant has the hardihood to deny it. That even the seven shorter and purer Epistles are not wholly free from this dishonest dealing, is contended, as we have seen, by a great number—it is believed by far the greater number of learned men, of various denominations, and in all parts of the Christian Church. And that this wicked management has been applied with a particular view to make them speak a language more favourable to ecclesiastical pre-eminence than they originally did, will be manifest to any one who impartially compares them with contemporary writings, and has been confessed by some learned Episcopalians themselves.

2. But the second beneficial effect likely to result from a more familiar acquaintance with the Epistles of Ignatius is, that, even assuming their perfect integrity, they are by no means such witnesses in favour of prelacy, as is commonly imagined. The truth is, the foregoing statements have been drawn from us more as a tribute to the truth of history, than by any apprehension that the testimony of Ignatius, intelligently and candidly interpreted, will establish, or even favour the claims of diocesan

\* Lardner's *Credibility*, Part II. vol. I. p. 153, 154.

**Episcopacy.** We have no doubt that the interpolations referred to were intended chiefly to exalt the character of the bishop; but that it was not a diocesan, but a parochial bishop whom they really describe and honour, we think can be made out to the satisfaction of every enlightened and impartial reader.

It seems to be entirely forgotten by our Episcopal brethren, that in the Presbyterian Church there are three orders or classes of Church officers, all of whom Presbyterians believe to be of divine appointment. They seem not to keep in mind that our doctrine is, that in the apostolic age, and in the age immediately following, comprehending that of Ignatius, the title of bishop was applied to every pastor of a church, that is, to every presbyter who had a pastoral charge committed to him; in other words, to every one who was appointed a spiritual "overseer" of a Christian congregation. That the term bishop is so applied in the New Testament, the highest authorities of the Episcopal denomination themselves freely acknowledge; and there is sufficient evidence that the title continued to be applied in the same manner for more than a hundred years after the apostolic age. With respect to the second order of ecclesiastical officers in the Presbyterian Church, we commonly call them elders, and not presbyters. Yet every scholar knows that elder and presbyter are terms of exactly the same import; the one being of Saxon, and the other of Greek derivation: and, accordingly, the Greek word, *πρεσβυτερος* is never translated *presbyter*, but always *elder*, in our English version of the Bible. The language of our public formularies, in enumerating our ecclesiastical officers, is "bishops (or pastors) elders and deacons." But if we had written in Greek as Ignatius did, if we were now to write about our church in that language, we could not avoid saying, as he did, that our officers are *ἐπισκοποι, πρεσβυτεροι και διακονοι*. And if an individual or body of ministers, among us, were to address a particular church, with its appropriate officers, they would naturally, and indeed almost necessarily, speak of their bishop or pastor, together with their presbytery, or eldership, and their worthy deacons, and exhort them to honour and obey these officers in their appropriate exercise of authority. When, therefore, we say, that the style in which Ignatius designates the three classes of church officers of whom he speaks, decides nothing at all in favour of the claims of prelacy, but is quite as favourable to Presbyterianism, we state a simple, unqualified fact, which no man, who really understands the subject, can deny. In other words, the enumeration, bishops, presbyters and deacons, which so frequently occurs in the pages of Ignatius, agrees just as perfectly, both in number, order, title and descrip-

tion with the array of officers found in the Presbyterian Church, as it can be imagined to do with the Episcopal form of government. We are aware that the contrary is alleged, with the highest confidence, by many of the friends of prelacy; but we will venture to say, without a shadow of support from the facts in the case.

But we go one step further. Not only is it certain that the ecclesiastical nomenclature of Ignatius perfectly agrees with both the nomenclature and the arrangements of the Presbyterian Church; so that if Presbyterians were to speak *of* or *to* their own church officers, and to discuss the same subjects which this venerable father did, they could scarcely, without circumlocution, employ any other terms; but we will be bold to say, that the facts and duties which he ascribes to these officers, *can be predicated of no other than parochial or Presbyterian bishops*. Of this we have no doubt that every candid reader may be easily satisfied.

Let it be distinctly borne in mind, then, that Presbyterians do not deny that there were bishops in the apostolic Church; that there were bishops in the days of Ignatius; and that there ought to be bishops now. They believe, as before stated, that this title was appropriated, in the apostles' days, and for a considerable time afterwards, to all men in sacred orders who had pastoral charges. Episcopalians themselves acknowledge that in the New Testament, common presbyters, who had been constituted pastors, were called bishops. We suppose that in the days of Paul, and Peter, and John, and also in the days in which Ignatius wrote, every church—that is, every Christian assembly—had its bishop or pastor, its bench of presbyters, or elders, and its deacons. We suppose also on the faith of Scripture, that in large churches, such as Ephesus, Philippi, &c. there were then, as in similar circumstances there often are now, more than one bishop, that is, colleague pastors; and that this character of the bishop's office remained for more than a hundred years after the death of the last apostle. Let us now apply this Presbyterian doctrine to the Epistles of Ignatius, and see whether they do not agree much better with this than with any other system: nay, whether it is not manifest that they cannot, without doing violence to their obvious sense, be reconciled with any other.

For, in the first place, what do his statements imply as to the situation, and the duties of the bishop of whom he speaks? We find the church of which this bishop has the care, represented, throughout these Epistles, as coming together to one place; as worshipping in one assembly; as having one altar, or communion table; as eating of one loaf; having one prayer; and in a

word, uniting in all the acts of Christian worship. Surely all this can apply only to a single congregation! Further; the bishop here spoken of, is represented as present with his flock whenever they came together; as conducting their prayers, and presiding in all their public services; as the only person in the parish who was authorized, in ordinary cases, to administer baptism and the Lord's Supper; as the person by whom all marriages were celebrated; and whose duty it was to be personally acquainted with all his flock; to take notice with his own eye of those who were absent from public worship; to attend to all the widows and poor of his congregation; to inquire after all by name, and not to overlook even the men and maid servants belonging to his flock. Can any man of common sense believe that these minute and personal duties could be enjoined or expected in any other case than that of the pastor of a single church?

In the next place, it is equally evident that the presbyters and presbytery so frequently mentioned by Ignatius, together with the deacons, refer to officers which belonged, at the date of these Epistles, like the bishop, to each particular parish. Almost all the Epistles of this father are directed to particular churches; and in every case we find each church furnished with a bishop, a presbytery or bench of elders, and deacons. But what kind of officers were these presbyters or elders? The advocates of prelacy tell us, with the utmost confidence, that they were the inferior clergy, who ministered to the several congregations belonging to the bishop's diocese; an order of clergy subject to the bishop, empowered to preach, baptize, and administer the Lord's Supper, but having no power to ordain and confirm. But all this is boldly asserted without the smallest proof. On the contrary, there is much proof that the assumption cannot be true. The presbyters or presbytery here spoken of, are represented as always present with the bishop and his congregation when assembled; as bearing the same close and inseparable relation to the flock with its pastor; and as being equally necessary to a regular and valid transaction of its affairs. To every altar, or communion table, there was one presbytery, as well as one bishop. To suppose, then, that these presbyters were the parish priests, as our Episcopal brethren are fond of expressing it, in other words, the rectors of so many churches, within the diocese of a prelate, is to disregard every part of the representation which is given respecting them. The probability is, that the greater part, if not all, of the presbyters of whom Ignatius speaks, were ruling elders, who assisted the pastor in the inspection and government of the church. The whole strain of these Epistles, then, may be

considered as descriptive of Presbyterian Church government. They exhibit a number of particular churches, each furnished with a bishop, or pastor, and also with elders and deacons, to whose respective ministrations every private member is exhorted, as long as they are regular, implicitly to submit.

But even supposing the suggestion, that the most or all of these elders were ruling, and not preaching elders, to be unfounded; still the supposition derogates nothing from our mode of interpreting the Epistles in question. Sometimes, when a Presbyterian church is large, it has two or even more than two bishops, united in the same pastoral charge, and having, in all respects, an official equality. When this is the case, each of these bishops is president or moderator of the church session in turn. But in some Presbyterian churches, the bishop, instead of having one or more colleagues, of equal authority and power with him, has an assistant or assistants. These assistants, though clothed with the whole ministerial character, and capable, without any other ordination, of becoming pastors themselves, yet, as long as they remain in this situation, bear a relation to the bishop similar to that which curates bear to the rector, in some Episcopal churches, and, in some cases, cannot regularly baptize, or administer the Lord's Supper without the concurrence of the bishop. But all this, as every intelligent reader knows, may exist without prelacy. Ignatius, therefore, we repeat, could hardly give a more perfect representation than he does of Presbyterian government. And all the fault we have to find with the strain of his Epistles, as they now appear, in regard to this point, is, that he appears to be too anxious about the prerogatives and honors of the parochial bishops of whom he speaks; to have the dignity and authority of that officer continual running in his head; and to introduce the subject, and dwell upon it with a frequency and zeal at once unseasonable and disgusting. No contemporary writer treats this matter in a similar way; and hence the best judges have been of the opinion that his Epistles have been tampered with by some unprincipled and unskilful friend of the hierarchy, with a particular view to the elevation of the bishop. Modern readers of these Epistles, predisposed to the prelatical regimen, overlooking the circumstances and duties of the bishop in the second century; borne away by the mere title; and taking for granted that that title was of the same import in the second century as in the fourth and subsequent centuries, have pronounced Ignatius a decisive witness in support of diocesan Episcopacy!

Having had occasion, of late, to review, with some care, the controversy concerning these Epistles, our wonder has been strongly renewed, that they should ever have been pressed with

so much confidence into the service of prelacy. The only rational solution of the difficulty is, that, finding no solid support for prelatial Episcopacy in the New Testament; and perceiving also the extreme scarcity of any thing that has the semblance of testimony in its favour for the first three hundred years, its friends have thought these Epistles too important to their cause, and the language of them too well adapted to operate upon the popular mind, to be given up. They have thought them too precious to be spared. They have, therefore, determined to hold them fast, as a strong-hold; and have gone on repeating the story of their clear and decisive import in favour of prelacy, until they have honestly persuaded themselves that the fact is really as they have stated.

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**ART. II.—***Narrative of Facts, characterizing the supernatural manifestations in members of Mr. Irving's congregation, and other individuals in England and Scotland; and formerly in the writer himself. By Robert Baxter. Second edition, with preface on the spiritual influence permitted to Satan.* London. 1833. pp. 155.

THE subject of this interesting pamphlet is, beyond doubt, a series of the most curious occurrences of the religious world in modern times. Various notices respecting them have appeared in the religious periodicals of the day; but none of them in any tolerable degree satisfactory, either as to their nature, their extent, or their history. The little work before us precisely meets these deficiencies. As the title page imports, it is a full narrative of the most striking facts connected with the subject; by one who was a leader in the very scenes and occurrences which he details. It may not be generally known, that Mr. Irving, whose name has been so conspicuous in the whole matter, is no more than a patron of the work; and though long and anxiously waiting for supernatural endowments, has never yet received any thing at all of "the power," as it is technically called. He is, as they express it, yet "in the flesh;" though it has been several times prophesied that he should receive the gift, and become the great prophet of the Scotch church.

The writer of the work before us, who was during the period of his delusion the principal prophet of London, is fully of the opinion, that the whole work is to be ascribed to satanic influ-



ence. The preface to the second edition is chiefly taken up with an ingenious argument to prove this point; and indeed through the whole of the "narrative," the "facts" are ascribed to the same cause: with what propriety the reader must judge. Certain it is, however, that many of the marvellous occurrences here detailed are utterly inexplicable on any known laws, either of matter or mind. There is a compound of truth and error, of consistency and contradiction, and indeed of all kinds of irreconcilables, which is curious beyond description. That some of the unhappy subjects of this delusion were sincerely pious, our author does not question, and that they are yet sincere in their fanaticism will be fully apparent from the following pages. Mr. Baxter himself seems to have been a very zealous and enterprising Christian. Before falling a prey to this delusion, "he had been in the daily habit of reading to and teaching the poor in the parish where he resides," and so conscientiously did he avoid every assumption of the ministerial office that "he refrained from praying with the people when gathered together." This was probably owing to his rigid high-church principles; in defence of which he had just finished writing, as he tells us, the "Layman's Appeal." From this last circumstance, and from the clear and nervous style of the "narrative," we judge that he is a man of well cultivated mind, though to what profession he belongs does not appear.

He adopted, and still maintains the opinion, "that there is no reason for limiting the manifestations of the spirit to apostolic times." And in view of the growth of infidelity without, and formality within the church, he was "ready to examine the claims to inspiration, and anxious for the presence of the gifts of the spirit, and even longed greatly and prayed much, for such an outpouring and testimony. When he saw, as it seemed to him, proof that those claiming the gifts were walking honestly, and that the power manifested in them was evidently supernatural, and moreover, bore testimony to Christ come in the flesh, he welcomed it at once as the work of God."

At this time Mr. Baxter "was called to London by professional arrangements, and there attended the prayer meetings privately held by those who spoke in the power, and those who sought for the gifts." At the very first meeting which he attended, after an utterance by a lady whom he calls Miss E. C. strikingly adapted to his own state of mind, and which he most reverently regarded as an utterance of the spirit, from its matter and manner and the strange influence it produced on him, "he himself was seized by the power, and in much struggling against it, was made to cry out, confessing his sins in the matter which consti-

tuted the subject of the utterance, and afterwards to utter a prophecy that the messengers of the Lord should go forth, publishing to the ends of the earth, in the mighty power of God, the testimony of the near coming of the Lord Jesus." The attainment of the gift of prophecy considered so desirable, was a source of great joy, and yet he was much distressed and weighed down in spirit, lest he should mistake the mind of God in the matter. "There was in me," says he, "very great excitement at the time of the utterance, and yet I was distinctly conscious of a power acting upon me beyond mere excitement, which I was convinced was the power of God." So fully was he persuaded of this fact, that when he was told the spirit had spoken strongly, even applying the name Babylon to the churches of England and Scotland, that he was much shaken in his zeal and attachment to high-church principles.

"From this period," says he, "for the space of five months, I had no utterances in public, though in private the power would come down upon me, and cause me to pray with strong crying and tears for the state of the church. On one occasion, after struggling long with wandering, worldly thoughts, the power came down upon me suddenly, and I found myself lifted up in soul to God, my wandering thoughts at once rivetted, and calmness of mind given me. By a constraint I cannot describe, I was made to speak, at the same time shrinking from utterance, and yet rejoicing in it. The utterance was a prayer that the Lord would deliver me from fleshly weakness, and graciously bestow upon me the gifts of his spirit, the gift of wisdom, the gift of faith, the working of miracles, the gifts of healing, of prophecy, of tongues, and the interpretation of tongues, and that he would open my mouth and give me strength to declare his glory. When I had reached the last word, at which time the utterance was so loud that I put my handkerchief to my mouth to stop the sound, that I might not alarm the house, the power died off me, leaving me just as I was before, save in amazement at what had passed, and filled with thankfulness to God for his great love manifested to me. With the power there came upon me a strong conviction, this is the spirit of God, and what you are asking will surely be given you; a conviction which was never shaken until the whole work fell to pieces. From that day I acted in the full assurance, that in God's own good time all these gifts would be bestowed upon me." The event of this prophecy will be seen in the sequel. "On another occasion, subsequently to the one last mentioned, when teaching at a Sabbath school, the power came down upon me, constraining me to leave and return to my study, and conveying to me very distinctly the impression

that I might be called to utterance in the church during public worship that day. Many circumstances seemed to forbid this; the impression was not so commanding as to leave me without doubt that it was not of the flesh, or the enemy: the minister was opposed and would forbid, and all the congregation would be offended; other circumstances in my family made it painful, and even dangerous for me to do so. Sorely tried, yet desiring to do the will of God, and leave all consequences in his hands, I turned in prayer to 1 Cor. xiv. and sought direction, whether the gift of prophecy ought always to be exercised in the public congregation. Seeing this so plainly laid down in the affirmative, I concluded that it was my duty to yield if the power came upon me to utterance. The whole of the ordinary services passed without any visitation, but after the sacrament had been administered, when kneeling to return thanks, the power came upon me largely, though the impulse was not to utterance, my tongue was rivetted as I was repeating the response, and my soul filled with joy and thanksgiving, and such a presence of God as, it seemed to me, exceeded any peace and joy I had ever before tasted at that holy sacrament."

Although there was an utter failure of the prophetic intimation that he should be called to utterance, yet this incident tended greatly to strengthen Mr. Baxter's conviction that the power was of God, because he thought "none but the spirit of God would at such a season be permitted to enter in, and none but the spirit of God could produce such fruits." On the supposition that the influence was Satanic, he can only account for it by supposing it to have been a judgment from God, for neglecting the Lord's injunction, to *watch as well as pray*.

Notwithstanding the frequent visitations of the power in private, Mr. B. had no public utterance until his return to London, which, as already stated, was about five months after his first visit. "Having been asked," says he, "on this occasion, to spend the evening at a friend's with the pastor, one of the gifted persons (Mrs. J. C.) and three or four other persons, I went, and during the evening Mrs. J. C. was made to testify 'that now was the time of the great struggle, and the power of Satan in the midst of us, and that we must take to ourselves the whole armour of God, and stand up against him, for he was coming in like a flood upon the church, and fearful was his power.' The pastor observed," for it seems he claimed the privilege of interpreting and applying these revelations, just as much as the Bible, "that this utterance taught us our duty as standing in the church to wrestle with the enemy; and whilst he was going on to ask some question, the power fell upon me, and I was made to speak, and

for two hours or upwards, with very little interval, the power continued upon me, and I gave forth what we all regarded as prophecies concerning the church and the nation, declaring that God's anger rested upon the nation because of its wickedness and infidelity, and that the visitation of Pharaoh would come upon the land, and it would be as a charnel-house for the multitude of the slain. On the church, the denouncements against unfaithful pastors were most fearful. These prophecies, however, were mingled with others most glorious and gracious, declaring that the spirit should be abundantly poured forth, and a faithful and mighty people should be gathered in this land, the presence of the Lord in the midst of them as of old time, that the Lord would anoint, and send witnesses into every nation under heaven, and speedily gather to himself out of every kindred and tongue and people, a church made ready for her Lord, and that the Lord was at hand, the morning star rising among us, and the signs of his coming all around us."

As to the nature of this strange impulse called "the power," the writer adds, "it was far more mighty than before, laying down my mind and body in perfect obedience, and carrying me on without confusion or excitement. The things I was made to utter, flashed in upon my mind without forethought, without expectation, and without any plan or arrangement, all was the work of a moment, and I was as the passive instrument of the power which used me."

"During this same evening," says Mr. B. "I was made to bid those present ask instruction on any subject, on which they sought to be taught of God; and to several questions which were asked, answers were given by me in the power. One in particular was so answered with such reference to the circumstances of the case, of which I was wholly ignorant, as to convince the person who asked it, that the spirit speaking in me knew those circumstances, and alluded to them in the answer. This circumstance, however, troubled the pastor exceedingly, because two children in Gloucestershire, who had been made to speak in wonderful power, and who were afterwards found to speak by a false spirit, were accustomed to bid to questioning, and to give answers in the power; and none of the speakers in the pastor's flock ever did so. He came up to me and said, 'Faith is very hard.' I was immediately made to address him, and reason with him in the power, until he was fully convinced the spirit was of God: and gave thanks for its manifestation."

A very curious circumstance mentioned in the "narrative," is a facility and ingenuity in the interpretation of Scripture—even the most difficult parts—so as to wrest it with an air of great

plausibility, to the support of their opinions and practices. These interpretations were entirely unpremeditated ; often contrary to all the former views of the speaker ; and in some cases not at first fully comprehended by the person who uttered them.

We have space only for one or two specimens: "At the early prayer meeting," says Mr. B. "being called up by the pastor to pray, I had a distinct direction from the power to read the eleventh chapter of the book of Revelation. I read it in the power altogether ; and as I went on I was made in the power to expound it—declaring that the two witnesses were two offices ; one, the office of the prophet (alluding to the gifted persons who had spoken with tongues and prophesied) the other, the office of minister (alluding to the gift which was now manifested in myself) and this should be multiplied, and many (spiritual) ministers sent forth—that thus the two witnesses were put forth, and the days of their prophesying begun. We were distinctly commanded to count from that day (14th Jan. 1832) 'the days one thousand threescore and two hundred'—1260, the days appointed for the testimony, at the end of which the saints should go up to meet the Lord in the air ; and be forever with the Lord." The exposition of this prophecy was frequently repeated. On one occasion a circumstance occurred worth mentioning, as showing in connexion with facts mentioned in the sequel, how completely the eyes of these persons were closed against all kinds of evidence that the whole was a delusion. An individual near the speaker, when he said, 'count the days one thousand threescore and two hundred,' repeated it in order to remember it ; and saying the words 'two hundred' louder than the rest, the sound fell on the speaker's ears, as though he had said 'wonderful'. He turned to him and was made in the power to rebuke him, for thinking it wonderful ; telling him, 'if he was looking for wonders, he would fall into the snare of the enemy.' The individual rebuked did not correct the mistake until a more private opportunity occurred, lest he should cause those present to doubt of the genuineness of the work. The speaker was then made in the power to say to him "so you would rather be unfaithful to your heavenly father, than shame your poor brother ! Is this the love you bear to your father?" This seeming jealousy for God at once laid to rest all suspicions and only led them to the conclusion "that the Lord did sometimes suffer his prophets to stumble that the people might not rely upon them, but on the Lord."

Another instance of very ingenious accommodation of Scripture was given by Mr. Baxter while "preaching in the spirit," to a company of young men assembled at Mr. Irving's, "declaring that the church in the apostolic days was as Sampson in his strength ; that when the church began to commit fornication with the kings

of the earth, the world was as Delilah, and seduced the Church to surrender its secret source of strength, (which was said to be the teaching of the Spirit;) and instead of it to seek the applause and opinion and learning of the world; that thus shorn of its strength, the church had lain in the dungeon, until, like the locks growing on Sampson, the teaching of the Spirit was now again bestowed; and the church was now arousing itself to lay hold upon the pillars of the world, and in the strength of its God, to bring down all the strong holds of wickedness on the heads of the wicked."

An interpretation, more curious and striking because more complicated, is given of the 12th chapter of Revelation and of the six trumpets. The want of space, however, forbids their transcription.

The following passage from "The Narrative" gives the fullest account, that any where occurs, of the nature of this wonderful impulse, and the reasoning by which its subjects are confirmed in their delusion, so as to render their rescue almost hopeless, without the interposition of divine power:

"To those never visited with any power beyond the mere vagaries of excitement, it may seem inexplicable how persons can be brought to surrender their own judgment, and act on an impulse or under a power working in them, without daring to question that power. The process, however, is very simple and plausible; and, the premises admitted—perfectly logical. My own case may be an example: accustomed to try the powers and weaknesses of my own mind in public and in private; in business and in religious meetings; in speaking and in prayer; in reasoning and exposition; I found, on a sudden, in the midst of my accustomed course, a power coming upon me which was altogether new; an unnatural, and, in many cases, a most appalling utterance given to me; matters uttered by me in this power of which I had never thought, and many of which I did not understand until long afterwards; an enlarged comprehension and clearness of view given to me on points which were really the truth of God, (though mingled with many things which I have since seen not to be truth, but which then had the form of it); great setting forth of Christ; great joy and freedom in prayer, and, seemingly, great nearness of communion with God, in the midst of the workings of the power, the course of the power quite contrary to the course of excitement. It was manifest to me that the power was supernatural; and therefore a Spirit. It seemed to bear testimony to Christ come in the flesh, and to work the fruits of the Holy Spirit; the conclusion, then, was inevitable, that it was the Spirit of God; and if so, the deduction was imme-

diate, that it ought in all things to be obeyed. If I understood not the things I was made to utter; it was consistent with the idea of the utterance of the Spirit, that deep and mysterious things should be spoken. If I were commanded to do a thing of which I saw not the use, was I to dare to pause on God's command? When the communication is decided to be from God, faithfulness to God steps in, and all the faith, and love, and simple reliance on God which the christian, through grace, possesses, will be enlisted to perform the command; so that the more devoted the christian thus seduced, the more implicit the obedience to the seducing spirit." And to complete this master-piece of delusion; if a single doubt entered the mind of any of these persons, it was instantly dismissed as a temptation of Satan, and therefore highly offensive to the Spirit.

We come now to a most curious, as well as to those concerned, "a most trying and painful occurrence." Says Mr. Baxter, "While sitting with Mr. Irving and a few others, Mr. Irving remarked that Mr. T. when in the Court of Chancery, had found the power mightily upon him, but never a distinct impulse to utterance. Whilst he was speaking I was made in power to declare 'there go I, and thence to the prison house.' This was followed by a prophecy, setting forth the darkness of the visible church, referring to the king as head of the church of England, and to the chancellor as keeper of the king's conscience; that a testimony should that day be borne before him, which should make the nation to tremble; that I was to bear this testimony, and for it be cast into prison; that the abomination of desolation would be set up in the land, and Satan sit in the high places of the earth, showing himself to be God. Much more was added of the judgments of God against the land, and also against the church for her worldly mindedness. The power upon me was overwhelming. I gave all present a solemn benediction, as though I was departing altogether from among them, and forbidding Mr. Irving, who rose to speak to me as I was going, I went out under the constraint of the power, and shaped my way to the court of the Chancellor, to bear the testimony I was commanded.

"On the way my trials were almost beyond endurance. Might it not be a delusion? Ought I not to consider my own character in the sight of the world, which would be forfeited by such an act; and the ruin of all worldly prospects, which would ensue from it and from my imprisonment? Confident, however, that the power was of God, it seemed my duty to obey at every sacrifice. In this mind I went on, expecting, as I entered the court of the Chancellor, the power would come upon me, and I should be made to bear testimony before him. I knew not what

I was to say ; but expected the subject and utterance would be given me together, as on other occasions. When I entered, no power came upon me. I stood in the court for three or four hours, momentarily expecting the power ; and as the time lengthened, more and more perplexed at its absence. I was tempted to speak in my own strength ; but I judged this would not be faithful to the word spoken. After waiting this time, I came out of court, convinced there was nothing for me to say. I could not resist the conviction, painful as it was, that I had been deluded. How was it then with the others who had heard me, received me, and spoken in power with me as one of them?" Every effort, both of Mr. B. himself and Mr. Irving, failed to solve this astounding case. Still however they could not give up their confidence that the work was of God. The next morning at prayer meeting an utterance came from Miss E. E. who knew nothing of the visit to the Chancellor, 'it is discernment—it is discernment ye lack: seek ye for it, seek ye for it'—which, it seemed to Mr. B. applied to his case. Afterwards the text in Jer. 20: 7-9. was quoted. While thinking on these things the whole matter was revealed by the Spirit making him to say "ye have obeyed the word of the Lord, ye went to the place of testimony, the Spirit was quenched before the conscience of the king; ye a, spiritual minister have borne witness there; and were ye not cast into prison? Has not the dark dungeon been your prison house since ye came from the place of testimony? Ye lack discernment, ye must read the word spiritually, the abomination of desolation is set up, the Spirit of God is quenched in all the churches of the land ; and now the mystical man of sin is enthroned, and sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God." This explanation was perfectly satisfactory to all parties.

While Mr. B. was doubting whether the whole work were not a delusion, Mr. Irving related the following striking case, well authenticated. "A man, a stranger to the Scotch church, came up from the country, and spoke in a power in the midst of the congregation. He was rebuked by some one, and afterwards being called into the vestry, Mr. T. one of the gifted persons, and Mr. Irving reasoned with him, to show him from the nature of his utterance, that the power could not be of God. The man would not yield, when suddenly Mr. T. was made to rebuke him in an unknown tongue, and the man fell down upon the ground crying for mercy. Afterwards, wishing to speak with two other gifted persons at their own houses, he was again rebuked in the power, and as if by the force of the word was cast down upon the ground, foaming and struggling like a bound demoniac. The gifted persons were then made to pray for him in power, and he soon became calmed and went away."



Mr. Baxter's doubts being all removed, he next received a prophecy concerning the church, of which we give an outline, as curious in itself, and entirely contrary to his wishes and settled views as expressed in the "Layman's Appeal." It was revealed that the ordination of ministers by the laying on of hands by succession from the apostles was no longer valid, that God would endow men with the power of utterance in the Spirit, as the gift distinguishing those set apart for the ministry. That the whole visible church was now cast off because she had quenched the Spirit's manifestations in her midst, and that God would bring forth his spiritual church, with the fulness of the gifts of the Spirit; and extend it to the ends of the earth within the appointed time of the testimony of the two witnesses already mentioned—three years and a half: and that this was the setting up of the abomination of desolation, spoken of, Matt. xxiv. and Luke xxi.

"The *mystical* man of sin, (2 Thess. iii.) was also explained to be the spirit of Satan, now bearing rule in the visible church, manifested in her worldly-mindedness, and her opposition to the work and power of the Spirit. This interpretation was not to invalidate the application of the passage in its full sense to the papacy. In both cases Satan was ruling as the Spirit of God, and *showing himself that he was God*. And moreover there was to be a more fearful manifestation of the man of sin, in Satan's usurping the authority of Jesus as King of kings, and Lord of lords, coming to bear rule over all the earth. Before this could take place, however, at the end of the three years and a half, God would take away his Spirit and his church altogether from the earth, by causing his faithful spiritual church to be caught up to heaven like Elijah, and the earth being without a witness for God, Satan would stand forth in all his hideous power in the person of one man, to receive the worship of all the earth, even the papacy having been destroyed as too narrow to admit of the full manifestation of this personal man of sin, claiming to be the Christ of God come to establish his kingdom on the earth. The person thus energized of Satan was subsequently declared to be young Napoleon."

At the same time were uttered fearful denunciations against all benevolent societies, on the ground "That all religious knowledge was hereafter to be imparted by the teaching of the Spirit, and any attempt to accomplish by the combined efforts of men, what God had ordained to effect by the outpouring of his Spirit, was leaning upon an arm of flesh, instead of exercising faith on

God. And besides, there was a strong temptation to keep back unpopular parts of God's truth, because the accession of members and the increase of funds were more earnestly laboured after, than the setting forth of the truth." The passage in Isaiah (viii. 9) 'associate yourselves, O ye people, and ye shall be broken in pieces,' also verse 12 were applied by the Spirit to all these societies. Distinct denunciations were uttered against the "Bible Society" and the "Trinitarian Bible Society," of the latter of which Mr. Baxter was a member and a warm friend. The burden of prophecy against it was "that it compassed sea and land to make one proselyte, and made him twofold more a child of hell than before."

All such utterances, however unwelcome, were implicitly received as the word of God.

In conformity with the revelation concerning the spiritual ministry, Mr. B. at one of the early prayer meetings, was made to command all present and all who should hear, to go forth and declare in all the highways, streets, lanes and alleys, the near coming of Christ, and the coming in of the spiritual ministry, and exhort all to repentance. "In conformity with this message," says he, "many of the congregation went forth publicly to preach, and continue in it to the present day, being called up before the magistrates on account of it."

Having set the people to work, Mr. Baxter received "a distinct intimation that he had nothing more to testify to the brethren in London, and therefore determined to visit his brother, (a clergyman,) in one of the eastern counties." This visit is connected with some of the strangest incidents related in "The Narrative."

"While on the journey," says Mr. B. "it was revealed to me that God had set me apart for a special purpose, for which he would commission and endow me, that for this purpose I should be taken away from my wife and family, and become a wanderer without home or habitation, that this separation would be, in God's hand, a visitation upon my wife for her opposition to the work of the Spirit, and yet would be overruled for a blessing to her, that I should find my brother at home, and, as I entered the paddock gate, he would come out to meet me, that whilst I was there he should receive the Spirit and speak in the power, which should be signs of the truth of the revelation, that I should be made in power to deliver to him two messages, one to be carried by him to my wife, declaring God's purpose concerning us, and the other to some relations enjoining the winding up of all my worldly concerns, and the future provision for my wife and family, that a child of my brother should be called to be a pro-

phetess, and that I should minister on the ensuing Sunday in my brother's church; that when my brother went to carry the message, he should be commissioned to baptize with the Holy Ghost my youngest child, an infant six weeks old. Not knowing certainly that my brother was at home, I looked with no little agitation for the first sign. I arrived, and as I entered his gate, he came out exactly as was shown me. This seemed to seal the truth of the whole. On the second morning after my arrival, having had as yet no utterance, my brother's wife called to me and said, "has the Lord revealed to you what he has done?" On my answering in the negative, she added "he has given the Spirit to your brother, he spoke much in the power during the night." Here then was fulfilled the second sign. I had said nothing about the revelation. My brother soon after called me to his room, and in the power said "every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God; Jesus Christ is come in the flesh." At breakfast the power came on me, and I was made to utter the declaration and message concerning my wife and family shown me in the revelation, accompanied with my putting my hands on the head of his child, and declaring her set apart for the office of a prophetess, and with a command to him to go and baptize my infant with the Holy Ghost. After family prayers and some further inquiries, he made ready to go, when the power came upon me to give him the other message to our relations, and enjoin him to proceed immediately on his mission. On his saying he did not quite understand what he was to do with the infant, I was made to explain to him, that he must take her in his arms, and say, (repeating her name) I baptize thee with the Holy Ghost, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. After this I was made to declare that I would minister in his church on Sunday, which would commence the spiritual ministrations which should never cease until the Lord should come.

"During that day it was indistinctly revealed to me that I should be called to bear witness at Cambridge, and in the House of Commons; and that for this purpose I should be caught away by the Spirit as Philip was (Acts viii.) that very day. No sign in proof was given me, and I could not yield full credence to it; but fearing to grieve the Spirit, I gave myself into the hands of God and waited for the result. But as nothing followed, I concluded it was a snare of the devil.

"The next day, being Sunday, I was much tried to know what I should do in case the power did not come upon me, for I could not command it when I would. I was, however, relieved from my fear by an utterance in a most awful oath, that God would not

leave me nor forsake me. On commencing the service in church, the power came upon me, explaining the spiritual ministry, and continued in prayer for an hour. While they sang, I went into the vestry to fetch a bible. Here I was wholly impotent, and seemed to have no strength to exhort the people. My sister, under the nervous excitement of anxiety, was seized with an hysterical fit. My confidence for the moment was gone, and I felt as though my mouth was shut for ever. The power however came down upon me again, and I preached in power upwards of an hour; and then dismissed the people with the customary benediction. In the afternoon I took the same course, and the power continued during the whole service. Fearful denunciations of judgment were given both morning and evening; and the reiterated declaration, that within three years and a half the believers in the Lord would be caught up to him, and the world delivered over to the judgments of God: accompanied by energetic and arousing exhortations to repentance."

After Mr. Baxter's return to London, he had to encounter new trials. While in company with Mr. Irving and Miss E. E. conversing about his separation from his family, and much weighed down in spirit, Miss E. E. after some preliminary utterances, was made to declare in power "ye must not leave them." "If a thunder-bolt," says he, "had burst at my feet, it could not have created half the pain and agonizing confusion which these utterances cast upon me. The impression rushed on me like a flood, "the revelation must then have been of Satan. I have betrayed my brother into a satanic embassy, ruined his character, and insured his expulsion from the church; I have sent my wife a lying torture, and shall seem to her as a monster, and I shall have forfeited all my professional pursuits, contrary to God's will, and brought discredit upon the work of God, and so cast a fearful stumbling block before God's children." (It not even then occurring to me, that the whole work was of Satan.) I reeled under the weight of the agonizing suggestion for a moment; but having lifted my soul to God in prayer, appealing to him for my honesty, I seemed immediately to have light upon the subject. It was that the revelations were of God; but the time of my leaving my family and ceasing from my worldly labours was not yet; and that the reproof was to correct my haste and rashness in rushing upon their immediate fulfilment. Relieved in a measure, I returned to my coffee house, and there found a letter from my wife, saying that her brother had been to her, and delivered the message in power, which she now recognized as of God, and desired to submit to the will of the Lord, great as the sacrifice was. This seemed like God's own

seal of his own work; for I had long seen the utter inability of human efforts to convince her; whereas this revelation, so likely to prejudice her more and more, was overruled, as it was predicted to me, for her good.

"In the evening my brother returned. He had delivered the message, and also in the power took up the infant and said over it the form of words, I had given him. When the ceremony was performed, the babe did not speak in the Spirit as he fully expected. This startled him somewhat; and on his journey to the other relatives, so pressed upon him that when he reached them he was ready to burst into tears, and confess that he had been deluded. But suddenly the power came upon him, and he was carried out in utterance of the message, all the time almost trembling at what he was saying. They to whom it was delivered wondered at the strange exhibition which they had never witnessed before, laid hold of his arm to stop him. Their entire disbelief of the message, contrary to his expectation, gathered from my utterances, confirmed his fears that it was delusion; after some consideration he wrote to my wife begging her to forget all that was past, for he believed it to be a delusion. A careful consideration of the utterances brought my brother to see that his expectation, both with regard to the child speaking, and the relatives immediately believing, was groundless; my wife's letter also had such weight with him that he confessed his want of faith, and reproached himself for stumbling in the way of the Lord. His hope was that my wife's faith would be stronger than his own, and enable her to withstand the effect of his letter. My professional engagements being ended, and being in great anxiety about my family, I determined to return home and wait the Lord's farther direction. I found my wife relapsed into unbelief, though in a few days her difficulties were overcome, and she expected with me the fulfilment of the things prophesied."

We come now to what Mr. Baxter calls the masterpiece of doctrinal delusion, the developement of "the baptism by fire," as expounded by himself, and adopted and still held by the members of the Scotch church. Very frequent allusions to "fire" had been made in his late utterances, without any understanding of their meaning. At length he was made to declare "that his wife should be baptized with fire; and that the Lord would again send apostles, by the laying on of whose hands should follow the baptism by fire, which should subdue the flesh and burn out the sin; and give the disciples of Christ the full freedom of the Holy Ghost, and full and final victory over the world." A day or two after it was declared, in an appalling utterance, that he was set apart for this office, that from his calling to the spiritual ministry there should be

a probationary period of forty days, now nearly elapsed, at the close of which he should receive the gifts of *signs and wonders and mighty deeds*; that the sick should be healed, the deaf should hear and the dead be raised; and that apostles should be ordained, endowed, and sent forth to the end of the earth, to warn the world and make ready a people prepared for the Lord. It was distinctly revealed that Mr. Irving should not become an apostle, because the Scotch church had erred in rejecting the apostolic form of government, but should become the great prophet of Scotland, to bear the Lord's warning before the carnage produced by the cholera. It was also specified that on the fortieth day, having received the power, Mr. Baxter should go to the relatives to whom the message had been sent by his brother, and, in their presence, cast out an evil spirit from a deranged girl residing near; and that they should immediately be convinced the work was of God. About the same time, a revelation was made to a neighbouring clergyman, directing him to go and heal a poor cripple, who had for many years been bed-ridden.

Mr. B. in obedience to the revelation, repaired to London, where he was to receive the apostolic endowments. The expected *fortieth day* arrived. At the morning prayer meeting nothing peculiar occurred. At breakfast it was clearly revealed to him, though a stranger to the company, that an unbeliever was present, which he immediately announced. One of the company inquired if it were he? To whom it was replied in the negative. After the conversation became general a voice from the top of the room struck him, and it was shown he was the man. Having mentioned this, the individual confessed it, and showed that the state of his mind had been exactly made known. The day, however, passed without any manifestation of the signs and wonders foretold. Still they expected from day to day to witness the consummation of their fond hopes.

At the close of a large meeting at Mr. Irving's a few days after, a circumstance occurred which created great confusion. A power to utterance came upon an individual, "but instead of distinct words, nothing but muttering followed, and an expression of countenance the most revolting. Almost at the same moment an utterance broke from Mrs. C. and myself, says Mr. Baxter, 'it is an evil spirit.' A thrill of horror passed through the assembly, and presently an utterance came from Mrs. C. 'Rebuke the unclean spirit, and command him to enter no more into him.' The power came on me, and I said, 'in the name of Jesus I adjure thee, thou foul spirit, to come out of the man.' The man continued muttering and speaking nonsense. Again

the command came from Mrs. C. and the power on me, and I used the same words over him again. Lady —, who had before once or twice spoken in power, under an impulse rose up, and stretching her hands towards me, cried out, '*greater is he that is in you than he that is in the world;*' and repeating this several times, sank down on the floor. The muttering and disgusting utterances continued. Mr. Irving suggested '*this kind goeth not forth but with prayer and fasting.*' We were, however, confounded, and the only explanation I could suggest, was that the word of God had gone forth for the expulsion of the evil spirit, and we must rest in faith, that in due time the man would be delivered, and so we parted."

On the next Sabbath Mr. Irving invited Mr. B. to occupy his pulpit, which, deeming himself called to the spiritual ministry, he did not dare to refuse. When the time of service arrived, the spirit, by Miss E. C. forbade this arrangement and he was suffered, much to his relief, to sit among the prophets. During the service, however, a further development of the spiritual ministry occurred.

The visible church and fleshly ministry were already considered as discarded, and an attack was now made on the visible elements in baptism and the Lord's Supper. It was declared that as soon as the spiritual church was fully constituted by the communication of apostolic gifts, which were daily and hourly expected, the spiritual ministers should no longer baptize with water, but with the Holy Ghost and with fire; and that Christ having come spiritually, the mere emblems of his presence would of course be laid aside in the Lord's Supper, according to the text, *As often as ye eat this bread and drink this wine, ye do show forth the Lord's death* UNTIL HE COME. During the service on this day an infant was brought to be baptized. When Mr. Irving took the babe in his arms, and was proceeding to administer the rite in the usual form, an utterance broke from Mr. B. "Jesus receiveth thee into his church thou little one, and baptizeth thee with his Spirit." It was then revealed that this utterance, though he knew not what he was going to say until it broke forth, was to be the form of baptism in the spiritual church. The same thing occurred on a subsequent occasion; though in both cases Mr. Irving proceeded with the usual form, only giving thanks for the utterance, having not yet received the endowments of a spiritual minister.

Mr. Baxter having met with a missionary to our American Indians, who had gone to London with a converted chief, was made to declare that these Indians were the lost ten tribes of Israel, that this chief should then be endowed with power from on high in all signs and mighty wonders, and should be instru-

mental in gathering back the tribes into the holy land, within the three years and a half of the spiritual ministry. Afterwards he went to a Jewish institution, and there reiterated in power this prophecy to the Jews present. He also met with the Indian chief at a public meeting, and was made to address him in a most triumphant chant, as a chosen vessel of God to bring back his brethren. "But afterwards, in conversing with him," says Mr. B. "his countenance and *tout ensemble* were so foreign to my ideas of a Jew, that my confidence was much shaken in my prophecy. But I was soon after relieved by Miss E. C. declaring that the very same revelation was made to her at the same time." This Mr. B. thinks clearly proves that it was the work of an evil spirit, for the subject of the prophecy was new to both of them. This prophecy was a complete failure, for the chief went away an unbeliever, and of course none of the predicted gifts have ever been manifested.

Mr. Baxter's faith was now severely tried. He was weighed down under the delay of the fulfilment of the prophecy concerning the apostolic endowments on the fortieth day; he had heard from his friend who had spoken in the power, and received directions to perform a miracle of healing, in which he had utterly failed. The prophecy about the fortieth day had been noised about the country, and its failure, and that of his friend, had caused his wife and most of the believers in the country to abandon the work as a delusion. Yet he still trusted that God would manifest his mercy and power in the midst of them. He determined with the advice of the gifted persons to return home. At breakfast, at Mr. Irving's, occurred the remarkable closing scene of his ministrations in London. A clergyman from Ireland, an inquirer, was present. "When Mr. Irving began as usual to read a chapter," says Mr. B. "instead of expounding it as before, the power revealed to me that some persons present must depart, for we were assembled at a holy ordinance, to partake of the body and blood of Christ. None going out, I was made again and again more peremptorily to warn, until the clergyman and an aged man a stranger had gone out, when Mr. Irving proceeded in reading, and I was made to expound as usual, greatly to the comfort of all present. After prayer in the power I was made to declare that this was an example of the spiritual ministration of the Lord's Supper, corresponding to that of baptism already mentioned. The opening of the word was the bread, and the indwelling and renewing presence of the Spirit, the wine, and the discerners of spirits would not permit the unbelievers to mingle with the faithful. It is remarkable that when the call for separation was made, the clergymen professed



not in the case for which she was condemned. However explained, the occurrence still involved all of them in lack of discernment, and two at least, in false testimony to her gift. Besides all this, certain distinct and striking predictions he had been made to utter respecting a day of fasting appointed by the government, and now past, had utterly failed of their accomplishment. Moreover, the servant girl, on whom it was declared the miracle of casting out a devil should be performed, was recovered of her derangement and had gone out to service. This, therefore, could never be fulfilled; and on this account was much more staggering to his faith, than the failure of his friend to perform the miracle of healing on the cripple already noticed, which he readily accounted for by the want of faith in the person to be healed.

Notwithstanding this overwhelming evidence of delusion, he dare not still deny the work, as the evidence of its supernatural character seemed so clear, and the testimony to Christ come in the flesh, so full. But then the perplexing difficulty was, that all this was true of the persons now denounced as false prophets! In consistency with his present opinion, that it is all the work of an evil spirit, the writer of course supposes they erred in requiring of the spirit merely a verbal confession of the scriptural test. In confirmation of his hypothesis, he details a most remarkable case, of two children eight or nine years of age, who spoke in wonderful power, setting forth Christ, and preaching with such recital of Scripture, and such power of argument and exhortation, as would surpass many able ministers. They uttered prophecies, denounced judgments, gave commands to their parents and others, and at length forbade to marry. This unscriptural precept opened their parents' eyes, and they determined to try them by the Scriptural test, which they strenuously resisted, denouncing punishment on every such attempt. The father, himself a minister, feared to make the trial. His curate, however, demanded of the spirit a confession that Christ was come in the flesh. "Paleness and agitation increased over them until at length an utterance broke forth 'we will never confess it.' The curate then went on to say, 'I command thee thou false spirit in the name of Jesus to come out,' and as they since described it, a coldness was removed from the heart and passed away. They were then instructed to resist the spirit thenceforth, which they did, and were delivered in time entirely from its influence."

That which was finally made instrumental in opening Mr. Baxter's eyes, was a discovery of the dangerous error of Mr. Irving with regard to the human nature of Christ. This led to a correspondence between him and Mr. Irving, in which the latter,

after careful re-examination of the subject, declared his increased conviction of the correctness of his views, in which Mrs. C. and Miss E. C. fully concurred, and in power declared to be correct and scriptural. To Mr. B. however they were plainly both erroneous and dangerous, and the conclusion unutterably painful as it was, could no longer be resisted, that the utterances supporting these views could not be of the Spirit of God. In this state of mind he visited his brother, who still spoke in the power, and after a full investigation of the whole subject they both concluded, that the whole work was a delusion of Satan. He next visited Mr. Irving, and made an unsuccessful attempt to convince him of his errors. He then showed him the inconsistencies of the utterances, and the total failure of many predictions in so forcible a light, that Mr. Irving and the other abettors of the scheme were obliged to resort to the subterfuge, that the same person might at one time speak under the influence of the Spirit of God, and at another under that of an evil spirit; a very convenient way, certainly, of disposing of contradictions and difficulties of every sort, and not unlike that of the Persian Magi in accounting for the existence of good and evil in the world. It was a little unfortunate, however, for this theory, that it had been repeatedly and explicitly declared in the power by several of the gifted persons, "that God would guard the utterance of his prophets, and they should never be permitted to speak by the power of Satan." When this difficulty was suggested, it was readily met by the assertion that these utterances were misunderstood, and merely meant that God would not suffer his prophets to be under these opposite influences at the same time. This of course reduced them to the necessity of deciding on the origin of each particular utterance, before they could yield credence to it; and none could decide this without the gift of discerning spirits, which none but the prophets, not even Mr. Irving himself, professed to be able to do. This was a sad dilemma, and yet there was no avoiding it.

The utterance now cautiously warned them against having any more intercourse with Mr. B. so that they refused to hear arguments, or discuss the subject at all.

With regard to the utterances in other languages, which have figured so conspicuously in all the previous accounts of this work, the "Narrative" says but little. The author was very little exercised in that gift, and indeed there seems to have been far less stress laid upon this particular manifestation of the power, by the advocates of this delusion, than has commonly been supposed. "On one occasion," says Mr. B. "a sentence in French was vividly set before my mind, and under an impulse to utterance, was

spoken. Then in a little time sentences in Latin were in like manner uttered, and with short intervals sentences in many other languages, judging from the sound, and the different exercise of the enunciating organs. My wife who was present declared some of them to be Italian, and some Spanish. Sometimes single words were given me, sometimes sentences, but never a connected discourse, though I could neither recognise the words nor sentences as any language I knew, except those which were French or Latin. Immediately following this exercise, there came an utterance in English, declaring that the gift of tongues now manifested, was nothing more than that of "the tongue" needing interpretation, manifested formerly in the Corinthian church; but that shortly the Lord would bestow the Pentecostal gift, enabling those who received it to preach in all languages to the nations of the earth."

"My belief now is that it is no language whatever, but a mere collection of words and sentences, and, in the lengthened discourses, is, much of it, a jargon of sounds, though when the power is very great it will assume much of the form of a connected oration. One day, in the Scotch church, when I was prayerfully meditating on the propriety of yielding my tongue to the power of utterance, an utterance broke from Miss E. C. 'yield your tongues to Jesus,' and going on to exhort to an entire resignation to the Spirit of Jesus speaking and dwelling in us. The instances of such obvious discernment of spirits, continues Mr. B. are so numerous as to take away the possibility of their being accidental coincidences. In the case of one individual praying in silence in her own room, in three or four distinct instances, answers were given in power by a gifted person, sitting in the adjoining room. With nearly all the persons with whom I have conversed, who were brought into a belief of the power, instances of obvious discernment of their thoughts, or particular state of mind have been so striking, as to conduce to their recognition of the power."

For a more minute and satisfactory account of these curious occurrences, we must refer our readers to the original work of Mr. Baxter. It is earnestly hoped that this narrative of facts may not only prove satisfactory to the curious, but also enlist the sympathies of every Christian, and induce him, at least occasionally, to remember at a throne of grace, the unhappy subjects of this wild delusion. A circumstance which should tend greatly to increase this feeling is, that they are our brethren, Christian brethren, for some of them at least, previously and even yet, give satisfactory evidence of genuine piety. The little work before us, setting forth as it does with great clearness and

force the failure of prophecies, the contradictions of utterances, and inconsistencies of every kind, and yet all this done in a kind and Christian manner, would seem to be abundantly sufficient to open the eyes of all, unless sealed in seven-fold darkness. And accordingly, we are informed in the preface to the second edition, "that many instances had come to the writer's knowledge of the 'Narrative' being made instrumental in opening the eyes of those under the delusion." And yet the delusion, as we have seen, takes hold of some of the strongest principles of our nature, and combines such an air of plausibility, and such a mixture of truth, as to render its eradication by no means easy. The difficulty, moreover, is greatly enhanced by the exciting nature of the two main doctrines which it supports, the personal reign of Christ on the earth at no distant period, and the previous revival of the supernatural gifts of the Holy Spirit. Indeed so powerful is this cause, that if this particular form of delusion were entirely dispelled, there is great reason to believe some other would very soon spring up in its stead. These opinions have seldom been held, without leading to more or less extravagance and fanaticism. Notwithstanding, therefore, the severe blow given to the cause by the publication of the "Narrative," it still retains pretty firm footing, both in England and Scotland. There are two periodicals which have openly espoused its interests, the "Jewish Expositor" and the "Morning Watch." Great discord, however, prevails among the gifted persons in different parts of the country. Those of Port Glasgow, where the whole work originated, and who are quite numerous, spoke severely against Mr. B. while he was speaking in the power, and are now speaking against Mr. Irving. At Cambridge too, there is one man "who thinks himself called to be an Apostle, and to have arrived at perfection; who sent for a friend some hundreds of miles to impart to him the Holy Ghost by the laying on of his hands: but when he came, and the hands were imposed, the gift did not follow. He also is denounced by Miss E. C.; and himself holds Mr. Irving and the gifted persons in London to be deceived." And yet the work finds many abettors, both secret and open, both ministers and laymen, in retired villages and congregations in different parts of the country; and in some places engrosses no small share of the public attention. Some most remarkable cures, by them of course accounted miraculous, were actually performed by persons acting under the power. One case, so well authenticated as to admit of no question as to its truth, was that of a young lady unable to walk for eight years, perfectly restored, so that at the command of the individual commissioned to work the miracle, she immediately rose and walked

without the slightest pain, and continued perfectly well ever after. For a full account of this extraordinary case, and the interesting discussions to which it gave rise, together with a learned, ingenious, and, we think, satisfactory explanation of all the phenomena on natural principles, we refer our readers to the *Christian Observer* of Nov. 1830, and the Appendix for the same year.

In Oxford, where in one congregation between fifty and sixty persons were so powerfully wrought upon by the power, that on some occasions nearly twenty have been carried out of the church completely prostrated by it, most of the deluded persons have been rescued from their miserable bondage. In London, while many of the leading members have renounced the work, there are still hundreds who are praying and anxiously longing for the gifts of the Spirit; and those who have received these gifts, of whom not more than seven or eight are mentioned in the "*Narrative*," and several of these are now denounced as false prophets, are going on to still wilder fanaticism and grosser absurdity. One of them is avowedly exercising apostolic functions, upon the mere command of the voice, without pretending to have the signs of an apostle; ordaining to the apostolic office in the name of an apostle; laying hands on others, and ordaining them as evangelists and elders, without pretending that the baptism of the Holy Ghost accompanies this laying on of hands, as had been uniformly predicted. For this, however, they are daily praying with solemn appeals to God, whether he is not his apostle. And yet Mr. Irving, as "*angel of the church*," claims authority, even over this apostle. This is strange enough; and yet perhaps not more so, than that which he exercises over those who speak in the power. On one occasion he publicly addressed an individual while speaking, telling her, '*to speak more to the purpose; for the spirits of the prophets were subject to the prophets, and she was speaking beside the question.*' When a man, says Mr. Baxter, can go so far as to suppose that the Spirit of God can speak beside a question, and to be put in remembrance, we may well say, "*what more?*"

It remains yet to be seen, '*whereunto this will grow;*' and also whether it is to be transplanted into *our* soil, so well adapted, as experience proves, to the growth of every wild or fanatical delusion. We have heard of at least one individual in this country, who, though not a *professed* in the work, has yet ventured to defend it, and seems strongly tending towards the belief that it is a work of God. There may be more of this description. Certain it is, that should the doctrine of the personal reign of the Messiah on earth during the latter-day glory of the church, an event which the signs of the times indicate as near at hand, prevail ex-

tensively in this country, its tendency will be by no means hostile to the spread of such extravagant hypotheses and practices; especially among the more illiterate and excitable part of our population. If, however, there be at present any considerable tendency on the part of any number of persons to this particular delusion, the little work of which we have given a condensed view, will certainly prove an efficacious antidote.

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ART. III.—*Memoir of James Brainerd Taylor. By John Holt Rice, D.D., and Benjamin Holt Rice, D.D.* New York: Jocelyn, Darling & Co., 1833.

WE rejoice to see worthy tokens of respect for holiness as an ultimate object. For just in proportion as these multiply, "the regeneration" advances, and the final redemption draws nigh; but as these decrease or become disreputable in the Church, we seem to see other years added to the otherwise plain prophetic numbers, in which the whole creation shall continue to groan in bondage, waiting only for this adoption of the sons of God. How long, how long, ere we shall all duly appreciate and propose to ourselves the simple object, and for the simple reason revealed to us and to our children: *Be ye holy, for I am holy?* It is more, however, in congratulation than in grief, that we now urge this question, having just now risen from the perusal of the work before us, so adapted, we had almost said, divinely adapted, to hasten this consummation of holiness for the sake of God. Holiness for the sake of happiness, expediency, usefulness, is an object good indeed, but only conditionally, comparatively, and relatively. To become and to be holy because God is holy, is itself the chief good; the absolute and ultimate excellence and blessedness to which man can aspire. And it is chiefly because this one principle is so happily exemplified and ingratified by the volume before us, that we value it, and love it, and would commend to higher consideration than it might otherwise claim, or than a brief review can give it. Indeed neither the lamented subject of the Memoir, nor the Rev. authors, have sought in it any higher crown than this, to wit, the one in his life, and the others in their record of it, to rescue *holiness* from its captivity and obeisance, and commend it as "the *great secret* of ministerial efficiency." Understanding this on the principle already expressed: efficiency in a minister's appropriate

work being the accomplishment or result, when holiness, because God is holy, is the reigning motive. "We wish here most deeply to impress it on the minds of all candidates for the ministry, that in this nation, where the Church is thrown on its own resources, no means can support religion, and make it prosperous, without the exemplary holiness of its ministers. Let the saying of Paul be our motto: Follow peace with all men, and holiness without which no man shall see the Lord." This is well. Nothing could be more honourable to themselves in the sight of God, or more relevant to their heavenly purpose. It is the beauty of the Lord our God upon them, and He will establish the work of their hands, yea, *this* work of their hands, He will establish it. This diamond pen shall write *holiness to the Lord* on many vessels of the sanctuary, whose definite purpose, and most efficient qualifications, hitherto have been, or otherwise might be, involved in doubts not a little embarrassing in a daily service like that of the Christian ministry.

We say with confidence it will. Partly, because this is its avowed object. Here, in a sense not much below its highest revealed import, is "confession made unto salvation," coming as it does from men so qualified to rate the causes "of ministerial efficiency," and in an age which so loudly demands the avowal of this as the chief.

It cannot be concealed, that since a public education of the ministry began to prevail in the Church in this country, other excitements have arisen to take the place of those once derived more singly from the aims and the spirit of holiness. That which the unlearned pious feared, has in part befallen us. Colleges, seminaries, and scholarships, diplomas and degrees, have not been sufficiently beholden to eminent holiness for their elevation in the Church, to make it natural for them to crown it with their highest honours, or to aspire to it as their chief glory and support in future. In nearly all our institutions of learning, their general plans and arrangements we mean, who fails to observe either a studied neglect or a neglected study of the means of eminent holiness—considered either as the chief end, or the chief means of efficiency in useful life? We refer to this fact now, simply to set forth, in its just relief, the true character of the Memoir before us in this one particular. Amid the discouragements occasioned by the facts alluded to, it was holy heroism in a youth just from the counter of mammon and the court of fashion, to begin, continue, and close a course that should remain to be recorded as a worthy illustration of the principle already repeated; and that men having the vantage ground of literary and theological seminaries, and their highest honours

themselves to stand upon, should venture their claims to the influence and the rewards of authorship, in the avowed defence of this principle, is an additional fact, that justifies our special hosanna to Him who has thus taught their hands to war and their fingers to fight.

But their claims to be read, respected, and imitated, rest on more substantial merits than the mere professing of an holy object, though that object be holiness itself; and though it be professed at the hazard of having their book, on that very account, laid aside unread and unhonoured by many whose opinion might add to their earthly interests and fame. The subject of the Memoir *attained* the object thus avowed in holy faith, both by himself and his biographers. And these last succeed in showing us *how* he attained it; insomuch that every faithful reader of the book finds himself, as he proceeds, either labouring or rejoicing under fresh convictions, that *eminent holiness is attainable on earth*; and that without this attainment, nothing truly eminent and efficient can be achieved. These convictions come not, however, from reading any mere review of the Memoir. Biographies are a class of composition, in one sense, entirely independent of all reviews. To trace the blended lineaments of another's life upon the memory and leave a fair impression of the various motives therein developed, on the judgment and the heart, is the part of the *biographer* himself; as it is to painture, rather than the descriptive art, that we owe our most accurate and affecting recollection or impression of the features and expression of a countenance, now absent, or never seen. We, therefore, commend this volume to notice as we would recommend some special seal or signet. Its design, as we have seen, is to seal an image or impression of *holiness* on the very ground-work of the soul, and to cover the whole, so that it shall become the characteristic of the child of God.

The class or classes of persons for whose use it is especially adapted, remain now to be considered. It is "affectionately inscribed to students of theology in the seminaries of the United States, and to the christian church generally."

So far as a mere inscription gives a work its destination to any particular class of readers, we could wish the volume before us had been inscribed, also, particularly to two other classes of youth: for to them does the *providence of God* seem to have sent the life of James B. Taylor, as remarkably as to students of theology and the church at large; we mean students in academies, high schools, and colleges, of whatever individual or professional character. So rare is such a life as his, during these preparatory studies, and so seldom do those engaged in them find books *born*, if we may so



speak, into their own family, that it seems somewhat like a pious *fraud* to divert, in any way, the influence of such lives and such books to any other class of readers whatever. But, though apparently forgotten in the inscription, the following extract will show that this class of students, and their peculiar wants, are rightfully remembered elsewhere:

"On the 13th of January 1820, Mr. Taylor arrived at Lawrenceville, and began a course of study preparatory to his entering college. A young man, in this situation, is exposed to temptations which require much vigilance and care; otherwise his religious interests will suffer, and while he is growing in knowledge he will be declining in piety. A new, dry, and difficult study at once occupies and harasses the mind. If there is an ardent thirst for knowledge, and any waking up of ambition and rivalry, the attention is so engrossed, that little opportunity is found for prayer and that devotional reading of the Scriptures, which is indispensable to one's growth in holiness. And if religious exercises afford high enjoyment, there is great danger lest the young student should go from them to his daily studies with reluctance, and, in process of time, with feelings of disgust. Besides, a promiscuous school of twenty or thirty boys, lodging in the same or neighbouring buildings, has a spirit generally unfavourable to religious improvement. Their petty jealousies, their occasional dissatisfactions, the general levity of boys, and a thousand things of this kind, operate injuriously. And it happens, sometimes at least, that a young man enters college with less of the spirit which becomes a minister of Christ than he carried with him to the grammar school.

"If then an example can be shown of one who went through these dangers without injury; and if it can be shown by what means he grew in grace, while others in similar circumstances often decline, this part of James Taylor's memoir may be useful to numbers, in whose high toned and fervent piety the church and the world have a deep interest."  
—p. 29.

Again, at the commencement of his "life in college," Mr. Taylor was examined and admitted a member of the sophomore class in the college of Nassau Hall, where he remained three years. When the end designed to be accomplished by this Memoir is remembered, this will probably appear to be the most important period of Mr. Taylor's life.

"It can hardly have escaped the observation of those who are interested in the spiritual prosperity of the church, that there is in our literary institutions, arising from the character of the studies, and from almost necessary associations, what may be called the college spirit, the *esprit du corps*, which is very unfavourable to the attainment of a high toned piety. On this important subject, the life of Mr. Taylor sheds a cheering light, which shows that it is altogether practicable to

pass through those trying scenes, not only without losing one's spirituality, but with large accessions to his stores of self-knowledge, and of holy devotedness to God, and to the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom."

To whom, then, does this Memoir come, as a natural inheritance, with more appropriate and impressive tokens, or with better promises, than to students in preparatory schools and colleges? Not to possess it, not to read it, not to hand its memory down to each successive class, would argue in any college, high school, or academy, an indifference but too significant, to the best endowments that heaven can bestow upon them. This suggestion will not be thought either arrogant or extravagant by any who have faithfully tried the influence of the Memoir itself.

But there are indeed special reasons why this work should be inscribed to students of theology, or rather why it should be especially read and most solemnly pondered by them. These we shall give chiefly in the language of the book itself, premising, however, more distinctly that these reasons are *here* presented, not by way of argument in relation to the deficiencies in ministerial or Christian character alluded to in them, but purposely and solely to induce the reader to weigh well the *whole argument* on these points, contained in the Memoir itself, the life, the letters, the diary, and the death.

He will find, in the first place, an answer, constantly accumulating in interest and strength as he proceeds, to this question: "How may I do the greatest possible good?"

"This is a question that frequently presses with mighty force on the conscience. But the directions ordinarily given to questions of this kind, very commonly fail to produce the desired effect. A clear exhibition of the manner, the temper, the spirit of one, who, in a very short life, was eminently useful, and made a powerful impression wherever he went, may show the young what they must be, and how they must act, in order to accomplish the same valuable results."—*Intr.*

The student of theology may also expect to find in this Memoir, much that is clear and convincing, and of thrilling interest on another question, more nearly allied to the last, than many who desire the office of a bishop can be persuaded to believe.

"There is a very wide difference between the desire for the sacred office which carries a man through eight years of preparatory study, and that vain and eager wish to be recognised by the church as a teacher, which urges raw, undisciplined lads, in the *noviciate* of their religion, to seek this sacred office. Other qualifications, than a fierce

and fiery zeal, are called for in a minister of the religion of Christ. He who teaches religion, has to teach persons of all classes; the master-spirits of the nation, who expect justness and force of thought, propriety of language, enlarged and liberal views, united with "the meekness of heavenly wisdom:" and the uninstructed poor, who need that the truth should be set forth in terms so clear and familiar that they cannot be mistaken. The art consists merely in setting the subject so plainly and distinctly before the people, that every one shall think that he can see it *himself*. But it requires much intellectual discipline to enable a public speaker to do this.

"The conclusion to which, after all my observation on this subject, I have been obliged to come, is, that he who hurries into the office of the ministry, and takes on himself its fearful responsibilities, without very careful preparation, gives a very decisive evidence that he has not been called by Christ, although he may be sent by man."

Thus far the venerated man who commenced the Memoir, and whose voice in this book come to us as from his place of final rest.

Is not this testimony worth preserving? Yes, let the whole paragraph, from which the above is but a meagre extract, be *embalmed* in the most spicy and spiritual feelings of every youthful aspirant for the ministry; and, in connexion with it, the remarkable experience, and these remarkable words of James B. Taylor, in the day of his temptation on the same momentous question:

"I am more contented with my situation and prospects, and more settled in mind than I was at one period. I see more clearly than ever that I have a great work before me, and one that needs *great preparation*. Since I commenced study you know that I have been much tried on account of the length of my course. I was anxious to *get out*. But I am now thankful to God that he did not let me go, for had I gone, what should I have done? At one time I felt it my duty to go forth as a preacher immediately; at another, to curtail my allotted course. I now look forward to a complete course as I did at first." In another place he says: "I had like to have been ruined at that time;" and in another, "I can now only confess my error, and assure my friends that in all this case, I was actuated by a sincere desire for the glory of God, the good of my soul and the souls of others. It was my short-sightedness, my inexperience, and want of deeper and more thorough investigation which occasioned my precipitate determination." The compiler adds that he "has been thus particular in the statement of this affair, because he heard from his young friend a full account of his precipitate decision, and knows that it was an object of his earnest wishes, that young candidates for the ministry might be put on their guard against the dangers to which they are exposed."

To these topics of peculiar interest to the students, we cannot forbear to add the following which, with many others which our

limits forbid us even to name, will be found discussed and illustrated in a manner most deeply affecting to all classes, be they only such as, like Paul, desire to forget the things that are behind, and to press forward to those that are before. For example, from one of the letters we extract the following:

"Why may not you be an *uncommon Christian*? Do you see any thing to prevent it? I said that the 15th of September, 1816, was and ever will be an eventful era to me. But there is another day to which I shall ever recur with as much, if not more interest. It was the 23d of last April. On that day the Lord wrought a deeper work of grace in my soul than at any former period. Yes, blessed be his holy name forever! He condescended to bestow a favour for which I had been longing for years, the *witness* of which I have enjoyed daily ever since."—p. 85.

"The reader cannot have failed to notice the high-toned and devoted piety of Mr. Taylor, as manifested in all his correspondence, and may well inquire by what means he made such attainments in spirituality? To this question the answer is perfectly obvious," &c.—p. 17.

Closely allied to this, is another, which may very justly invite to a perusal of the volume under consideration.

"This subject is urged in this manner, because the unhappy dispute which has arisen on the subject of *perfection*, has been so managed, as to induce in many the belief that doubt, despondency, and occasional gloom, are important evidences of Christian character."—p. 80.

A sufficient index to another motive to peruse this Memoir may be found in the following:

"It may, therefore, be useful to show that one whose heart was very much devoted to the work of the Lord, was, in every proper sense of the word, a true gentleman. Not indeed stiffly and formally polite, but abundant in all the kind and gentle attentions, which show a heart keenly alive to the comfort, even in minute particulars, of all around him."—p. 5.

On some questions involved in the education of poor and pious young men for the ministry of reconciliation, a subject that soon or late must become identified in the hearts of Christians with the command to "go into all the world and preach the gospel," there is a relevancy and force in some remarks contained in this volume, not a little remarkable. The reader will not begrudge his purchase money, when he shall have come to p. 26, where he will find an answer to the objection, "that poor young men are taken from the plough and the workshop, and introduced into a profession, which places them on a level with the

*best society,"* and where the nature and design of education societies are examined with reference to the "spirit of our civil institutions."

The manner in which many miscellaneous questions in casuistry are also settled in this book, is no trifling reason why it should not only be read, but why it should be made a familiar companion and counsellor, in a great variety of the more common and unguarded circumstances of life. For example,

"At evening devotion, had a singular exercise. While singing, my soul thirsted for a blessing. The thought suddenly entered my mind; 'If you neglect your tea, you may obtain the blessing which you seek.' I inquired, whence is this? Is it from God, or from the devil? But I concluded, that the Lord's blessing came not by a purchase of mine, and therefore that he could as well bless me then as afterwards; and I determined to throw myself at his feet and ask his favour, and thus defeat the adversary who was ready to cheat me out of a blessing. My Father smiled upon me, the work of grace was deepened, and my soul fed on manna from above."

We close this imperfect notice of one of the most holy and unexceptionable books we ever read, with a single extract, designed, as it is singularly adapted, merely to set the edge of appetite for more in the same spirit, on the subject of *death*:

"In contemplating my latter end, the question arose, what inscription would you have on your tombstone? and in thought I answered,

"Here lies ———. A sinner, born again; a sinner, washed, and justified, and sanctified. A sinner, once an heir of hell, a child of the devil by wicked works; but *by grace* a child of God, and an heir of heaven, a miracle of grace, deserving all the miseries of the second death; and yet an expectant of endless glory and felicity. Farewell earth, welcome heaven. I am nothing; Jesus is *all*."

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ART. IV.—*The Catechism of the Council of Trent. Published by command of Pope Pius the Fifth; translated into English, by the Rev. J. Donovan, Professor, &c. Royal College, Maynooth. First American, from the Dublin edition. Baltimore: published by James Myres, near the Cathedral, 1833. pp. 551.*

THE title would seem to import that the Catechism here brought into view, is the work of the Council of Trent; but we are in-

formed in the preface by the editor, that this is not the fact; but it has received this denomination from the circumstance, that the fathers of this synod made a decree, that such a work should be prepared, and appointed the persons who were judged fit to undertake it. A translation of this decree is prefixed to the volume now under review in the following words:

“That the faithful may approach the sacraments with greater reverence and devotion, the Holy Synod commands all bishops not only to explain in a manner accommodated to the capacity of the receivers, the nature and use of the sacraments, when they are to be administered by themselves; but also to see that every pastor piously and prudently do the same, in the vernacular language, should it be necessary and convenient. This exposition is to accord with a form prescribed by the Holy Synod for the administration of the sacraments, in a Catechism, *which bishops will take care to have faithfully translated into the vernacular language, and expounded to the people by all pastors.*”

The execution of this work, under the superintendence of the archbishop of Milan, was committed to four persons, three of whom were of the episcopal order. When completed it was presented to Pius the Fifth, and by him handed over for revision to a congregation, over which presided Cardinal Sirtet, who is here characterised as “profound and judicious.” The style, we are informed, was retouched by the learned Manutius; or, according to others, received its last improvement from the classic pen of Bogianus; and was speedily translated into the languages of Italy, France, Germany, and Poland. It is a book, undoubtedly, on which great pains were bestowed; and it has ever been in high esteem with the Romanists of every class. Whether the English translation here presented to the public has been faithfully made from the original, we have no opportunity of judging, as we have not been able to lay our hands upon the original work. The only circumstance which has excited a suspicion that some things have been omitted, is, that a citation which we have met with in a late author, cannot be found in this volume. This may, however, be a mere mistake; we mean not to bring any charge of unfaithfulness against the editor. Upon a careful perusal of this Catechism, candour constrains us to acknowledge, that it contains more evangelical truth than we had expected to find; but at the same time it contains the errors of Popery, exhibited without disguise. Our object, in this review, is not to travel over the whole ground of controversy, which would require volumes, instead of a few pages, but to confine our attention to a single point, namely, the doctrine of transubstantiation. On many other points, it is a matter of uncertainty,

or at least of disputation, what the Romanists really do hold; but here they avow their belief, and profess to hold all that their opponents have ever charged upon them. Here then the parties are fairly at issue; and as this doctrine is considered by them to be fundamental, and as this single error deeply affects their whole system, it will probably answer a better purpose to assault this strong-hold, than to run over the long list of errors which have been charged upon that degenerate church. If we should succeed in demolishing this single error, it would go far towards the subversion of their whole system. Our object is to treat this subject calmly and dispassionately, without having recourse to ridicule, sarcasm, or declamation; and much less to abusive epithets. We are of opinion, that the controversy with Roman Catholics, as with all other persons, should be conducted with a spirit of meekness and benevolence. Truth needs no poisoned weapons for her defence; truth deprecates such weapons, because they can be successfully wielded by the advocates of error. We feel ourselves bound, however, to strip this monstrous error bare, and to hold it up to the view of all reasonable and impartial men, as an absurdity, which never had among men a parallel. But while we shall endeavour to exhibit this incredible dogma in its true features of deformity, we will carefully avoid using any arguments or illustrations which appear to us fallacious or sophistical. What we principally fear is, that most of our readers will think that we use too many arguments, and dwell too long in the refutation of an opinion, which needs only to be distinctly proposed, to be rejected as an incredible thing. But let it be considered, that this error has struck its roots very deep, and is supported by all the influence of superstition, and by the authority of a power supposed to be infallible. We intend to make no appeal to those termed fathers; not because we believe that a fair construction of all that they have written would be unfavourable to our cause, but because we view them to be erring and fallible men like ourselves, to whose opinions we are under no obligation to submit. Our appeal is to reason and Scripture; and in the light of these, we hope to make it appear, that the doctrine of transubstantiation involves so many gross absurdities, that in order to believe it, a man must first take leave of his reason and common sense.

But let us hear from their own authorised formularies, what their doctrine is. In the Catechism now under review, we have the following explanation:

“The Eucharist becomes a sacrament by the sole consecration of the elements. In the material elements of which the other sacraments are composed, no change takes place; in baptism, for instance, the

water, in confirmation the chrism, lose not in their administration the nature of water and oil, but in the eucharist, that which before consecration was bread and wine, became after consecration really and substantially the body and blood of our Lord.”—p. 197.

Again,

“The Catholic Church firmly believes, and openly professes, that in this sacrament, the words of consecration accomplish three things; First, that the true and real body of Christ, the same that was born of the virgin, and is now seated at the right hand of the Father in heaven, is rendered present in the holy eucharist. Secondly, that however repugnant it may appear to the dictates of the senses, no substance of the elements remains in the sacrament. Thirdly, a natural consequence from the two preceding, and one which the words of consecration also express, that the accidents which present themselves to the eyes, or other senses, exist in a wonderful and ineffable manner, without a subject. The accidents of bread and wine we see, but they inhere in no substance, and exist independent of any. The substance of the bread and wine is so changed into the body and blood of our Lord, that they altogether cease to be the substance of bread and wine.”—p. 207.

The decree of the Council of Trent, on this subject, is in the following words:

“Since Christ our Redeemer has said, that that was truly his own body which he offered under the appearance of bread, it has therefore always been believed in the Church of God, and it is now again declared by this holy Council, that by the consecration of the bread and wine, there is effected a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of Christ our Lord, and the whole substance of the wine into the substance of his blood, which conversion is fitly termed by the holy Catholic Church, transubstantiation.”—*Con. Tred. Sess. xiii. c. iv.*

Again, -

“If any one shall deny, that in the most holy sacrament of the eucharist, there are entertained truly, really, and substantially, the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity, of our Lord Jesus Christ; or say, that he is in it only as a sign or figure or by his influence, let him be anathema.

“If any one shall say, that in the adorable sacrament of the eucharist, the substance of the bread and wine remains, together with the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ [referring to the consubstantiation of the Lutherans] and shall deny the wonderful and singular conversion of the whole substance of the bread into his body, and the whole substance of wine into his blood, the appearance only of bread and wine remaining, which conversion the Catholic Church most properly calls transubstantiation, let him be anathema.



“If any one shall deny that in the adorable sacrament of the eucharist, a separation being made, the whole Christ is contained in each element or species, in the separate parts of each element or species, let him be anathema.

“This conversion then is so effectuated, that the whole substance of the bread and wine is changed by the power of God, into the whole substance of the body of Christ, and the whole substance of the wine, into the whole substance of his blood, and this without any change in our Lord himself, he is neither begotten, nor changed, nor increased, but remains entirely, and substantially the same.”—*Cat. Con. Trent.* p. 215.

Again,

“Our Lord is not in the sacrament as in a place. The substance of bread is changed into the substance of Christ, not into magnitude or quality.” “As then the body of our Lord succeeds to the substance, the body of our Lord is contained whole and entire, under the least particle of the bread.”

“We have already proved, that the body and blood of our Lord are really and truly contained in the sacrament, therefore contrary to the physical laws, subsist of themselves, inhering in no subject.”

The doctrine of the Romanists by which the laity are restricted in the participation of the eucharist, to one kind, is also distinctly stated in the Catechism of the Council of Trent.

“The law of the Church restricts its administration under both kinds to any but the officiating priest, unless by special permission of the Church. Christ, it is true, as has been explained by the Council of Trent, instituted and administered to his apostles, at his last supper, this great sacrament under both kinds, but it does not follow of necessity that by doing so he established a law rendering its administration to the faithful under both kinds imperative.”

The reasons assigned for this departure from the example of our Saviour in the original institutions are, 1. That the Scriptures often speak of it under one kind. 2. This practice is necessary to avoid accident or indignity. 3. By this means it may always be in readiness for the sick. 4. There are many who cannot bear the taste or smell of wine. 5. In many places wine is extremely scarce. 6. Finally and chiefly, it was so ordered to crush the heresy, which denied that Christ, whole and entire, is contained under either species.

The doctrine of the sacrifice and adoration of the mass, is also explicitly declared.

“The difference between the eucharist as a sacrament and sacrifice, is very great; and is two-fold. As a sacrament, it is perfected by consecration; as a sacrifice, all its efficacy consists in the oblation. When

deposited in a tabernacle or borne to the sick, it is a sacrament, not a sacrifice. As a sacrament, it is to the worthy receiver a source of merit; as a sacrifice, it is not only a source of merit, but of satisfaction. It is never offered to any but God."—p. 231.

We have now seen what is the avowed doctrine of the Romanists, respecting the eucharist; in other cases they often complain, that their opinions are misrepresented by Protestant writers; but on this point, there is no such charge. They explicitly profess their belief in all that has ever been attributed to them. This is one reason why we have selected this particular dogma for the subject of our argument: there is here a fair issue formed, and there is no medium between the absolute truth and falsehood of the opinion which they hold. In the consecration of the bread and wine in the eucharist, these material substances are actually and really, by a stupendous miracle, converted into the flesh and blood of Christ; so that they are no longer bread and wine; although the sensible properties of bread and wine remain, yet these accidents exist without a subject: for what is eaten or drunk is truly the body of Christ, and the substance of the bread and wine no longer exists. This is the doctrine, concerning the meaning of which there is no dispute: nor concerning the name, for the Council of Trent has declared that it is "properly and fitly" called "transubstantiation."

We now beg the earnest and impartial attention of our readers to the following observations.

1. It cannot be denied, that there is something very extraordinary in the doctrine of the Romanists. There is nothing in the Bible which has the least analogy to it. In all other cases when miracles were wrought, the appeal was made to the senses of the people; but, here we are called upon to believe, that a miracle is wrought, when the testimony of the senses is in direct opposition to the fact. A piece of bread, made out of wheaten flour, lies upon the table. It is admitted, that it is what it appears to be, bread, and nothing else. But as soon as the priest pronounces the words "*hoc est meum corpus*"—*this is my body*, we are told, that the bread is changed, or transubstantiated, into the body of Christ: but after the pronunciation of these words, the substance on the table remains the same so far as our senses can judge. The appearance is the same to the sight; the weight is the same, if it be tried in a balance; all the chemical properties will be found the same upon analysis; the feeling is the same when handled; and the smell is the same. It is admitted, that there is no sensible change; no change of any kind, which we can discern. Now, we say, that there is nothing analogous to this in all the hundred of miracles recorded in the Bible. And before it is received as a fact, there

must be strong evidence, indeed, if any evidence can be sufficient, to produce a rational faith, in direct contradiction to the testimony of all the senses.

2. But, if there is such a change of the bread and wine into the flesh and blood of Christ, why are the properties of the bread and wine left to impose on our senses? What reason can be assigned why the evidence of the miracle, as in all other cases, is not made manifest? The only reason which we have ever heard assigned for this very extraordinary and unique case, is, that it serves to increase the mystery of the sacrament, and renders the faith which receives the truth, more mysterious. This, however, is an explanation which receives not the least countenance from Scripture. God never, in any other recorded case, dealt thus with his people; but where he works a miracle, he makes it evident to the senses of all who are his witnesses; and why is there a departure from this rule, here? If, on the third day after the crucifixion, the body of Christ had remained in the tomb, an apparently lifeless corpse, and the disciples had been informed, that notwithstanding this appearance of death, he was alive and had left the tomb, as he had predicted, it would be an analogous case. But if we were obliged to resort to such an invisible miracle; and not only invisible, but absolutely contradicted by the senses of all, what a triumph would have been afforded to the enemies of Christ! and what a theme for ridicule and triumph! If such had been the case in regard to the resurrection of Christ, his religion would never have survived a single year; yet it might be said, that the mystery would have been greater, and our faith more meritorious. It is a false principle, that God creates mysteries to astound his creatures with their incomprehensible nature, where there is no need of them. All the mysteries of revelation arise from the nature of the subject, or rather from the limited capacity of the human intellect. If a miracle is wrought, why should it not appear to be what it really is? If that bread is no longer bread but flesh, why does it not appear to be flesh? This change of substance, while the properties or accidents remain, has too much the appearance of deception. It is unworthy of the God of truth thus to deal with his creatures. He gave us our senses, and so formed us, that we cannot but credit their testimony; and to suppose, that he would place us in circumstances, in which we are required to believe that their information is false, is to subject his creatures to a dilemma, in which they must either act absurdly or wickedly. If we believe our own senses, we must be of opinion that that substance on the table is still bread; but according to the religion of Romanists, thus to believe is a damnable sin; for this which appears to be bread, is really the

flesh of Christ. And why, we ask again, are we subjected to this great difficulty? Why does not the element manifest its true nature, by its properties? Why does not the miracle appear evidently, as in all other cases? To these inquiries no satisfactory answer has been given, or can be given.

3. This is not all. The thing proposed to our faith, seems to be impossible. Different collections of material elements, forming bodies of various kinds, are distinguished from each other by their properties. Flesh has properties which make it flesh; and the same is true of bread. Now to assert that flesh has lost all the properties which constituted it flesh, and possesses all the properties which belong to bread, and yet remains flesh and not bread, is a contradiction. It is a thing impossible. It is the same as to say, it ceases to be flesh, and yet is flesh. It has all that which constitutes bread, and yet is not bread. The notion of properties subsisting without a subject, is repugnant to common sense, and involves a manifest contradiction. What is a property or accident? It is that which inheres in some subject, and by which it is what it is; but to talk of properties without a subject, is absolute nonsense. It is an absurdity which never could have gained footing, except in the dark ages, and under the influence of the false philosophy of the schoolmen. We know nothing of essence or substance but by its properties, and when we perceive them to exist, we are, from the constitution of our nature, obliged to believe, that the substance is what these properties manifest it to be. But here it will be asked, do you deny the power of the Almighty to uphold accidents where there is no subject? We answer, that God is not honoured by attributing to him absurdities and contradictions. Omnipotence can perform whatever is an object of power; but to cause the same thing to be and not to be, at the same time, is not a possible or conceivable thing; so, to create or uphold properties or accidents without a substance to which they belong, is impossible, because it involves a contradiction, as will appear whenever we attentively consider the import of the terms. For what is a property or accident? A property, as the word imports, is that which belongs to something; but if it belongs to nothing, it is no property; and the same is true of every other term by which qualities are expressed. The very idea of their self-existence without a subject, is contradictory. This block is extended, inert and divisible into parts: these are some of its properties, but can there be such properties created without a subject; or where the substance is changed, is it possible that the properties can remain unchanged? We feel mortified to be under the necessity of arguing such a plain matter of common sense; but our adversaries

are pertinacious in regard to this very point; for unless they can maintain themselves here, the whole fabric of transubstantiation must fall. We must be indulged, therefore, in some further illustrations. Matter and spirit are believed to be essentially distinct, because their invariable properties are not only distinct but incompatible. God could easily change one substance into another, and give to matter the properties of spirit; but to make no change in the properties of matter, and yet to make it spirit, is impossible, because it attributes to the same substance qualities manifestly incompatible. If this doctrine however be true, the substance of a stone might be changed into an intelligent mind, and yet the inertness, solidity, and extension of the stone remain as before. Here is a dark heavy piece of ore; now, as God can create worlds without any pre-existing material, so he could change this opaque body into a sun or star; but suppose the question to be, can God transubstantiate this substance into a bright luminous body, and without sensible weight, while it continued to possess all its former properties, of being opaque, heavy, &c.? Every man of common sense would say, it is impossible for this to be, because it involves a contradiction. But what if it were made an article of faith, that this lumpish stone was now changed into a brilliant star, although, to our senses, it still had all the properties of stone? Would not every man say, it is absurd to require us to believe in such a proposition? He would say, I am sure it is not so, for I see it to be the very same it was before you say the change in its substance took place. He takes it in his hand, and says, that which I thus handle cannot be a star; a star is a body of vast magnitude, but this is so small that I can grasp it in my hand; a star is a beautiful, luminous body, but this is a dark and unsightly lump of ore. To which, upon the principles of our opponents, it might be replied, you must not, in this case, trust your senses; God is able to change the substance of this stone into a star, and yet all the accidents of the stone may remain as before; and as his word declares that such a change has occurred, you must, on pain of damnation, believe the divine declaration. This is as precisely analogous to the case of transubstantiation, as any thing we can imagine. It would not be more unreasonable to insist, (nor half as much so) that the stone which you hold in your hand is a brilliant star of the first magnitude, as to believe, that the small wafer of bread which the priest puts in your mouth, is the whole body of Christ; and not merely his flesh and blood, but his "soul and divinity." It would be in vain to allege, that a small lump of matter could not be a star, because the properties of the stone might be said to remain, while the substance was changed; and

although to our senses it appeared to be nothing but a stone, yet under these sensible properties, there lay concealed the substance of a brilliant star. For thus they pertinaciously insist, that although this wafer has, after consecration, all the properties of bread, and this liquid in the chalice has all the sensible properties of wine, which it ever had; yet, by the exertion of divine power, a great miracle is wrought every time the eucharist is celebrated, and the bread and wine are converted into the flesh and blood of the Lord Jesus Christ. True, it is admitted, that we perceive nothing of flesh; but we must believe that our senses deceive us, and that that which, to our sight and taste and touch and smell, seems to be a thin cake of wheaten bread, is really the flesh and blood of the Son of God.

4. The very action which this doctrine of transubstantiation supposes to be performed by every believing communicant, is one which is shocking to all the unadulterated feelings of human nature. The idea of feasting on human flesh is so abhorrent to our nature, that most people think they would rather perish with hunger, than preserve life by such unnatural food. This natural abhorrence of devouring our own species, has for a long time rendered the world exceedingly incredulous about the existence of cannibalism. To the disgrace of our kind, the proof of the fact has become now too strong to admit of any further doubt; but still, when we read the narrative of the shocking feasts of the New Zealanders, it thrills us with horror, and our blood seems to be curdled in our veins. Now, to suppose that God would ordain, that the flesh and blood assumed by his own eternal Son, should be eaten and drunk daily, and that too as a part of our most solemn worship, is a thing so incredible in itself, that we doubt whether any evidence that can be conceived is sufficient to render it so probable, that in opposition to this strong instinctive or natural aversion, we should receive it as a truth, and as an essential part of the service which God requires. It is true, our Lord spoke familiarly to the Jews about eating his flesh and drinking his blood, and declared such a manducation of his body as essential to eternal life; but he could not have been here speaking of the eucharist, of which sacrament no intimation had yet been given. And surely Christ could not have discoursed to the Jews about an ordinance of which they could not have had the least idea. His words did, however, contain a prediction of the violent death which he knew he should die, and by which his body would be broken, and his blood poured out. As the Jews called for a sign from heaven, and referred to the bread which their fathers received in the wilderness, Christ took occasion to let them know, that the manna, concerning

which they spoke, was a lively type of himself; that he was the true bread which came down from heaven; and to teach the necessity of faith in himself, he insists on the necessity of eating his flesh and drinking his blood, in order to eternal life. As the manna kept the people alive only by being eaten, so a participation, by faith, of his atonement, was necessary to the salvation of men. Often Christ discoursed to the Jews, who were malignantly watching him, in a highly figurative manner; sometimes, that he might lead them on to a conclusion by which they condemned themselves; and at other times in just judgment for their perverseness, "that hearing they might hear and not understand, and seeing they might see and not perceive." The Jews had no idea of what Christ meant by eating his flesh and drinking his blood; and some of them understood his words literally; but they were not agreed in their interpretation of them, for it is written, "The Jews therefore strove among themselves saying, how can this man give us his flesh to eat?" Our Lord, knowing their true character, gave them no further explanation, but extended his former declaration, "Verily verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day." When, however, he perceived that they were offended with what he had said, as entertaining some gross and carnal idea of his doctrine, to leave them without excuse, he intimated to them with sufficient plainness, that his language was not to be interpreted according to the literal meaning. "It is," said he, "the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing; the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life." Now after this lucid exposition of the general import of this discourse, for any now to insist upon a literal interpretation, of eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the Son of man, is to be more blind than the unbelieving Jews; for it is not probable, that any of them were so stupid as to suppose, that Christ meant nothing more by these expressions than an actual manducation of his flesh and blood; for they knew the law well enough to understand, that all drinking of blood was forbidden, and the reason of the prohibition would apply to human blood with tenfold force. It would be just as reasonable to suppose, that because Christ calls himself a shepherd, and speaks of his sheep of different folds, that he actually was engaged in tending a flock of sheep; yea, that he promised to sheep literally, a kingdom. Or, that he was really a door, or a vine; or that the Holy Spirit, whom he promised to believers, was "a well of water." There would be more excuse for having recourse to these words, to prove the

fact that Christ's body must be eaten and his blood drunk, if he had not precluded every gloss of the kind, by asserting that "the flesh profiteth nothing." As much as to say, if you could literally become partakers of my flesh, that could not profit you; and again, "The words I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life." What can this mean, but this, that his words were to be interpreted spiritually; and that under the figure of eating his flesh and blood, he had represented spiritual blessings, connected with eternal life, which would be procured by his death and sufferings, and be made to nourish unto eternal life all who would believe in his name.

5. "The flesh profiteth nothing." There is much in these words deserving our attention; and which has a direct bearing on this subject. The eating of any flesh can have no effect to invigorate the spiritual life of the soul. Christ's body, although perfectly free from all the defilements of sin, consisted of particles of matter, otherwise it would not have been a body; and his body was derived from his mother by the power of the Holy Ghost, by whose operation it was produced, otherwise it would not have been a human body. Some heretics of old, and some enthusiasts of modern times, imagined that Christ did not receive his body from his mother, but that the matter of which it consisted was celestial, and passed through the womb of Mary, as water through a tube; but all such opinions have ever been rejected by every branch of the Catholic Church, and by the Romanists as well as others. Now, the body of Christ being material, his flesh formed and configured, like the flesh of other human bodies; and his blood also material, and of the same qualities as the blood of other men, except that his whole body was uncontaminated with the stain of original or actual sin; it plainly follows, that however the flesh of such a body might, upon the principles of nutrition, invigorate or sustain the life of the body, it could not possibly, by being carnally eaten, promote the health and purity of the immortal soul. If a man should eat nothing else but the flesh of Christ, and drink nothing else but his blood all his life, it would never improve the moral qualities of the immortal soul. The argument which our Lord uses so forcibly, to prove that that which enters into a man's stomach cannot defile his soul, is founded on the same principle as the one which we are now using. Material causes cannot directly affect the mind, either to purify or defile it. We cannot see, therefore, that the mere eating of the flesh of Christ's body, and drinking his material blood, could in itself, *ex opere operati*, have any more effect to produce or increase spiritual life, than the flesh and blood of any other person. We do not deny, however, that



God can institute a connexion between external acts and the communication of his grace: and if he had made eating Christ's flesh a means of grace, or the channel through which he communicated spiritual life, this act would stand precisely on the same footing with other ordinances; the efficacy of which depends, not on the act performed, but on the blessing of God, which can give efficacy to that which has none in itself. But is it probable, is it credible, that God would ever institute such an ordinance as this, by which we are bound, on pain of the loss of salvation, to devour the flesh of the Son of God?

6. Another view of this subject, connected with what has been said, is, if the bread is converted into the flesh of Christ, and is eaten, and enters through the *æsophagus* into the stomach, and is there subjected to the process of digestion, it is a matter of real and serious difficulty to know what becomes of it. By a miracle it may immediately be carried away, before the process of digestion commences; but then it may be asked, what good is effected by eating it? Or it may be digested like other food, and assimilated into the body of the participant; but then the body of every believing communicant would contain as a constituent part of itself the whole body and blood; yea, the soul and divinity of the Son of God. This would be incorporating Christ with his disciples, not by a spiritual and mystical union, but by a gross corporal and physical union. The remaining alternative, which is, that the body of Christ received into the stomach, turns with other parts of unassimilated food to corruption, presents an idea so gross, and indeed blasphemous, that we are sure no one would ever think of entertaining it. Now, it may be said in reply, that this is curiously to pry into mysteries which are inscrutable, and that all observations of the kind here made are impious. If so, the whole blame must rest on the doctrine of transubstantiation; for this alone lays the foundation of such remarks. The consequence is inevitable and undeniable, that if the real fleshly body of Christ is taken into the stomach by eating, it must be disposed of in some way. Let the Romanist tell us how—or we will give him a choice of every conceivable hypothesis. Is there any thing profane in drawing from an asserted fact, consequences so palpable? We say again, if there is, the fault is not in the inference, but in the principle from which it is derived.

We are aware that the advocate of transubstantiation will answer to all these reasonings, that the doctrine is explicitly taught in the Gospel, and what God has said must be true, however much it may be opposed to our sense and reason. It is, however, a reasonable inquiry, whether the ground assumed for the proof of transubstantiation does not go far to destroy all external

evidence of divine revelation. This view of the subject is so forcibly given by archbishop Tillotson, in his admirable sermon "on Transubstantiation," that we will cite a few paragraphs, on this point.

1. "I shall only ask," says the venerable prelate, "whether any man has, or ever had, greater evidence of the truth of any divine revelation, than every man hath of the falsehood of transubstantiation? Infidelity were hardly possible to men, if all men had the same evidence for the Christian religion which they have against transubstantiation; that is, the clear and irresistible evidence of sense. He that can once be brought to contradict or deny his senses, is at an end of certainty; for what can a man be certain of, if he be not certain of what he sees? In some circumstances our senses may deceive us, but no faculty deceives us so little, and so seldom; and when our senses do deceive us, even that error is not to be corrected without the help of our senses.

2. "Supposing this doctrine had been delivered in Scripture in the very same words that it is decreed in the Council of Trent, by what clearer evidence, or stronger argument, could any man prove to me that such words were in the Bible, than I can prove to him, that bread and wine are bread and wine still? He could but appeal to my eyes, to prove such words to be in the Bible; and, with the same reason and justice, might I appeal to several of his senses to prove to him, that the bread and wine after consecration, are bread and wine still.

3. "Whether it be reasonable to imagine, that God should make that a part of the Christian religion, which shakes the main external evidence and confirmation of the whole? I mean the miracles which were wrought by our Saviour, and his apostles, the assurance whereof did at the first depend on the certainty of sense. For, if the senses of those who say they saw them, were deceived, then there might be no miracles wrought; and, consequently, it may justly be doubted whether that kind of confirmation which God hath given to the Christian religion would be strong enough to prove it, supposing transubstantiation to be a part of it; because every man hath as great evidence that transubstantiation is false, as he hath that the Christian religion is true. Suppose then, transubstantiation to be a part of the Christian religion, it must have the same confirmation with the whole, and that is miracles; but of all doctrines in the world, *it* is peculiarly incapable of being proved by a miracle. For if a miracle were wrought for the proof of it, the very same assurance that any man hath of the truth of the miracle, he hath of the falsehood of the doctrine; that is, the clear evidences of his

senses. For that there is a miracle wrought to prove that what he sees in the sacrament, *is not bread, but the body of Christ*, there is only the evidence of sense; and there is the very same evidence to prove, that what he sees in the sacrament *is not the body of Christ, but bread*. So that there would arise a new controversy, whether a man should rather believe in his senses giving testimony against the doctrine of transubstantiation, or bearing witness to a miracle wrought to confirm that doctrine, there being the very same evidence against the truth of the doctrine, which there is for the truth of the miracle."

But let us come now to the examination of the scriptural evidence, on which this doctrine is supposed to be founded; and it is all included in one short sentence; the words of Christ, where he says, "*this is my body*." Other texts, indeed, are brought in as auxiliaries, but the stress is laid upon this simple declaration. If this can be set aside, all the others will fall of course. Now, let it be well observed, that our Lord says not a word about the transubstantiation of the bread. He never intimates that he was about to work a stupendous miracle, by changing the bread into his own body, of which we might have expected that he would have given some more explicit information. But having taken the Jewish passover, with his disciples, after this supper was ended, he took in his hand a piece of the unleavened cake or loaf, which was used on this occasion, and said, "this," that is, this bread, "is my body;" and having broken it and blessed it, he gave it to his disciples and said, "take eat, this is my body; and he took the cup and gave thanks, and gave it to them and said, drink ye all of it; for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins." By Luke it is added after the words, 'this is my body,' "which is given for you, this do in remembrance of me. Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, this cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you." The account of this transaction as revealed to Paul, and by him delivered to the Corinthian church, accords fully with the narrative of the evangelists, "That the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, this is my body, which is broken for you; this do in remembrance of me. After the same manner also he took the cup when he had supped, saying, this cup is the New Testament in my blood; this do ye as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me." It is undeniable, from all these accounts, that Christ does call the bread his body, and the wine his blood; the only question is, in what sense are these words to be understood, literally or figuratively? Did the Lord Jesus intend that his disciples should believe, that the

piece of bread contained literally his own flesh and blood? It is admitted, that when he took it up, it was nothing else but bread, but it is alleged, that at the instant when he said, "this is my body," the substance was changed, and it was no longer bread, but the flesh of our Lord. Now, the mode of speaking by no means corresponds with this idea. "This is my body" does not convey the meaning, that now I change, or transubstantiate this bread into my body. But passing this, we would remark, that if the bread was thus converted into the body of Christ; and if, as the Catechism teaches, the whole body and blood was contained in this one piece of bread, then there existed at one and the same time two complete bodies of Christ; the one the visible living body, for no one will pretend that this did not continue still to be the body of Christ after the consecration. Here then is mystery upon mystery; one Christ stands, or sits, with a complete living body at the table, and holds in his hand another complete body of Christ; and when the wine was changed also, as each of the species contains the whole body complete, there must have been three complete bodies of Christ, two of which were eaten by the disciples, but the living visible body was not eaten; and if Christ partook of the elements which he distributed, as seems to be reasonable to suppose, then he ate his own body and drank his own blood. We resolved, on entering on this subject, to avoid all ridicule; and yet we are apprehensive that the bare statement of these things presents a case so truly ludicrous, that we shall be accused of resorting to this unsuitable weapon. We must, however, for the sake of truth, exhibit the doctrine of transubstantiation with all its legitimate absurdities. If some of these are monstrous or ludicrous, it is not our fault; the blame lies with the doctrine itself, as was before said.

But if these words, "this is my body," must be taken literally to signify the flesh of Christ, surely, all the other expressions in the same passage, and in relation to the same sacrament, must be interpreted in the same way. Then, when Christ says "this cup," or chalice, as they prefer to call it, "is the New Testament," or New Covenant, "in my blood," we should understand that the vessel in his hand, which contained the wine, was "a testament," or covenant. This, however, is so manifestly absurd, that all will be ready to say, that he meant the wine in the cup, and not the vessel; but even here we have an expression, which cannot be taken literally; the wine before or after consecration, can no more be a testament or covenant, than the chalice can be such. Our only reason for bringing forward these absurd interpretations, is to show to what consequences the prin-

ciple of interpretation which Romanists wish to establish, will lead, even in the explication of the same passage. But this is not the whole, nor the chief objection to this interpretation. Our Lord says, "this is my body which is broken for you—this is my blood which is shed for you." Now, if the word "body," must mean Christ's real flesh, then it must be admitted that the word "broken" must also be so taken; and it will follow, that Christ's body was already crucified, and his blood poured out for the remission of sins. In fact, therefore, his body was broken and slain before he was fastened to the cross. As the eucharist is a real sacrifice, and there could be no sacrifice without the death of the victim, it is clear that Christ must have been put to death at this time; and his words, taken literally, express this fact; for he says, "this is my body which is broken for you—this is my blood which is shed for you." But he was still alive, and his visible and animated body was not broken, and his blood was not yet shed; therefore his body was at the same time dead and alive, or rather, that body now produced from the bread was a dead and broken body; while the former body was alive and sound. But perhaps this idea of a plurality of bodies will be rejected, as no legitimate consequence from the doctrine of transubstantiation; and it will be alleged, that when the bread and wine are converted into the body and blood of Christ, they are not formed into a separate body, but changed into the same identical body, which before existed, and was born of the Virgin Mary. We are perfectly willing, so far as our argument is concerned, that this should be considered the hypothesis of the advocates of this doctrine. Let it be remembered, then, that at the moment when the change took place in the bread and wine, the body of Christ existed, complete in all its parts; then if these elements were transmuted into the already existing body, it must have been by substitution or addition, that is, the former body must have been removed or annihilated, and this new body, recently formed, must have assumed its place; or the former body continuing to exist without change, the new body must have been added to it. The idea of the annihilation or removal of the body before existing, will be admitted by none; therefore, the alternative must be adopted. The bread and wine, then, when transubstantiated, passed into the living body of Christ and became identified with it. To his body received at his incarnation, then, there was now added another recently formed of the bread and wine in the sacrament. But if his original body was perfect in all its parts, where was there room for such an addition; or what conceivable benefit could arise from such an increase? When this change took place, either the weight of

Christ's body, and the quantity of his blood was increased, or it was not. If the former, what special purpose could such an enlargement answer? It could certainly add nothing to the efficacy of his sacrifice; but if the body of Christ was not increased in bulk or weight by this change, how can it be supposed, that any addition of a corporeal kind was made to it? There is here another difficulty. The disciples ate the bread which had just been converted into the body of Christ; but if it had immediately become a constituent part of Christ's living body, how could they eat it? Did they eat the living flesh of Christ's body, and drink the warm blood which was then flowing through his arteries and veins? But this is not all; it is asserted in the Catechism now under review, that the body of Christ, of which believers partake in the eucharist, is "the same that was born of the Virgin." Now to us this appears to be a palpable absurdity, a contradiction as clear as can be expressed in words. It is to assert, that that which was not a fact is made to be a fact; that a substance which was entirely distinct and separate from the Virgin Mary, was that very body which was born of her. The bread and wine before consecration, no one will pretend, was the body of Mary; when the substance of the bread and wine is changed into the body and blood of Christ, that act of power by which it is changed, cannot possibly make this to be the identical body born of the Virgin. It would be just as reasonable to assert, that God, by an act of omnipotence, could make the child just born to be Adam the first of men. Such suppositions are a disgrace to rational beings; the tendency of them is to obscure and unsettle all our firmest and clearest perceptions of truth. According to this philosophy, God might cause that which does exist, never to have existed; and the being which may be brought into existence hereafter, to have had an existence from the beginning of the world. It is only necessary to state such monstrous absurdities; their falsehood cannot be rendered more evident by reasoning; for there is nothing with which we can compare them, which could render their falsehood more manifest. To make a substance which, it is acknowledged, formed no part of the body born of the Virgin Mary, to be that identical body, is certainly one of the greatest absurdities of the doctrine of transubstantiation, so fruitful of absurdities; and it is not an inference of ours, but is explicitly avowed in this authorized formulary.

Having exhibited some of the difficulties and absurdities of the doctrine of transubstantiation, by considering the circumstances which attended the first institution of the sacrament, these will not be diminished by extending our views to the celebration of

the eucharist by the priests of the Romish church. Here we find the doctrine of the mass, with all the superstitions and idolatries which accompany it.

The doctrine of the Catechism of the Council of Trent, as it is called, not only asserts that the body of Christ in the eucharist is the same as that which was born of the Virgin, but the same as that now glorified in heaven. The apostle Paul, indeed, declares, that "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven." Christ's body, before entering into heaven, underwent a glorious transformation, to fit it for the heavenly state. There it appears now resplendent with ineffable glory. It is no longer a body of gross particles of flesh and blood for such a body, though suited to his condition and work upon earth, would be entirely incongruous with the heavenly state. Now that celestial and glorious body is complete, and can neither receive any addition or diminution. Although, then, bread and wine may by omnipotence be changed into flesh and blood, and this flesh and blood may be received into the mouths and stomachs of communicants; yet it cannot be that this flesh and blood should be the identical body of Christ, which is now enthroned in glory. It cannot be, that that heavenly body should be eaten every time the eucharist is celebrated. The idea is so shocking, as well as absurd, that we know not how it could ever have been received by any man in his senses. If the merit of faith rises in proportion to the difficulty and impossibility of the thing to be believed, then is there nothing more meritorious than the faith of Roman Catholics, on this point. A hundred thousand priests, throughout the world, often celebrate the eucharist at the same hour. In every one of these instances, if the priest only have a right intention, the body of Christ, even his body now glorified in heaven, is produced by the repetition of the form of consecration, "this is my body." Now how this glorified body of the Saviour can be present in a hundred thousand different places, at one and the same time, and yet remain complete and unmutilated on the throne of glory, in heaven, is a thing not easy to be believed. The Lutherans, who adopted the opinion that there was no change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, yet maintained that the real body and blood of Christ were present with these elements, and were received by every communicant, whether in the exercise of faith or not. And when urged in controversy with the reformed, with the consequence, that this rendered it necessary that the body of Christ should exist every where, they admitted the inference, and held the ubiquity of Christ's body; but this was to attribute to a finite and created nature, one of the attributes of Deity; therefore, they adopted the absurd opinion, that in consequence

of the hypostatical union, divine attributes were actually communicated to the human nature of Christ. But another stubborn difficulty attended this hypothesis. It is the property of all bodies to exclude all other bodies from the space which they occupy; hence, if ubiquity be ascribed to Christ's body, it will exclude all other bodies from the universe. There was no method of obviating this objection, but by giving a new definition of a body; and here was opened a field for abstruse speculation which occupied the learning and labours of men of the first order of intellect. And when they had completed their theory, it was impossible to say what was essential to body; or in what respect they who held a bodily presence of Christ, differed from those who maintained that he was really but spiritually present.

How far the Lutherans still adhere to the old doctrine, we cannot certainly say, but we are inclined to believe, that the doctrine of consubstantiation or *impanation*, as some of their theologians choose to express it, is not at present held with a very firm grasp by the existing Lutheran church; and yet they will not be forward to renounce a dogma, to which Luther clung with invincible pertinacity, and which was originally the only point of distinction between the followers of the German and Swiss reformer. The doctrine of the ubiquity, or omnipresence of Christ's body seems to follow as certainly from the Roman Catholic as the Lutheran doctrine; but as far as we know, this consequence has never been admitted by Popish writers: they have even impugned with severity the absurd doctrine of ubiquity. They resort to another principle of explanation, which is, that Christ, by his divine power, can render his body present whenever, and wherever, the eucharist is celebrated; but while they shun one absurdity, they fall into another, fully as incredible. For though they do not believe in the omnipresence of the body of Christ, yet they are forced to admit, that it may exist in many different and distant places at one and the same time. It exists in heaven and upon earth, at once and in as many places on earth as the mass is celebrated. It becomes necessary, therefore, for them as well as the Lutherans, to resort to subtle and abstruse definitions and distinctions, in regard to matter and space, to free their doctrine from absurdity: and just so far as they succeed in clearing away the difficulties from the subject, it is by removing the idea of the palpable presence of solid resisting matter, and giving such views, as render it difficult to understand what they mean by bodily presence; or to see how it differs from the real, spiritual presence maintained by Calvin and his followers.

The doctrine of transubstantiation, absurd as it is, is not in it-



self so dangerous and impious, as the sacrifice of the mass, which naturally comes out of it. The inference is fairly deduced that if the bread and wine, after consecration, be the real body and blood of Christ; and if his soul and divinity, as they teach, be also present in these elements, then are they proper objects of worship. Accordingly, they are elevated in imitation of Christ's being lifted up on the cross, and they are carried in procession that all the people may worship them. But if this be the real body of Christ, broken for us, then as often as it is created, it may be offered as an expiatory sacrifice to God, for the living and the dead; and as this oblation of Christ is the most important part of the whole transaction, it is often repeated when there is no participation of the consecrated elements by the people; and thus private masses are encouraged and performed, especially for the relief of those who are supposed to be suffering the pains of purgatory.

That we may exhibit fairly this doctrine of the mass, we will give some account of it from works of acknowledged authority among the Romanists. Dr. Challoner, in his *Catholic Christian Instructed*, p. 74, c. vi. asks,

"What do you mean by the mass?" and among other things, answers, "The mass consists in the consecration of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, and the offering up of the same body and blood to God, by the ministry of the priests, for a perpetual memorial of Christ's sacrifice upon the cross, and a continuation of the same to the end of the world.

"Is the mass properly a sacrifice? Yes it is.

"What do you mean by a sacrifice? A sacrifice, properly so called, is an oblation or offering of some sensible thing, made to God by a lawful minister.

"How then is the mass a sacrifice? Because it is an oblation of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, offered, under the outward and sensible signs of bread and wine, to God, by the ministry of the priests of the church, lawfully consecrated and empowered by Christ; and this oblation is accompanied with a real change and destruction of the bread and wine, by the conversion of them into the body and blood of Christ, &c.

"Is the sacrifice of the cross and that of the eucharist the same sacrifice, or two distinct sacrifices?

"It is the same sacrifice; because the victim is the self same Jesus Christ; it was He that offered himself upon the cross; it is He that offers himself upon the altar. The only difference is in the manner of the offering; because, in the sacrifice of the cross, Christ really died, and therefore that was a bloody sacrifice; in the sacrifice of the altar, he only dies mystically, inasmuch as his death is represented in the consecrating apart the bread and wine, to denote the shedding of his sacred blood, from his body, at the time of his death."

Now this whole doctrine of the mass is without the slightest evidence from the New Testament. There is, in fact, under this dispensation no other priest but Christ; no other is ever mentioned; and the ministers, teachers, and governors of the Church are not invested with any sacerdotal office.

This notion of a repeated oblation of the body and blood of Christ, is not only unauthorized by Scripture, but is in direct violation of what Paul testifies in the epistle to the Hebrews, "For by *one offering* he hath perfected forever them that are sanctified." "Nor yet that he should offer himself often, as the high-priest entereth into the holy place every year with blood of others; for then must he often have suffered since the foundation of the world; but now *once* in the end of the world, hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself." "Who needeth not daily, as those high priests to offer up sacrifice, first for his own sins, and then for the people's; for this he did *once*, when he offered up himself." "So Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many." "By the which will we are sanctified, through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ, *once for all*."

Now what Dr. Challoner says, in answer to the arguments of such texts, is nothing to the purpose. He alleges that Christ's offering on the cross is not injured by his prayers and intercessions continually offered up; which is true, but wide of the mark. It furnishes no proof that there was need for his body and blood to be offered up often. Again, he says, "Though the price of our redemption was to be paid but once, yet the fruit of it was to be daily applied to our souls, by those means of grace which Christ has left in his Church, that is, by his sacraments and sacrifice." All this is very correct, except the last word, which stands directly opposed to all Paul's declarations, that the offering of Christ was made but once. The application of the merits of Christ's sacrifice does not require that it should be continually renewed. This renders his sacrifice on the cross insufficient, like the sacrifice of the priests, under the Levitical law; for if the one sacrifice was complete and satisfactory, why repeat the oblation continually? He speaks of this, as an "unbloody sacrifice;" but how is it unbloody, when the real blood of Christ is on the altar, as much as it was on the cross? This doctrine of the mass is, therefore, unscriptural, and highly derogatory to the one sacrifice of Christ; besides which the Scriptures of the New Testament acknowledge no other; for if other expiatory oblations are requisite, call them bloody or unbloody, then was this offering of Christ imperfect. All that this author says in favour of such a repetition of the sacrifice of Christ, is irrelevant; and, if admitted, does not prove the truth of the doctrine which he maintains.

The doctrine of the mass, as laid down in the Catechism under review, is,

“That the holy sacrifice of the mass, is not only a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, or a commemoration of the sacrifice of the cross; but also a sacrifice of propitiation, by which God is appeased and rendered propitious.” “If, therefore, with pure hearts and a lively faith, and with a sincere sorrow for past transgressions, we offer in sacrifice this most holy victim, we shall, no doubt, receive from the Lord, ‘mercy and grace’ in seasonable aid. So acceptable to God is the sweet odour of this sacrifice, that through its oblation he pardons our sins, bestowing on us the gifts of grace and repentance.” “Its benefits extend not only to the communicant, but also to all the faithful, whether living or numbered among those who have died in the Lord.”

Transubstantiation is not merely chargeable with bringing Christianity into disgrace by its palpable absurdities, but has given rise to gross idolatry. No sooner has the officiating priest pronounced the words of consecration over the bread, than it becomes, as the body of Christ, an object of worship, just as truly as if Christ should descend from heaven and appear before us in all the glory of his exaltation. But here we are met by a perplexing difficulty, which no ingenuity can resolve. It is admitted that no change takes place in the bread unless the priest consecrates with a right intention, and unless he is a regularly ordained minister. Before the people worship the host, as it is called, there should be some method of ascertaining whether indeed the bread had been actually converted into the body and blood of Christ; for if, on either of the accounts mentioned, that transubstantiation should not have taken place, they are offering their supreme worship to a piece of bread. As we cannot know the hearts of priests, and as we cannot tell whether there may not have been some canonical defect in their succession or ordination, we never, in any case, can be sure that we are not guilty of idolatry. Nothing can be learned from an examination of the elements; for these remain the same, so far as our senses can judge, whether the miraculous conversion takes place or not. The wafer, as soon as consecrated, becomes a proper object of worship; and, as has been before mentioned, is carried about with much pomp and ceremony, elevated on high, that all the people may get a sight of it, and join in the worship; and, in countries completely under Popish dominion, all are forced to kneel down in token of adoration, as the pageant passes.

Moreover, the consecrated wafer, whether used or not, is the real body of Christ, and may be laid up in a pyxis or box, to be adored, or to be eaten, as the case may be. Now suppose it be-

comes mouldy, or should be devoured by mice, or worms, what are we to think? Or suppose before consecration arsenic should accidentally, or by design, be mixed with the flour of which the bread is made, and should be consecrated as a constituent part of the bread, does that also become a part of the body of our Lord? Or would this bread, after being changed into the flesh and blood of the Lord Jesus, affect the health of the communicant? If it be said, that the accidents or sensible qualities do not belong to the body of Christ, then is there no use in eating the bread or drinking the wine; for in the process of manducation or digestion, nothing else but these accidents or sensible qualities come at all in contact with the body. We cannot feel, or taste, or chew, or swallow, that which has no solidity, no taste, no material quality whatever. If then these sensible properties are not the properties of the body of Christ, then the communicant cannot be said to eat his flesh and drink his blood; for that which he sees is no visible part of the body of Christ, that which he feels is no palpable part of that body; so, likewise, that which he tastes and smells is not Christ's body; for these sensible qualities exist without any subject. But as eating and drinking are corporeal acts, they can only be exercised on that which has material qualities; that is, the food which is eaten must have some solidity or extension, for if these accidents are taken away from a substance, it can no more be eaten than an immaterial spirit can be eaten. Upon the admitted theory of the Roman Catholic, Christ's body, after all, is not eaten; but only those properties which, though real, have no subsistence. In fact, the partaker of the eucharist, according to the hypothesis of Romanists, cannot be said to eat the bread or the body of Christ; for he cannot properly be said to eat mere accidents or qualities, without a substance; nor is it possible to conceive that a body which has no material qualities can be eaten.

Mr. M'Gavin in his "Protestant," tells a pleasant, and not inappropriate story.

"A Protestant lady entered the matrimonial state with a Roman Catholic gentleman, on condition he should never use any attempts to induce her to embrace his religion. He employed the Romish priest, however, who often visited the family, to use his influence to instil his notions into her mind; but she remained unmoved, particularly on the doctrine of transubstantiation. At length the husband fell ill, and during his affliction was recommended by the priest to receive the holy sacrament. The wife was requested to prepare the bread and wine for the solemnity; she did so, and on presenting them to the priest, said, 'This, sir, you wish me to understand, will be changed into the

real body and blood of Christ, after you have consecrated them.' 'Most certainly,' he replied. 'Then sir,' she rejoined, 'it will not be possible for them to do any harm to the worthy partakers; for, says our Lord, 'my flesh is meat indeed and my blood is drink indeed,' and, 'he that eateth me shall live by me.' 'Assuredly,' answered the priest, 'they can do no harm to the worthy receivers, but must communicate good.' The ceremony was proceeded in, and the bread and wine were consecrated; the priest was about to take and eat the bread; but the lady begged pardon for interrupting him and said, 'I mixed a little arsenic with the bread, sir, but as it is now changed into the real body of Christ, it cannot of course do *you* any harm.' The faith of the priest was not strong enough to induce him to eat it. Confused, ashamed, and irritated, he left the house, and never more ventured to enforce on the lady the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation.' Whether this anecdote be literally true," says Mr. M'Gavin, "is of little importance to the argument. It may be said very fairly to put any Papist to the test as to his belief of transubstantiation. If the priest's pronouncing the words of consecration should have the power of expelling the arsenic, as well as the flour and water, from the consecrated wafer, I will acknowledge a miracle."

We presume that the advocates of transubstantiation would say, in reply to the above, that notwithstanding that the substance of the bread is changed into the real body of Christ, the accidents or sensible properties remain precisely what they were before consecration; and, therefore, the wafer not only retains the appearance, smell, and taste of bread, but also the nourishing qualities of wheaten bread; and so of the wine; no one, we presume, would pretend that a large quantity of strong wine, after consecration, would not intoxicate. Its being mixen with water, is doubtless intended to guard against any effect of this kind. And so they would admit, we suppose, that arsenic in the wafer would retain its poisonous quality; and, therefore, if a priest, or any other communicant, should be actually deprived of life by such a wafer, it would not prove that the *substance* is not converted into the body of Christ. We do not know how else this case could be disposed of. But still the explanation does not remove the difficulty. We would like to see a logical answer to the following plain syllogism:

That which has no substance cannot injure any one;  
 But the transubstantiated bread has no substance as bread,  
 Therefore, the bread when consecrated, though filled with arsenic, can  
 not hurt any one.

Or the following;

Mere accidents or properties which have no substance, cannot operate efficiently on the body,  
But the sensible qualities of the bread, after consecration, exist without any subject. *Ergo,*

Now the only possible escape from this conclusion, must be by denying that these accidents of bread and wine can affect the body, which they will not assert; or that that which has no existence as a body, can, nevertheless, operate as a body, and produce effects on the body to nourish, to intoxicate, or to pain. Let the Romanist extricate himself if he can from this dilemma. To us it appears impossible. And this comes of holding that accidents may exist without a subject.

Now, after an impartial view of all the difficulties and absurdities which cluster round this strange doctrine, we cannot but wonder that multitudes should be found to hold to it, or think that they believe it; for we are fully persuaded, that in most cases the true nature of the proposition to be believed is not brought distinctly before the mind. The imagination, under the influence of superstitious dread, overpowers the dictates of reason, and, indeed, all nice scrutiny into the subject is discouraged and forbidden; and even the priests are cautioned against attempts at explanation. The language of the Catechism under review, is, "to explain this mystery in a proper manner is extremely difficult. On the manner of this admirable conversion, the pastor, however, will endeavour to instruct those who are more advanced in the knowledge and contemplation of divine things: those who are yet weak may, it were to be apprehended, be overwhelmed by its greatness. This conversion is so effectuated, that the whole substance of the bread and wine is changed by the power of God, into the whole substance of the body of Christ, and this without any change in our Lord himself." No wonder that apprehensions should be entertained that such a doctrine might overwhelm the mind of the novice. Bread and wine are changed into the real body of Christ, and yet his body undergoes no change whatever! Again. "But according to the admonition so frequently repeated by the Holy Fathers, the faithful are to be admonished against the danger of gratifying a prurient curiosity, by searching into the manner in which this change is effected. It mocks the power of conception, nor can we find any example of it in natural transmutations, nor even in the wide range of creation. The change itself is the object, not of our comprehension, but of our humble faith; and the manner of the change forbids the temerity of a too curious inquiry. The same salutary caution should be observed by the pastor, with regard to the mysterious manner in which the body of our Lord is contained whole and

entire under every particle of the bread. Such inscrutable mysteries should scarcely ever become matter of disquisition." (p. 215. 216.) No wonder that they discourage all disquisition on such a subject. The last sentence quoted sets all reason and common sense at defiance. Suppose a loaf of bread to be consecrated; and we know that such a loaf is capable of a continued division until the parts become too small for the cognizance of our senses, and too numerous for arithmetical notation, then what is it that the Romanist believes? That every one of these particles is the whole body of Jesus Christ! On the absurdity of thus multiplying the body of Christ, we have remarked before; we now bring up the subject to show the folly of insisting on a literal interpretation of the words of Christ, when every difficulty is avoided, by interpreting them figuratively; for which we have hundreds of analogous cases in the Holy Scriptures, which abound in bold and striking figures, which, if they should all be taken literally, would turn the Bible into a jargon of nonsense; and we have shown that, in this very passage, we are forced to adopt this mode of interpretation.

And after all, what is the benefit expected from this doctrine? Material flesh and blood cannot affect the soul; but truly, according to the hypothesis of the Romanists, it is only the essence or hidden substance of Christ's body which is present; the gross sensible qualities of flesh and blood are not there; now in what respect does such a presence of the body differ from a spiritual presence; and such an eating of the body from a spiritual eating? And as to the daily mass or oblation, it can do no good—the sacrifice of Christ once offered on the cross, is ever before the throne, and needs no new oblation. All we need is, that the exalted Saviour and Prince of life, should, on the ground of it, intercede for us; and that we should exercise a lively faith in the efficacy of his atonement, to aid us in which the eucharist is an appointed and powerful means.

Almost the only reply to which Romanists resort in their attempt to obviate the objections which Protestants make to the doctrine of transubstantiation, is to adduce the doctrines of the Trinity and incarnation, as equally contrary to our reason, and equally incomprehensible. But truly there is scarcely any analogy between the cases. There is in these doctrines of Scripture, we acknowledge, high mysteries, which greatly transcend our powers of comprehension; but there is nothing which contradicts our senses, or is repugnant to the plain dictates of reason. If this could be proved, which we are aware has often been attempted by rationalists, we should feel constrained to give up these doctrines as untenable; or rather to give up the Scriptures in which they are so plainly revealed. But as Archbishop Tillotson has handled this subject very perspicuously, we beg

leave here to conclude this review, by citing a few passages from his discourse "concerning the unity of the divine nature."

"Before I leave this argument, I cannot but take notice of one thing which they of the church of Rome are perpetually objecting to us upon this occasion. And it is this, that by the same reason that we believe the doctrine of the trinity, we may and must receive that of transubstantiation. God forbid: because of all the doctrines that ever were in any religion, this of transubstantiation is certainly the most abominably absurd.

"However, this objection plainly shows how fondly and obstinately they are addicted to their own errors, how misshapen and monstrous soever; inasmuch, that rather than the dictates of their church, how absurd soever, should be called in question, they will question the truth even of Christianity itself; and if we will not take in transubstantiation, and admit it to be a necessary article of the Christian faith, they grow so sullen and desperate that they matter not what becomes of all the rest: And rather than not have their will of us in that which is controverted, they will give up that which by their own confession is an undoubted article of the Christian faith, and not controverted on either side; except only by the Socinians, who yet are yet hearty enemies to transubstantiation, and have exposed the absurdity of it with great advantage.

"But I shall endeavour to return a more particular answer to this objection, and such a one as I hope will satisfy every considerate and unprejudiced mind, that after all this confidence and swaggering of theirs, there is by no means equal reason either for the receiving or for the rejecting of these two doctrines of the trinity and transubstantiation.

"1st. There is not equal reason for the belief of these two doctrines. This objection, if it be of any force, must suppose that there is equal evidence and proof from scripture for these two doctrines. But this we utterly deny, and with great reason; because it is no more evident from the words of Scripture, that the sacramental bread is substantially changed into Christ's natural body by virtue of those words, "*This is my body*," than it is, that Christ is substantially changed into a natural vine by virtue of those words, "*I am the true vine*," John xv. 1; or than the rock in the wilderness, of which the Israelites drank, was substantially changed into the person of Christ, because it is expressly said, "*that rock was Christ*;" or than that the Christian church is substantially changed into the natural body of Christ, because it is in express terms said of the church that it is his body. Eph. i. 23.

"But besides this, several of their most learned writers have freely acknowledged that transubstantiation can neither be directly proved, nor necessarily concluded from Scripture. But this the writers of the Christian church did never acknowledge concerning the trinity, and the divinity of Christ; but have always appealed to the clear and undeniable testimonies of Scripture for the proof of these doctrines. And then the whole force of the objection amounts to this, that if I am bound to believe what I am sure God says, though I cannot comprehend it; then I



am bound by the same reason to believe the greatest absurdity in the world, though I have no manner of assurance of any divine revelation concerning it. And if this be their meaning, though we understand not transubstantiation, yet we very well understand what they would have, but cannot grant it; because there is not equal reason to believe two things, for one of which there is good proof, and for the other no proof at all.

"2d. Neither is there equal reason for the rejecting of these two doctrines. This the objection supposes, which yet cannot be supposed but upon one or both of these two grounds: Either because these two doctrines are equally *incomprehensible*, or because they are equally loaded with *absurdities and contradictions*.

"The first is no good ground of rejecting any doctrine, merely because it is *incomprehensible*, as I have abundantly showed already. But besides this, there is a wide difference between plain matters of sense, and mysteries concerning God; and it does by no means follow, that, if a man do once admit any thing concerning God which he cannot comprehend, he hath no reason afterwards to believe what he himself sees. This is a most unreasonable and destructive way of arguing, because it strikes at the foundation of all certainty, and sets every man at liberty to deny the most plain and evident truths of Christianity, if he may not be humoured in having the absurdest things in the world admitted for true. The next step will be to persuade us, that we may as well deny the being of God because his nature is *incomprehensible* by our reason, as deny transubstantiation because it *evidently contradicts* our senses.

"2d. Nor are these two doctrines loaded with the like absurdities and contradictions: So far from this, that the doctrine of the trinity, as it is delivered in the Scriptures, and hath already been explained, hath no absurdity or contradiction either involved in it, or necessarily consequent upon it. But the doctrine of transubstantiation is big with all imaginable absurdity and contradiction. And their own schoolmen have sufficiently exposed it; especially Scotus, and he designed to do so, as any man that attentively reads him may plainly discover: for in his disputation about it, he treats this doctrine with the greatest contempt, as a new invention of the Council of Lateran under Pope Innocent III. To the decree of which council concerning it, he seems to pay a formal submission, but really derides it as contrary to the common sense and reason of mankind, and not at all supported by Scripture; as any one may easily discern that will carefully consider his manner of handling it, and the result of his whole disputation about it.

"And now suppose there were some appearance of absurdity and contradiction in the doctrine of the trinity as it is delivered in Scripture, must we therefore believe a doctrine which is not at all revealed in Scripture, and which hath certainly in it all the absurdities in the world, and all the contradictions to sense and reason; and which once admitted, doth at once destroy all certainty? Yes, say they, why not? since we of the church of Rome are satisfied that this doctrine is revealed in Scripture; or if it be not, is defined by the church, which is every whit as good. But is this equal, to demand of us the belief of a thing which hath

always been controverted, not only between us and them, but even among themselves, at least till the Council of Trent? And this upon such unreasonable terms, that we must either yield this point to them or else renounce a doctrine agreed on both sides to be revealed in Scripture.

“To show the unreasonableness of this proceeding, let us suppose a priest of the church of Rome pressing a Jew or Turk to the belief of transubstantiation, and because one kindness deserves another, the Jew or Turk should demand of him the belief of all the fables in the Talmud, or in the Alcoran; since none of these, nor indeed all of them together, are near so absurd as transubstantiation: Would not this be much more reasonable and equal than what they demand of us? Since no absurdity, how monstrous and big soever, can be thought of, which may not enter into an understanding in which a breach hath been already made, wide enough to admit transubstantiation. The priests of Baal did not half so much deserve to be exposed by the prophet for their superstition and folly, as the priests of the church of Rome do for this senseless and stupid doctrine of theirs with a hard name. I shall only add this one thing more, that if this doctrine were possible to be true, and clearly proved to be so; yet it would be evidently useless and to no purpose. For it pretends to change the substance of one thing into the substance of another thing that is already, and before this change is pretended to be made. But to what purpose? Not to make the body of Christ, for that was already in being, and the substance of the bread is lost, nothing of it remaineth but accidents, which are good for nothing and indeed are nothing when the substance is destroyed.”

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*ART. V.—Notices of the Monosyllabic Languages of South Eastern Asia. From the German of Adelung.*

**PREFATORY REMARKS.**

**THERE** is no part of the world which is at this time more interesting to the Christian philanthropist, than the populous countries on the south-eastern part of Asia. Comprising, as they do, a third of the human race, they cannot but attract and stimulate the enterprise of the church. And as, in the prosecution of the missionary work, language is a prime instrument, it is natural to feel a corresponding solicitude to know something of the remarkable tongues and dialects into which the word of God is to be translated. To the missionary, this is all-important; to the candidate for the missionary service, it is full of interest; and to those who devise and mature at home the plans for foreign

labour, general views on this subject are by no means without their value.

When we come to look more closely at the structure of these languages, we are startled at the philological anomaly, that they are absolutely monosyllabic. This characteristic throws into a natural family a number of tongues which could scarcely upon any other principle be classified. It is to this family that we now invite the reader's attention; and the discussion which follows is one which need not alarm even the unlearned, since it requires no previous acquaintance with foreign languages, to make it intelligible.

The *MITHRIDATES*, of Adelung, from which our article is taken, is one of the most celebrated productions of modern learning; as it proposes to give some account of all known tongues, and contains specimens of the Lord's prayer in about five hundred languages. *John Christopher Adelung* was a native of Pomerania, and was born in 1732. He was successively honoured with the situations of Professor at Erfurt, Chief librarian and Court counsellor at Dresden. He is the author of many works in philology, grammar, and lexicography. The first volume only of the *Mithridates* was completed by himself. The remaining volumes were compiled with the aid of his notes, by *VATER* of Halle, who was assisted by the *HUMBOLDS*.

The translation which follows is somewhat modified by the occasional omission of paragraphs relating to mere history or bibliography. No corrections have been made in order to make it correspond with the recent changes in those countries.

It is to be observed, that with very few exceptions, the German orthography of foreign words has been retained; not only because the precision of the German alphabet is peculiarly great, but because important and injurious changes would be unavoidable, in the attempt to transfer the sound through letters of different powers.

It will, of course, be understood, that we are far from coinciding with some of the opinions expressed by Adelung, with regard to the origin of language and the primitive state of man.

#### MONASYLLABIC LANGUAGES.

The residence of the monosyllabic languages is in south-eastern Asia, by which is meant Tibet, China, and the northern region of further India with the rich tracts of Ava, Pegu, Siam, Tunkin, Cochin China, Camboja and Laos. These, taken together, constitute the eighth part of Asia, on which upon a surface of one hundred and thirty thousand German square miles, we may

reckon that between a hundred and fifty and a hundred and eighty millions of men utter this earliest language of the human race.\* It is surprising that the missionaries at Peking constantly represent China as the only country in the world which has a monosyllabic language, while the other kingdoms were so near. Of the grammatical character of these tongues I have already said something, and shall treat it more fully in the sequel.

I will here make the general observation, that the few words possessed by these languages are properly not so much words, as merely the material for words, rough radical sounds, which have no indication of relative or accessory ideas. In Chinese, *co* is much the same as the radical *hab* in German; with this difference, that the German can hence form *haben*, *ich habe*, *du hast*, *wir haben*, *ich hatte*, *die haben*; while the Chinese retain the former root unaltered, and must either omit all the secondary modifications, or express them by a difficult circumlocution. In consequence of the paucity of words there results a multitude of figurative meanings, in which all these people peculiarly delight, and in which the license of their glowing fancy is often insufferable to Europeans; to express these, the tone or accent, with which the word is uttered in each of its meanings, lends aid to a certain extent. It is easy to perceive, that languages so barren as these, which convey only the most necessary fundamental ideas, unconnected and unblended among themselves, must open a wide field, even in common life, for obscurity and ambiguity, while for scientific conceptions they are absolutely unfit; hence the people who speak them, remain always children in understanding, and advance little beyond the accomplishment of mechanical adroitness. Whatever efforts the Chinese may make, so long as he adheres to his language, it is entirely impossible for him to appropriate the arts and sciences of the European.†

Yet the whole material lies in readiness for the further improvement of their languages, by means of flexion, derivation, and composition, if there were only intelligence to make the proper application. Even at present these nations express

\* This is certainly a low estimate. Half a century ago the Abbe Grosier set down the population of the Chinese empire alone at one hundred and ninety eight millions. Sir George Staunton, who accompanied Lord Macartney to China in 1793, copied from the public documents the returns of the previous year which made the population three hundred and thirty three millions. Judicious and capable investigators believe that this statement is not extravagant. See *Chinese Repository*, Vol. I.—TRANS.

† For the encouragement of Christian effort, however, it may be observed, that when the minds of a people are illuminated, their very language changes in due proportion. Such has been the effect of the gospel on many a rude dialect.—TRANS.

many of the more prominent relations and shades of thought, but they take no pains to convey those which are more recondite, by means of particular words. To indicate the plural, the Chinese have the words *tem* (other,) and *poy* and *muen* (many.) They mark the genitive, by the words *tie* and *tschi*: *Lum tie* *foe*, the serpent's bite. In Barman, *to* denotes the plural, and *i* the genitive, (as in Latin and Mantshur): *sa ken*, master; *sa ken i*, of the master; *sa ken to*, the masters. One might suppose that they could join these particles together so as to decline the words thus: *Kiaytem*, *Lupoy*, *Yunmen*, *Sakeni*, *Sakento*. But here the system of tones presents an obstacle. The appended syllable loses its tones in derived and inflected words, and thus is deprived of its exact signification. This would here be inadmissible, as every syllable has more than one meaning, and each of these meanings depends on the nature of the tone. So that this tone cannot be abstracted, without bringing still greater obscurity into the language, and destroying its entire structure.

All other nations of the earth, it is true, rude and uncultivated as they might otherwise be, have succeeded in rising above this obstacle, to the great advantage of their respective tongues in clearness and euphony; and it must ever appear wonderful that such populous nations, which had very early arrived at a certain degree of cultivation, should have clung for so many centuries to their monosyllabic poverty.

In addition to the force of habit, always strongest under a burning heaven, where mental and bodily inaction are prerogatives of divinities and princes, we find the chief cause in their separation from the rest of the world, since they are cut off on two sides by the ocean, and on two sides by impassable mountain ranges. There has therefore been no change in the great mass of their inhabitants, but they descend in direct line from the first settlers, who alighted here in the infancy of the world. These mighty barriers of nature for many years protected them against the influence of their sons who had emigrated, and who in the rough and boundless plains of middle Asia, had degenerated into barbarians. These influences must indeed have been very feeble, in primitive ages, before the wanderers felt in their immense tracts the pressure of population, and hence for a long time they continued to go on quietly in their course of culture and increase. And when afterwards the barbarians who used polysyllabic dialects, scaled the mighty boundaries, the languages and manners which were deeply fixed remained unshaken in their great extent and internal fullness. The most numerous invaders would be weak against so many millions as are spread over China and Tibet; and even though the invaded

people, in consequence of effeminate imbecility and a torrid climate, should crouch to the wild prowess of rude barbarians, they would still continue numerous enough, to preserve their manners and language free from their influence.

I will not then assert that the tongues now spoken in these countries are the very same which were formed at the origin of the human race, and which received the finishing touch from necessity. From the variety of these languages and their dialects, it is clear, that no tongue is too poor to undergo manifold changes. Time and circumstances have here exerted their usual influence upon the pronunciation, tone, and meaning; but the form and the whole structure are almost entirely such as we are constrained to imagine of the dawn of human intellect.\*

Let it be further observed, that partly from the mild climate, partly from the interior vastness, which soon wore away the rough points of the barbarians, all these people are generally soft and pliable, and possess a certain middling kind of culture, which, however, in relation to arts and sciences consists more in manual dexterity, in recipes and formulas, than in genius or principles. Circumspect, and (for men of warm blood) cautious, even to the extreme of hesitation in all they do, they carry courtesy and ceremony to the verge of punctilio; so that poor as their languages are in every other point of view, they are rich in the manifold expression of degrees and relations between the speaker and the person addressed. Beyond this they are, like all half-civilized men, covetous, suspicious, and dishonest, especially towards foreigners, and in war and revenge cruel to the extreme of inhumanity.

All these nations have, in greater or less degrees, the remarkable and unpleasant Mongal configuration of countenance, flat faces, small squinting eyes, and broad noses. One might have been led to suspect that this contour had some connection with the monosyllabic character of their languages. But as the Japanese, with the same visage, still use a polysyllabic language, the coincidence must be deemed accidental, and the peculiarity must be traced to other causes. It is doubtless indigenous among the Mongals, and inasmuch as no structure of face communicates itself more easily, or when once rooted, clings more closely in spite of extraneous mixtures, and as all these nations have repeatedly been attacked and conquered by the former, we must look for the ground of this in the mingling of the races. In Further India this structure is neither so general, nor so striking, doubtless because the influence of the Mongals was there less powerful, or was only

\* A tabular view of various languages is here omitted.—TRANS.

mediate, through the instrumentality of the Chinese, who more than once over-ran that part of India.

### 1. CHINESE.

China, that vast kingdom which is about twelve times as large as Germany, and contains in this space as many inhabitants as the whole of Europe, was known during the middle ages by the name of *Cathay* or *Kathai*. This name designated the northern part, together with Tibet, and eastern Tartary. It is the Chinese boast that they have a very ancient history, even the oldest in the world; for the history of the empire which was translated by the Jesuit *Joseph Anne Marie de Moyriac de Mailla*, and published at Paris by the Abbe Grosier, 1777, in twelve quarto volumes, begins with *Jo-hi*, who is said two centuries after the flood to have conquered the many and small hordes among whom this country was then parcelled, and to have gathered them into one. But though the European missionaries concur in this pretension, there is here a total absence of that sound critical investigation whose useful touch might lop off the multitude of poetic excrescences, that mar the early history of this, no less than of other lands. In these old annals, emperors invent arts and sciences by scores, and give orders to their consorts to find out the manufacture of silk, and to their mathematicians to make astronomical discoveries. Beyond this, there are few events, but long and frequent orations of emperors and their ministers. It is said that the Chinese history begins to be circumstantial and probable about the year 207 before the Christian era. But is it also true and certain? Let me consider only a single circumstance. The well known and immense wall which is said to have been meant to protect China on the north and north west from the incursions of the predatory nomades of high middle Asia, and which failed to do so, was completed, according to Chinese annals, 240 years before Christ. One might readily suppose, that so vast a work, the only one of its kind, would in process of time, by mercantile communication, become known to foreigners; but of this there are no traces. Ptolemy points out the track of the caravans from Bucharey to Seres with much exactness, but he knew of no frontier wall. Ammianus, it is true, seems to hint at some such thing, when he says, (B. xx. iii. c. 6.) *Contra orientalem plagam in orbis speciem consertae celorum aggerum summitates ambiunt seras*; but when he adds: *appellantur autem iidem montes Annivi*, etc. we at once perceive that it is only his turgid way of describing mountains. That Renaudot's Arab, about the year 850 knew nothing of any wall,

might be explained upon the supposition that he never reached those parts. But that *Marco Polo*, who in 1270 travelled from this side into China, and abode three years in the service of the Mongal Khans, should make no mention of it, though he must have passed it, and though he detains us with details of far less importance, is a circumstance which certainly casts suspicion on this high antiquity, while the whole structure itself betrays a much more recent origin.

It is well known that the Chinese of the present day have the Mongal visage, with small oblique eyes, flat face and nose, and high cheek bones. Does this configuration prevail throughout China, in all the provinces, or does it belong to a few only, particularly in the north? Is it a peculiarity of the people from the earliest ages, or the result of admixture, especially since the dominion of the Mongals, from 1210 to 1368? In the former case it would indicate an early common origin; thus many deduce the Chinese from the Tatars. But as the languages betray no trace of such an affinity, the latter is more probable. Renaudot's Arab, in 850, represents the Chinese as more comely than the Hindoos, and assures us that they resemble the Arabs, not in their appearance only, but their garb and manners. This he could scarcely have said, if at that time they possessed the odious Mongal contour; which must therefore be of later origin. The laws of Menu, to which a higher antiquity in India is attributed than even to the *King* in China, approach nearest to the truth when they represent the Chinese as emigrating from India, especially if this name, as is common, be extended to the neighbouring country of Tibet. At present indeed they are further to the east than any of the other monosyllabic nations, and consequently most remote from the cradle of the human race. But upon the supposition, (and in the absence of all history we must be content with supposition,) that in the original increase and spread of mankind the younger progeny always pressed off the elder race, till at last the mighty boundaries of nature, as in this case the ocean, set limits to further progress, we must look upon the Chinese as the immediate descendants of the oldest race of men, while on the other hand, the nations which lie westward are less ancient in proportion as they are near to the primitive residence.

#### LANGUAGE.

All that has been said receives confirmation from the language, which being the simplest among all those of one syllable, is consequently nearest to the first formation of speech. True,



it is not now a mere unmodified vowel-sound, for nothing remains of this first rude attempt except some simple words in all languages; but it possesses the highest degree of simplicity which is possible after this; and it is this which has induced me to place it at the head of all others. For its monosyllabic words consist of a vowel preceded by a single consonant. Here it should be remarked, however, that when these words are expressed by European alphabets, the two or three vowels which they then acquire do not destroy their monosyllabic character, nor does the prefixed or suffixed nasal, *n* or *ng* of many words preclude the idea of a vowel or simple consonant. The former are mere aids in writing, being necessary to imitate the undefined monosyllabic vowel of the Chinese, *Liao*, *Siao*, *Kiun*, and blend in pronunciation into a single syllable, and sound almost as *Lo*, *So*, *Kyun*. The nasal sound is a merely incidental appendage of the organs of speech: *Kyun*, *Kyang*, *Lyung*, *Nge*, *Ngo*. As the Chinese language is altogether destitute of the consonants *b*, *d*, *r*, *x*, and *z*, it is of course very much limited in the number of simple consonants to be prefixed to the vowels. Instead of *b* and *d*, the hard mutes of the same class, *p* and *t* are used; *l* is put for *r*, and *s* for *x* and *z*. Two consonants together cannot be pronounced; *ts* and *tsch* must be considered simple consonants, as they are in utterance. Hence when such a concurrence takes place in foreign words, they add a vowel to each consonant. From these peculiarities foreign words acquire commonly a most curious form. The Chinese pronounce *Cruz*, *Cu-lu-su*. For *Cardinalis*, he says *Kya-ul-fi-na-li-su*; for *Spiritus*, *Su-pi-li-tu-su*; for *Christus*, *Ki-li-su-tu-su*; and for *Hoc est corpus meum*, *Ho-ke-nge-su-lu-es-ul-pu-su-me-vum*.

Of such radicals, simplified to the highest degree, and rather sounds than words, the Chinese have now three hundred and twenty-eight, or, according to others three hundred and fifty. To multiply these, they possess no means, but one appropriate to the childhood of human understanding, that of tone or accent. There are, specially, five such principal tones: 1. The uniform, answering to the natural utterance of a syllable, as we pronounce the numerals, one, two, three. 2. The grave uniform, and this is aspirated in such syllables as allow it. 3. The high, which begins on a high pitch and suddenly descends, as when one in anger says, *No!* 4. The ascending, which begins rather low, but rises, and is longer continued than another tone, as when one says in surprise, *Ah!* 5. The abrupt, as when one from alarm fails to complete a syllable. Besides these, there occur, perhaps only in singular cases, other compound intona-

tions, so that the number of tones is by some reckoned at eight, and by others at twelve or thirteen. Most of these are beyond the ear as well as the tongue of a foreigner. Thus the syllable *shu*, according to its pronunciation, signifies *a book, a tree, great heat, to tell, the dawn, rain and to rain, clemency, to be accustomed, to lose a bet*, and I know not how much besides. *Tshun*, signifies *master, swine, kitchen, pillar, liberal, to prepare, old woman, to break, tending, little, to moisten, slave, prisoner, &c.* Each of these significations has again, further, its figurative uses. So that many words have fifty meanings, which even the most subtle modulation of a Chinese voice cannot distinguish. In such cases a word is often added to give explanation. To *fu*, father, is added the word *tshin*, relationship. So also *mu-tshin*, mother. In writing, this auxiliary is omitted, because every signification has its appropriate symbol. By means of these tones, reckoned to be five, the Chinese have from their three hundred and twenty-eight radicals 1625 different words. And as each of these may be aspirated or not, the treasure of words is increased thereby to three thousand two hundred and fifty, or, according to the highest reckoning, to seven thousand seven hundred; which the fine ear of a Chinese, trained to it from his youth, can always readily distinguish. It has been said that this diversity of tone reduces the speech of the Chinese to song; but this is unfounded. The Chinese sings as little as the Frenchman, who marks in utterance the distinction between the words *Peau, lots, and Pos*.

These three thousand two hundred and fifty, or, at the utmost, seven thousand and seven hundred words, constitute the entire verbal treasure of the Chinese, and must suffice, together with the sometimes strangely figurative meanings, to express all ideas, whether abstract or concrete. It may easily be imagined how awkward is the device. As they are all of one syllable, there can be here no distinction of the parts of speech, but each particular word may be an adjective, substantive, verb or particle. And since every thing like derivation, or proper flexion is here precluded as means of expressing manifold accessory ideas and modifications, so also declension and conjugation, strictly so called, are wanting. In the most prominent instances, however, the China-man can avail himself of circumlocution. He denotes the genitive by the particle *ti* or *tié*, appended to the noun; the dative by *ju*, and the ablative by *tung* or *tsung*, the last two being prefixed. Thus, *Geh*, Love; genitive *Geh ti*; dative *Ju Geh*, ablative *Tung*, or *Tsung Geh*. So also in the plural. *Quih ju tshin*, dear to men. *Ni-leh tung ta*, come with him. The plural is denoted by a prefix signifying truth. *Tu-tshin*, a

number of men; *Tu tu tshin*, a multitude of men, *Tshung tshin*, all men. Or by the word *tem*, other, and *poy* or *muen*, many; *Ngo I*, *ngo tem*, *ngo poy* (I other, or I many) we. Sometimes also by repetition, as *Tohin Tohin*, men. The adjective is distinguished by being uniformly placed before its substantive. Besides this, it is sometimes expressed by the genitive of the substantive, as *pai* whiteness; *pai-tié* white; *tshe* heat; *tshe-tié*, hot. But when it has its usual position before the noun, the suffix is omitted; *Chau tshin*, a good man; *Pai mah*, a white horse. The comparative degree is marked by *keng* prefixed to the positive; *Jiu*, soft, *keng jiu*, softer. The superlative, either by a repetition of the positive, or by various particles, sometimes preceding, sometimes following. The personal pronouns, *Go*, or *Ngo*, I, *Nih*, thou, *Ta*, he, *Ngo men*, we (I other) *Nih men*, ye (thou other) *Ta men*, they (he other,) become possessives by adding the sign of the genitive; *Ngo tié* mine, *Ngo men tié*, our. But there tenses are denoted in the verbs. The present is indicated by the simple root, *Ngo leh*, I come; the past by *lio*, *Ngo leh lio*, I came, or have come; the future by *jah* prefixed, *Ngo jah leh*, I will come; or when a more definite expression is needed by *juen y*, *Ngo juen y leh*, I am determined to come. These minute distinctions occur however only in common parlance; in higher discourse they are entirely neglected, which much increases the obscurity.

This obscurity is under all circumstances great. In the absence of so many modes of thought which conduce to clearness and precision, such as the article, many conjunctions, and the like, the diction of the Chinese consists of rough, abrupt ideas, without connexion, without the blending of relations, and without the indication of accessory conceptions. Thus: *English good, Chinese better; to-day go, to-morrow come; sea no bounds; Kiang no bottom*. Much is gained, indeed, by the precise collocation of the words in the train of thought, by the connexion, by the look and gesture, and by circumlocution; but after all much is left open for conjecture. The following is a strophe given in Barrow's Travels, from an ode of Shih-king: (The) *peach tree* (how) *beautiful*, (how) *pleasant*, (how) *graceful*: so (is a) *bride*, when (she) goes (into the bridegroom's house, and gives) *attention to her family*. From such simple barrenness the language would be peculiarly easy, were it not for the delicate distinctions of tone and accent, which make it to foreigners more difficult than any other.

In the *Mémoires concernant l'Histoire des Chinois, par les Missionnaires de Peking*, (Paris, 1776, 1777, &c. quarto, part viii. p. 133,) is an essay on the Chinese language, which is so

remarkable a panegyric that one is tempted to understand it as a satire. If indeed the writer is serious, he must have counted upon a rare complaisance in his readers, when he would have them believe, that the Chinese is the richest, most euphonious, and most perfect tongue in the world. Rich in words it doubtless is, for it awkwardly expresses with three or four more terms those ideas which other languages denote by a single form. Thus, *Portabam illum*, I carried him, *Ngo na chi kien tiao ta*. This is evidence of the most deplorable barrenness. Laconic brevity there certainly is, but a brevity which degenerates too often into the most profound darkness. The *Kings*, their old classical books, are most studied and least understood, by the Chinese; every one has an interpretation of his own. The author himself acknowledges that the language is totally useless in abstract investigations, particularly those of a metaphysical kind. But he reckons this among its advantages, inasmuch as it is fitted only for useful knowledge.

#### WRITING.

The Chinese method of writing, which is peculiar in its kind, is still more wonderful. It is distinguished from others by this property, that it is neither the hieroglyphic of nature and symbols nor the method of syllabic or literal characters, but a purely artificial structure, which denotes every idea by its appropriate sign, without any relation to the utterance. It speaks to the eye, like the numeral cyphers of the Europeans, which every one understands, and utters in his own way. Hence one may learn to read Chinese, without knowing a word of the spoken language. Yet the latter seems to have served as a model in forming the character. As in the language the principal part is played by from four to six vowels, out of which, with the consonants which are prefixed to them, are made the three hundred and twenty-eight or three hundred and fifty radical sounds; so there are in writing six lines, some straight and others variously curved, which serve as the elements of the two hundred and fourteen keys, or primitive marks, out of which all the other characters, reckoned to be eighty thousand at most, are compounded. If this mode of writing had been the work of a single head, or of a number united for the purpose, these two hundred and fourteen keys would be found to comprise the most necessary elemental or cardinal ideas, of which all the rest are composed. But as they denote a perplexed mass of heterogeneous things, it would appear that the inventors were moved by accident and caprice. There are traces of some actual resemblance

originally subsisting between the signs and the things signified, so that they were true hieroglyphics. Hence they seemed to be the first rude experiment in the infancy of cultivation, when there was little to describe or to write about, and these few keys may then have constituted the whole supply for writing.

Nothing more clearly evinces narrowness of mind and total want of genius, than the fact, that as civilization advanced, and there was a greater demand for writing, the Chinese did not abandon so onerous a method, but wandered still further in this inconvenient path, more and more increasing these marks by the combination and union of the keys, or parts of them, until they have accumulated a mass, which the longest life of a Chinese scholar, were he even a Leibnitz or a Newton, would not suffice to learn. And after all, the China-man, with the whole of this huge array of symbols, cannot denote all which the European expresses by a few letters. As every idea has its appropriate sign, and as two hundred and forty-three signs often concur to indicate a single Chinese word with its manifold significations, it is surprising indeed that so many simple ideas have symbols so much compounded. Night is *ye*; but the symbol consists of the three keys *darkness*, *to cover*, and *man*; signifying the darkness in which man covers himself, or the darkness which covers men; for vagueness predominates in the written, as in the spoken language. The symbol of a *dog*, with another for *word* or *voice*, signifies *to lament*. The symbol of a *king*, consists of the three keys, *sceptre*, *eye*, and *high*. The united symbols of *mouth* or *word*, and *arrow*, (or *to impinge*) signify *to understand* or *comprehend*. It is needless to remark that all this betrays the rude infancy of the human mind; and yet this method of writing has not failed to have its panegyrista.

In this most inconvenient system of writing, and in this imperfection of language, we find the principal causes why the Chinese have never yet been able to attain even a tolerable degree of scientific culture, and why they never can do so in future. He who must spend the best and most active moiety of life in barely learning to read and write for necessary uses, remains a child during the other moiety. The multitude of perplexed signs transcends all powers of thought. A learned man, who after long and wasting application has learned ten thousand of them, is in mature life when first he can apply his knowledge, feeble and obtuse in understanding. Nothing is more common than for such men to crave from Europeans means for strengthening their minds. The vaunted examinations of such candidates as aspire to be Mandarin, that is, scholars and functionaries, consist of tedious and toilsome inquiries as to their

knowing how to read and paint two thousand symbols. Of other knowledge there is no question. A so-called learned Chinese, that is, one who can barely read and write, is, in regard to what we call science and art, absolutely ignorant. Add to this an unhewn language, which recoils from the expression of any thing beyond the sphere of sense. It is amusing, says a certain writer, to hear two Chinese talking upon scientific subjects. They contend, without understanding one another, accumulate synonyms, and plunge deeper and deeper into perplexity, and when they can do no more, betake themselves to their fans, depict in the air the idea which they would convey, and find themselves on the very spot whence they set out.

#### MANDARIN LANGUAGE.

What has been hitherto said of the Chinese tongue, has primary reference to the speech of the court and of the higher classes, which in China is called *Kuan hoa*, and in Europe the *Mandarin language*, because it is current among the literati and upper officers. This is properly the common language of *Kiang nan*, in which the former native emperors had their residence, and in which court it was principally formed. It is also used in ordinary discourse in this province and the neighbouring country. When the Mantshu possessed themselves of the kingdom, and fixed the court nearer to the frontiers, about Peking, they employed among themselves their vernacular tongue, but in all public transactions they retained the old language, which is at this day spoken most purely and agreeably by the higher classes at Peking. Various writers distinguish this *Kuan hoa*, or Mandarin language, from the *Ku uan* which prevails in the five *Kings* or ancient religious books, and from the *Uan tshang*, or language of books; these, however, are not distinct tongues, but only varieties of the style, which in the *Kings* is elevated and solemn, and in the language of the books more pure and select than in the current diction of ordinary life.

#### DIALECTS.

In a country of so great extent, there cannot fail to be numerous dialects, and perhaps even peculiar languages; of these, however, we have unfortunately little exact information. The European missionaries, from whom alone we can expect circumstantial instruction, always concentrated their powers upon the acquisition of the court diction, and gave themselves little trouble with regard to the dialects of the populace. The latter are

denominated, in the country itself, *Hiang tan*, and (as we may judge from some traces) are likewise monosyllabic; a circumstance which points to a community of origin. China consists of fifteen, or, according to others, eighteen great provinces; these are again subdivided. Each of these provinces, and almost every considerable city or district in each, have their peculiar dialects. In the southern provinces especially, the varieties are numerous and divergent. According to Kämpfer's Travels in Japan, there are three different languages on the eastern coast, viz. Nankin, Tshaktsju, and Foktsju, (King nan, Tshe kiang, and Fo kien). Du Halde confirms the statement in regard to Fo-kien. This dialect is the one with which we are now most familiar, as there is a dictionary and grammar of it in the Royal Library at Berlin, from which Bayer (*in Museo Sinico*, P. i. p. 139, ff.) has reprinted his grammar. It is true he calls the province *Chin Cheu*; but this is no other than *Fo kien*, from *Tshang Tsheu*, the capital of which, a brisk trade is carried on with Japan, Formosa, and the Philippine and East India islands. It closely resembles the Mandarin language in its monosyllabic character, and other properties, but the words here have a different pronunciation, and different meanings, and the letters *b*, *d*, and *r*, which are wanting in the Mandarin, are restored. The genitive is denoted, not by *ti*, but by *gue*. The pronoun I, is not *ngo* but *gua*; and we is *guan*. This language is still further subdivided into five inferior dialects. Besides this, there are in the mountains many savage and half savage tribes, still unconquered, of whom we only know in general, that they have their own languages or dialects. To these pertain the wild *Mau lao*, or Wood-rats, who have overspread six provinces; the *Miao tse*, in the midst of the country, in four provinces, who were subdued, it is said, in 1776; the *Lo los* in the province *Yun man*; and others. In the island *Hai nam*, 19° N. lat. the people on the coast speak Chinese, but the wild mountaineers of the interior have their own language, which is still unknown to us.

## II. TIBETIAN.

Tibet, that remarkable and extensive dwelling place of thirty millions of mankind, which has been represented to us as the first rest of the primitive fathers after they left the garden of Eden, is immediately contiguous to high Central Asia. Here therefore, is the rise of the great rivers, Ganges, Burrampooter, Indus, and Nukian. It is bounded on the east by China, on the west by Cachemire and Bucharia, on the north by Mongalia and the great desert of Kobi, and on the south by Hindostan and the

Birman empire. It is called *Tibet* and *Tangut* by the Mongals; the inhabitants name it *Bod*, or rather, as their language has no *b*, *Put* or *Pegedu*, and themselves *Pod-pa*. By the Chinese it is called *Tsan* and *Tsang li*, and a Tibetan is *Kiang*. The name *Butan*, which is applied to it by some, especially English writers, is borrowed from one of the southern kingdoms which borders immediately upon Bengal, and has a king of its own, who is also a lama or priest, but of another sect, and resides at Tassisudon. In ancient writers it is mentioned by the name of *Indo-Scythia*; which, no doubt, was occasioned by the influence which the neighbouring Mongals and Tatars have always had over the country; having conquered it more than once, as is known to be the case at least with regard to the *Tufans* or *Koshæt*, a Calmuc race. The proper Mongal visage of the inhabitants is to be attributed to the intermingling with these people; for that the Tibetians are not originally descended from Mongals or Tatars, is proved by their language, which is essentially different from those of the north, and which, like the Chinese, they have succeeded in keeping pure and unmixed during all the power of barbarous tribes. The country is divided into Great Tibet, and Small Tibet, and Lassa; or, according to others, into Higher, Middle, and Lower Tibet; but most correctly into eleven kingdoms, which are given by *Georgi* and *Hakman*.

There is, so far as we are informed, no ancient history of Tibet. What *Georgi* details, begins to resemble history only with the year 790. Even the annals of China do not mention it until a late period. It comprised formerly, as is evinced by the modern divisions, a number of petty kingdoms, of which some one or other was always aiming at the sovereignty. In the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era, the Scythians, (probably Turks or Tatars) made an irruption into northern India or Tibet, to these the name of *Indo-Scythians* is given by *Arrian*, *Dyonysius Periegetes*, and *Ptolemy*. A century later, the Buddhists, expelled from India, took refuge here and introduced the still existing Lama worship. About the year 547 we find the *White Huns* mentioned in *Cosmus*; probably the same with the above mentioned Turks. About 720 the *Sifans* or *Tufans*, a people dwelling on the lake of Kokonor, near the Chinese frontier, invaded the land. This Mongal race is by the Russians called *Koshæt*, and had dominion until 907, when the kingdom was rent by internal dissension into a number of principalities. There is no doubt that the Lamas or priests availed themselves of this opportunity, to establish themselves as secular potentates, and to found that remarkable hierarchy, which,



with the whole Lama religion closely resembles the Romish, but except the latter has no parallel. Here again there was dissension, so that in 1414 there were eight Lama princes or pontiffs, until China elevated one at Lassa to be the Supreme or *Dalai Lama*. About the beginning of the seventeenth century, one of these attempted the introduction of females into the priestly order, which occasioned a new division, and the rise of two grand Lamas, the *Dalai Lama*, at Lassa in the north, and the *Boydo* or *Tishu Lama*, in the south. At first, both these Lamas denounced and anathematized each other, as if they had been two popes, but at present their relations are friendly, and they exchange mutual benedictions. The former is under Chinese protection, but the latter is independent. The Lama, being not allowed to meddle with worldly affairs, has his *Tipa*, or secular viceroy.

Of the language, only fragments are known. It is ascertained in general that it consists of a few hundreds of monosyllabic and indeclinable roots, like the Chinese, with which it has many words in common. Yet it is less simple than the latter. For though it has many words consisting of a vowel preceded by a consonant, (*Su* body, *Go* head, *Pa* cow, *Zo* treasure, *Po* man,) yet there are many in which the syllable is terminated by a consonant, (*Ser* gold, *Sar* house, *Deb* speak, *Den* place, *Kong* eye, *Ming* name.) It also allows some double consonants at the beginning, *Prul* snake, *Pru* thunder, *Pre* vice, *Dre* devil; and among these some harsh combinations, *Sre* son, *Srungh* overseer, *Sgiah* to place, *Rnam* soul, *Rta* sign, *Rpa* seize. The language appears also to have something like derivation by means of suffixes. *Ton-ghen* boaster, *Tra-khen* enemy, *Sam-then* looker, *Nu-bhe* might, *Cih-va* death, *Khor-va* wandering, *Dro-va* wanderer; while at the same time the fixed tone precludes the idea of derivation. For tone and accent have here the same office as in Chinese. There are here also five principal sorts, not to mention such as are subsidiary, which distinguish between meanings. These are not always sufficient to remove obscurity, and therefore the speaker using the aid of his fingers writes the characters in the sand. As in the Chinese, the most striking grammatical relations are expressed by separate words. The genitive by *hi*, *hei*, *hoi*, *khi*, *ji*, *cei*, or *vei*. *Go hi* of the head, *con hei* of the cloister, *ke vei* of the virtues; the dative and accusative by *jhu la*, which is properly the preposition *in*. To denote the infinitive, *bha* is added; *Si bha* to see, *Den bha* to Give, *Tor bha* to make, *Dar kje bha* to be divided. The collection of words is not so precise as in Chinese, but more arbitrary, as the defining terms may at pleasure be prefixed or appended; *Thron*

*me* or *Me thron*, burning lamp. We may learn how difficult and obscure the meaning of their discourse is, in the total absence of all distinctions among the parts of speech, from the extensive commentary of *Georgi* upon the Tibetan manuscripts found in Siberia; where he often has to borrow aid from the Coptic, Ethiopic, and Shemitic languages, in order to extract or superinduce any meaning.

The ancient religious books of Tibet are in a dialect of the Sanscrit, a proof that they came originally with the Buddhists and the Buddhist religion, from hither India, though the system has assumed a peculiar form in Tibet. In the kingdom of *Amboa*, which has most culture and most schools, the Tibetan language is most purely spoken; and most harshly and incorrectly in *Combo*. There are in this great empire a number of tribes, savage in whole or in part, who possess their own languages, or dialects, of which however, nothing is known. The *Duc-ba* in Butan, are known only by name. The *Sifan* or *Tufan* in the rough mountain ranges between China and Tibet, who long ruled over the latter, and from whom the *Dalai Lama* is still chosen, are not properly Tibetians, but a Mongal race.

### III. BOMAN, BIRMAHN, OR AVANESE.

Boman, Arrakan, and the countries following which use monosyllabic speech, constitute the Further India of the north, which borders on the south of the preceding kingdom, from which it probably received both inhabitants and language. In all these countries prevails the Indo-Brahmin religion, according to the sect of Buddha, which fled hither in the first century of the Christian era, though it now exists under another name. Their sacred books are written in a dialect of the Sanscrit, which is here called *Pali* or *Bali*. Assam and Tipra, as it regards situation, also belong to Further India, but as their languages are polysyllabic, and dialects of Hindostanee, I must defer the consideration of them.

The kingdom of *Boman*, also called *Ava* from its capital, is often denominated *Barmah*, *Birman*, and *Burman*, from *Buraghmah*, which, according to Dalrymple, is the true name. But the *Alfabeto Barmano* gives *Boman*, as the correct form. It is said that towards the end of the sixteenth century an immense horde of Tatars, (perhaps Mongals from the lake Kokonor,) numbering seven hundred thousand men, after a fruitless attempt on China, invaded Further India. These were called *Bomani*, from *Bo mas*, great people or brave man. The Chinese call the country *So mien*; the inhabitants use the name

*Myammau.* It lies between Bengal and Pegu, and has been since 1459 involved in sanguinary conflicts with the latter, constantly ending in the temporary subjugation of one or the other. In the former part of the eighteenth century, Pegu was dominant; but in 1753 Alompra, an Avanese of common rank, rebelled, and conquered not only Pegu, but Arrakan, Tongho, Kassay and several other countries. His son was reigning in 1795. Symes computes the population of the Boman States, including Pegu, at fourteen millions and a half. The country, being twice as extensive as France, might sustain far more, were it not covered with forests. The inhabitants in their appearance resemble the Chinese rather than the Hindoos; they are less polished than the Peguans, but as to other things, sprightly, inquisitive, gentle, kind and pleasing, but in war inhuman and ferocious. Budda is here called *Gaudma*, and their principal law book, written in Bali, is the *Derma Sath* or *Sastra*. Symes found in the palace of the king at Ava a large library, in nearly a hundred chests, on subjects of all kinds, both in Bali and in the Boman language.

The Boman tongue is monosyllabic; for the words of more than one syllable are either borrowed from the Bali, or written in the European mode as if compounded. Yet we observe, in a few instances, the rudiments of a derivative system. Thus a Boman can form substantives from verbs by the prefix *a*; *Pio* to speak, *Apio* a speech. Besides many gutturals and nasals, they have six aspirates, which Europeans can scarcely imitate; yet the sound is melodious, particularly as the final word of every period is prolonged with a musical cadence. Diphthongs and triphthongs, such at least to the eye, are no less abundant than in Chinese. In consequence of its monosyllabic character, it has no distinction among the parts of speech, and no proper inflection. But the Boman denotes the plural by *to* or *do*, as well as the cases by other words. The words have here as many meanings as in other monosyllabic languages, and these are distinguished by the accent. When this, however, is insufficient, they aid themselves by synonyms, *to see*, *to look*. The paucity of words is remedied in part by periphrases, which then look like compounds, in part by tropes, which to foreigners appear far-fetched and obscure. *Sii* is light, and, figuratively, beauty, and *Pak* is the mouth; hence *Sii-pak* the lips, because they give beauty to the mouth. *The Glory of the Wood* is the flower. The word *child* denotes figuratively whatever is small, hence *weight-child* is the same as a small weight. From the circumstance that the language has the article in many cases, *Cajet Montegatio* concludes that it has grown out of two differ-

ent tongues, of which only one possessed the article. Hence also the double numerals. Instead of prepositions, there are in certain words postpositions. The relations which in polysyllabic languages are expressed by conjugation are denoted by separate words; but most awkwardly and not at all times; and the tenses are often confounded. Active verbs are formed from neuters and passives by the mere aspiration; *Kia* to fall, *Khia* to throw. Adverbs are made by doubling adjectives; *Kiat* bold, *Kiat Kiat* boldly. There are no conjunctions, and hence discourse is abrupt and fragmentary. The Syntax is short and simple. The adjective which precedes its substantive in Chinese, here follows it. The consecution of words is strange and perplexing. The defect of clearness which results from these circumstances, the Boman endeavours to supply by a tumour of verbiage, especially when he speaks in a respectful or complimentary strain.

The kingdom of *Arrakan*, (Aracan) of which Symes gives some account, lies south of Ava, and southeast of Bengal. By the natives it is called *Yih Kein*, by the Hindoos of Bengal *Ros-saun*, and by the Mongals and Persians *Rechán*. The inhabitants call themselves *Maramas*, and they also have from Europeans the name of *Mugs*, from *Mogo*, holy, a word properly applicable to their priests and kings. According to Symes, it has two millions of inhabitants, and was formerly an independent kingdom; it has many times, however, and finally in 1783, been subdued by the Bomans. The language is a Boman dialect, but nothing further is known.

The *Karians*, a peaceable people in the forests between Ava and Pegu, who live by agriculture and pasturage, are said to have a peculiar language, monosyllabic, and abounding in sibilants; but Symes says that these, as well as the *Kahns*, *Kolonus*, or *Yuh*, between Pegu and Arrakan, speak a dialect of the Boman.

#### IV. PEGUAN.

*Pegu*, or as it is called by the natives, *Beguh*, and, in the Sanscrit name of the Avaneses, *Henzawaddy*, borders westward on Arrakan and Ava, to the latter of which it is now subject; northward on China, and eastward on Siam. The inhabitants are called by the Avaneses *Talain*, and by themselves *Moan*, and are more cultivated than the people of Ava. Pegu has been visited both by travellers and missionaries, but its language is still unknown, except in general that it is of single syllables. According to *Percoto*, it is altogether different from the Boman, yet

there is reason, from our specimens, to consider it a dialect of the latter.

#### V. ANNAM DIALECTS.

*Annam* or *Anam*, signifies the West country; and this name is given by the Chinese and natives to the kingdoms of Tunkin, Cochin-china, Cambocha and Laos. In all these, prevail the dialects of one parent monosyllabic language.

##### 1. *Tunkin*.

*Tunkin* [Tonquin,] or in Chinese *Tun Kin*, the Eastern coast, is bounded on the north by China, on the west by Laos, on the south by Cochin-china, and on the east by the Chinese Ocean. It is a very populous country, but has on its borders extensive mountainous regions covered with forests, in which reside half savage tribes of doubtful origin. China has often endeavoured to subdue this kingdom, but, after many bloody wars and insurrections, has rested finally contented with making it tributary. It is governed by a *Dova* or king, who possesses nothing beyond the title, as all authority is vested in the *Chova* or chief general. The Chinese call the inhabitants *Mansos*, or barbarians. Yet, poor and ignorant as they may be under the pressure of a despotic government, they do not merit this appellation. Their religion, like that of China, is threefold; but that of Fo or Budda, which came from Hither India in the first century of the Christian era, is predominant. Their science proceeds from China, and so the Chinese tongue is the learned language of speech and writing.

The native Court or Mandarin language is monosyllabic, but is much less simple than the Chinese. For although it contains words of a single vowel sound, as *Ai*, way, *Ao*, fish-dam, *E*, pain, *Eo*, gourd, *Oui*, crooked wood, *Ou*, grandfather; and still more of a vowel after a consonant, *Bao*, load, *Bau*, help, *Bi*, part, *Bo*, ox, *Bou*, ears of corn; yet there are many more compound words, as *Bac*, north-wind, *Bach*, white, *Ban*, day-time, *Bap*, hew; and even with the double consonants *bl*, *tl*, and *ml*, as *Bla*, cheat, *Blai*, fruit, *Mla*, foolish, *Mlac*, fetters, *Mlam*, fault, *Mlo*, word. The final consonants, however, are limited, since none can end a word but *c*, *g*, *ch*, *h*, *m*, *n*, *ng*, *p*, and *t*. In general the language has all the letters of the Roman alphabet, except *z* and *x*. Besides, it has a modification of *b* and *d*, and two vowel sounds which are modifications of *o* and *u*. The ambiguity is here as great as in other monosyllabic tongues, and cannot be entirely removed by their six accents or tones. The

word *BA* signifies, *Lord, Forsake, Contemptible, Three, Gift, King's Concubine*. So that when this word is repeated with all its intonations it means, "Three lords gave a gift to the forsaken concubine of a king; a contemptible courtesy." In consequence of its monosyllabic character, there is a defect of all flexion and distinction among the parts of speech. The ablative is marked by the prefix *boy*; the plural by the particles *tshung, mo, ngung* or *dung*. *Toi, Ta, I; Tshung* or *Mo toi*, we; *Boy tshung toi*, of us. When one speaks in complimentary style, *pho* is the plural particle; *Pho ou*, Gentlemen. Conjugation is thus rendered tedious by these particles; *toi ieo*, I love; *Tshung toi ieo*, we love; *Da ve*, he is come; *Da noi*, he has spoken; *Se di*, I will go. There are a few conjunctions.

In addition to this Court language, there are various dialects, especially in the provinces which border on Cochin-China. In the mountains there are said to be also distinct languages.

## 2. Cochin-China.

This country is bounded on the north by Tunkin, on the west by Kambocha, (Cambodia), on the south and east by the Chinese ocean. It is also called by the Chinese *Anam*, or Westland, from its relative situation. For the same reason it is named *Kotshi* by the Japanese, out of which the Portuguese formed *Cochin-China*, Western China. The original inhabitants, a savage race, of dark complexion resembling the Caffres, are called *Moy*s, or by others *Kemois*. They are now driven into the mountain tracts between Cochin-China and Kambocha. This country has in its fortunes shared with Tunkin. Once in modern times it became independent, and even powerful by conquering the kings of Tshiampa and Kambocka, but is now brought again under the authority of China. The most southern part is called *Tshiampa*, (Ciampa), and its inhabitants *Loy*s. The Cochin-Chinese resemble the Chinese proper, in their flat noses and small oblique eyes; they are good-natured, affectionate, and hospitable. The language is a dialect of the Tunkinese, and accordingly is monosyllabic and vague, calling for the aid of tone and accent to distinguish the meaning. Thus the word *Dai* has twenty-three significations. How little it resembles the Chinese is evident from the fact that Lord Macartney's China-men could not possibly make themselves intelligible to the inhabitants. Yet they use the Chinese characters, of which, however, only three thousand are current.

3. *Kambocha (Cambodia), and Laos.*

The former of these, which according to Portuguese orthography is *Camboja*, is a beautiful and extensive valley between Cochin-China and Siam. We have little information concerning either country, and still less concerning their languages, or rather dialects. In Kambocha, the language is much corrupted by the intermixture of words from the Malay, Japanese, and Portuguese.

*Laos* was subject first to China, and then to Siam. It has now a number of independent kings. The inhabitants of the southern part are called *Lanjans*. According to *la Loubre*, they are of the same stock with the Siamese, and this seems to be corroborated by *Kampfer* in his Travels in Japan, where he states that their language is a dialect of the Siamese. By others again they are joined with the people of Tunkin. Perhaps both races are commingled. Between Laos and Ava, lies the kingdom of *Jangoma* or *Jankona*, the inhabitants of which are supposed to have come from Laos, and speak a dialect of Tunkinese, or, according to others, of Siamese.

## VI. SIAMESE.

The kingdom of Siam, (in Malay, *Tziam*,) is bounded on the north by Laos, on the east by Kambocha, Tunkin, and the Gulf of Siam, on the south by Malacca, and on the west by the Bay of Bengal. It lies between two chains of mountains, in a kind of extended valley, which is about six hundred miles long, but generally not much more than two hundred in breadth. The inhabitants call themselves *Tay noe*, the Small Free People. To the north of these dwell the *Tay yay*, or Great Free People, from whom they say they descend, although like all the southern Asiatics they have been subjected to the most galling despotism. In Ava, they are called *Myetapshan*; in Pegu, *Saion*, or *Sioner*; and in China, *Pa Weich*. They resemble the Chinese in appearance, have some words in common, and are the most cultivated people of eastern Asia. Since 1767 Siam has been subject to Birmah, but is said to have regained its freedom.

The language, like its sister tongues, is almost wholly monosyllabic, poor in radical words, but rich in tropes, which receive their character from the tone of utterance. Yet it has some compounds, of which one of the words, being no longer available except in composition, is probably also toneless. The

words are undeclinable, and hence the most prominent modifications of thought are awkwardly expressed by particles, which must serve also to form the conjugations. They are placed either before or after the verb. *Pen* means to be; *raou pen*, I am, and we are; *tan tang lai pen*, ye are; *kon tang lai pen*, they are; *tang lai* signifying all, or many. *Moua nan rao pen*, I was; literally, "Time this I (to) be." *Moua tan ma, raou dai kin sam red leou*, When you came I had already eaten; literally, "Time you (to) come, I already (to) eat (to) cease." If a Siamese would express, I should be glad if I were at Siam; he can do it only as follows; "If I (to) be city Siam, I heart good much." Notwithstanding all this poverty, the language is rich, in cases when it is necessary to denote the precise relation of the speakers to one another. There are eight words to express *I* or *we*, which are identical in Siamese.

According to the Asiatic Researches, part v., there are three dialects; that of *Siam*, that of *Tai yay*, or *Great Tay*, and that of *Tay lung*. A specimen is there given likewise of the language spoken by a neighbouring people, called *Moi tay*, or by the English, *Meckley*. Their chief city is *Munnypura*. The *Jangoma* or *Jankona*, residing in the country of this name, which borders on Siam and Pegu, are said to speak a Siamese dialect. So also the people of the island *Jan Sylan*, near to Siam.

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**ART. VI.—***A brief sketch of an Argument respecting the nature of Scriptural, and the importance and necessity of numerous, rapid, frequent, powerful, and extensive Revivals of Religion.*

"By a revival of religion we understand an uncommon and general interest on the subject of salvation produced by the Holy Spirit, through the instrumentality of divine truth. The work is very commonly preceded by a prevailing and affecting coldness on the subject of personal religion, such as leads Christians to feel the necessity of extraordinary prayer for themselves as well as others. In its progress the thoughtless are alarmed, convinced of their guilt, inquire what they shall do; receive Jesus as their Saviour; rejoice in hope of future glory, join themselves to the people of God; and in important respects pur-



sue a new course of life.”—*Rev. B. Dickinson in National Preacher.*

Another writer speaks of such a work as “a revival of scriptural knowledge; of vital piety; of practical obedience.... Whenever you see religion rising up from a state of comparative depression to a tone of increased vigour and strength; whenever you see professing Christians becoming more faithful to their obligations, and behold the strength of the church increased by fresh accessions of piety from the world, *there is a state of things which you need not hesitate to denominate a revival of religion.*” —*Sprague on Revivals*, p. 78.

Perhaps the foregoing definitions are sufficiently full and clear for our present purposes. That events substantially of the nature of such revivals as those just defined, are to be expected under the Gospel, and especially toward the dawn of the latter day glory, perhaps no intelligent believer in revelation will doubt. Should any desire proof, the following Scriptures may be regarded as conclusive. “And it shall come to pass in the last days that the mountain of the Lord’s house shall be established in the top of the mountains; and shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it; and many people shall go and say, come ye and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his ways and we will walk in his paths; for out of Zion shall go forth the law and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem, and he shall judge among the nations and shall rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into plough-shares and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.” Isa. ii. 2—4. The same promises are made with amplification in Micah iv. 1—7. See also Isaiah xi. 10—16. and liii. 10—12. Hear also the following wonderful words of grace, “Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thy habitations, spare not, lengthen thy cords and strengthen thy stakes; for thou shalt break forth on the right hand and on the left.” Isa. liv. 2, 3 See also parts of Isa. lx. and many parallel places.

That the work of regenerating the world and reclaiming it from its deep revolt and foul apostacy, is not to be effected by the tardy, lingering and doubtful process, generally witnessed since the Reformation, the Scriptures do constantly affirm. Isaiah, speaking of the Gospel church says: “Before she travailed, she brought forth, and before her pain came she was delivered of a man child. Who hath heard such a thing? who hath seen such things? or shall a nation be born in a day? or shall a nation be born at once? for as soon as Zion travailed, she brought forth

her children." chap. lxvi. 7, 8. Again : " Who are these that fly as a cloud and as the doves to their windows," Isa. lx. 8.

It is true, that in none of the foregoing passages of Scripture is the word revival, used; yet is it altogether a scriptural word in application to a rapidly improving state of the church of God. " Wilt thou not revive us again that thy people may rejoice in thee?" Ps. lxxxv. 6. See also Hos. vi. 2, and xiv. 7, and Habakkuk iii. 2. The objection that the conversion of one soul, yea the edification of one believer, is a revival, and therefore the word ought not to be technically used, does not seem to be valid. For if the conversion or edification of even one soul be a revival, much more is that a revival, when many souls are converted and many believers built up in faith and hope and love. Neither again can we concur with those, who assert the impropriety of the term on account of the fact that it supposes the previous existence of religion. For in the first place it is true that revivals do generally occur in communities previously possessing some pious members, and, secondly, the word revival strictly means a restoration to life of that which was in whole or in part dead. Now in a revival, dead souls are revived, brought to life; and religion, killed by sin, is revived, restored to life and activity in the souls of men. There are as strong objections to the use of the term Trinity and Theology, as can be alleged against the term Revival. We have no contest, however, with those who prefer another phraseology, such as has often been employed. Robe speaks of " an extraordinary work of the Spirit of God." Whitefield, of " a remarkable work of God." Edwards, of " a surprising work of God." In some cases our Scots brethren seem to have a strong and unnecessary prejudice against the word revival, yet there some dear brethren constantly pray and labour for " the out-pouring or down-pouring of the Spirit of God," and speak in glowing terms of the wonderful works of God in the west of Scotland of which their fathers have told them.

It would be " logic misapplied " to prove that revivals, essentially such as have been here described, were known in the days of Joshua, of Josiah, of Ezra, of John the Baptist, of the Apostles, and frequently in the early ages of Christianity. The history of the church for several of the earliest centuries, if properly written, would be to a great extent the history of glorious revivals. Such would unquestionably be the history of the church in Ethiopia under the labours of the Eunuch, baptized by Philip, and others, his coadjutors. Such was the history of the church at Lyons, where Ignatius and others of " like

precious faith" published salvation, and where, although from the heights of one rock sixteen thousand martyrs took their flight to glory, yet did not religion decline, or the church perish. Indeed throughout the Roman empire the time and place of martyrdom often, perhaps generally, furnished an occasion for unusual displays of the power of the Holy Ghost. Five hundred souls are said to have been converted at the martyrdom of one young lady in Rome. Pliny, in his Epistle to Trajan respecting the Christians, says that Christians were every where so increased both in towns and countries, that the [pagan] temples had lain well nigh desolate, and that there had scarcely been any [idolaters] to buy off the sacrifices.

Tertullian also, who wrote about the end of the second and beginning of the third century, thus addresses heathen magistrates, governors and emperors, in regard to their cruel wars and bloody persecutions against the Christians. "We could also make a terrible war upon you without arms or fighting at all, by being so passively revengeful, as only to leave you; for if such a numerous host of Christians should but retire from the empire into some remote region of the world, the loss of so many men of all ranks and conditions would leave a hideous gap and a shameful scorn upon the government; and the very evacuation would be abundant revenge. You would stand aghast at your desolation, and be struck dumb at the general silence and horror of nature, as if the whole world had departed. You would be at a loss for men to govern."\* It is also an amazing fact, that although in less than six hundred years after the ascension of Christ, somewhere between thirty and fifty millions of Christians suffered martyrdom, yet in the beginning of the seventh century there were in many places thirty Christians for one pagan. Now these and other similar facts show the utter impossibility of writing any veritable history of the church in early times on any supposition, that would exclude the existence of exceedingly powerful, numerous, extensive, rapid, permanent, frequent and scriptural descents of the Holy Spirit, melting down the hills like wax, his right hand teaching him terrible things and his two edged sword being very quick and powerful.

From the year A. D. 606, or the time of the beginning of Daniel's 1260 years up to the beginning of the Reformation, we know not much of the true church of God, yet perhaps enough to show that to those who lived "in caves and dens of the earth and wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins" God did not leave

\* Tertull. Apol. contra Gent. cap. 37.

himself without witness, but gave fruitful seasons in many times of refreshing.

When we direct our attention to the history of the work of the Holy Spirit in Great Britain, we find that, from a very early period revivals were known. The venerable Bede gives the following, among other wonderful accounts of occurrences under the ministry of Paulinus:\* “King Edwin, with all his nobles, and a very great multitude of people, believed and were baptized A. D. 627, in the eleventh year of his reign, and the hundred and eightieth from the arrival of the English in Britain. He was baptized at York on Easter, April 12th, in St. Peter’s Church, which he himself had hastily constructed of wood, when he became a catechumen and was ready for baptism.” A little after in the same chapter, speaking of a period about eight years later, he says:—“So great is said to have been the fervor of faith at that time, and the desire of baptism, among the people of Northumberland, that, on one occasion, Paulinus, coming with the king and queen to a royal residence, called Adgebrim, remained there with them thirty-six days wholly engaged in catechizing and baptizing. During all this time he did nothing else, from morning until evening, than instruct the people (who came thither in crowds from every village and neighbourhood) in the Gospel, and, when instructed, baptized them.” Many similar fragments of history pointing to glorious revivals might easily be quoted from the same author as well as from others. In North Britain also has God many times, during the last three hundred years, poured down his Spirit in a most remarkable manner. Church history has few brighter pages since the days of the Apostles than those which record God’s wonderful dealings with sinners at Shotts, at Kilsyth, at Cambuslang, and at multitudes of places in the west of Scotland, in the days of John Livingston, of Ja. Robe, of James Young, of David Blair, and other holy men.

Glorious revivals have long and often been experienced throughout Wales, whence the Gospel has had free course and powerful advocates. But it seems as if God, in his sovereign mercy, ordained that America should be, in a peculiar and full sense, the land of revivals. Almost, if not altogether, as far back as we read of the Church of God in this wilderness, we read of extraordinary religious influences being at times afforded. The history of these revivals is known to the readers of the Repository sufficiently for our present purposes.

Seeing that such events have occurred, and will undoubtedly occur in still greater power and frequency, it may be well to

\* Bedæ Hist. Ecc. Gentis Anglorum, pp. 145-46, Cantab. 1643.

spend a short time in considering the necessary accompaniments and evidences of such revivals as are desirable.

The first thing which we shall notice, is solemnity. We mean something more than sobriety, or mere seriousness, even a quiet, subdued, fixed stillness, and awe of the soul, resulting from some clear apprehensions of eternal things, as eternal things. We have no confidence in those religious raptures or impressions which breed lightness of mind and spiritual carelessness. When God the Spirit comes down to exhibit the spirituality, extent, and terrors of a violated law, or the still grander, sweeter awfulness of a glorious Gospel, it would require more than usual insanity of heart and folly of mind, to yield to a tripping levity, a flaunting demeanour, or the wicked irreverence of an unholy familiarity with God, and all things sacred. Truly pious feelings are seldom more rudely assailed than by exhibitions of a something, which, for want of a better name, we call impudence, in prayer. Indeed, a want of becoming solemnity is manifested in many ways. When such want exists, the subjects of a reputed revival have far less of the fear of God after their supposed conversion than before it. Yet the word of God in the Old Testament has more than once or twice declared, that "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom." And the New Testament declares, that we cannot otherwise "serve God acceptably, than with reverence and godly fear." And sound reason loudly proclaims, that the human mind, having even a general and vague, yet realizing view of eternal and holy and infinite things, must be deeply solemn.

To genuine revivals of religion always pertains a degree of permanency, both in themselves and in their effects. A genuine revival of religion may have a sudden commencement. Indeed the Lord whom we seek often delights to come suddenly to his temple. "In the mount it shall be seen." "Man's extremity is God's opportunity." When the spouse, having acquired the spirit of patient waiting, forbade the awaking of the beloved until he pleased; the next thing is "Behold he cometh, leaping upon the mountains and skipping upon the hills." And when she had sought the beloved on her bed, in the streets, and at the mouth of the watchmen, then evidently with joyful surprize it is added, "It was but a little that I passed from them, but I found him, whom my soul loveth."

Swift as their thoughts their joys come on,  
But fly not half so swift away.

So that though the Lord often appears suddenly, yet does he not ordinarily leave his church suddenly. Or if, in a sense, di-

vine influences are suddenly withdrawn from a church, their previous effects, when saving, continue. It is the goodness of formalists, of hypocrites, and of self-deceivers, that is like the morning cloud and early dew. On the other hand, no man wonders that Moses, who had stood in the midst of the ineffable effulgence and dazzling glories of Mount Sinai, contracted such a brightness of visage as for a long time to require the veil for the relief of his beholders. It is therefore both pertinent and important in the history of revivals to inquire, not merely whether at the time they seem to arouse, and even to enkindle pious emotions, but also whether they nourish pious principles. Does the revival bring the church permanently to stand upon higher and holier ground than formerly?

Genuine revivals of religion produce and nourish deep and unfeigned humility. To many, the question thrice propounded to the prince of orators, What constitutes eloquence? and his thrice repeated answer, action! must be familiar. An early writer in the Church, taking advantage of the thought, in attempting to define true religion, has said it consists, *first*, of humility; *secondly*, of humility; *thirdly*, of humility. No man's religion can go any further than his humility. No man grows in grace except as he grows in humility. According to the Scriptures, sin consists very much in the opposite of humility, pride. To speak therefore of a proud Christian is a perfect absurdity, if thereby we mean to designate a holy man, yet governed by pride. And to commend a revival as genuine, which has inflated the minds of its subjects with self-conceit, and high opinions of their own powers or virtues, is as unwarrantable as if it had produced the spirit of revenge, of lying, or of murder. Ten times do the Evangelists record that saying of our Saviour, they record no other so often, "He that exalteth himself shall be abased, and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted." A want of humility at such seasons is generally manifested by the assumptive conduct, unbecoming freedom, or dogmatical positiveness of its subjects. Servants act unbecomingly to their masters, children to their parents, young people to the aged, members to officers in the church, young converts to older Christians; or superiors have a lofty carriage towards inferiors. Like Diotrephe, the proud love to have the pre-eminence. Sometimes pride bursts out in fierce contentions, and dotings about strife of words to no profit. Wherever humility is lacking, true religion is lacking.

All genuine revivals will bear the test of the apostle James, when he says, (chap. iii. 17.) "The wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy."

Revivals, not tending to make us love our neighbours as ourselves, are not genuine. We have no right to believe that he has obtained forgiveness of God, who has not forgiven his brother, nor that he has obtained mercy, who does not love to show mercy. How dwelleth the love of God in one who could relieve a brother's wants and distresses, and will not? If these views be scriptural, it is not difficult to tell what we are to think, in the main, of those revivals, which in their progress assume the character of a religious quarrel carried on by ministers and a few adherents against the body of the church, and the unconverted part of the congregation. Neither can we stand longer in doubt of these reputed revivals, which, as one of Solomon's seven abominations, sow discord among brethren, destroying mutual affection and confidence between pastor and people, the eldership and the church, one member and another. It was the son of the bond-woman whose hand was against every man, and every man's hand against him.

All genuine revivals are produced in connection with evangelical truth. That error and fiction have no power or tendency to promote conversion or sanctification, need not be proved. It is alike plain that some truth, such as mathematical truth and the truth of profane history, is alike powerless in subduing the heart. But not all religious truth, nor even all revealed truth, is suited to inspire hatred of sin. To the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel is reserved the high honour of subduing the heart, and binding the soul to the throne of God. The only apparent exceptions to this doctrine, are, *first*, that any part of revealed truth may be employed for awakening the soul, and the law is always used to impart "the knowledge of sin." While this is true, yet but little is done towards a man's salvation when he is merely alarmed and convinced of sin. The work of salvation, of purification, and justification, is subsequent to these fears, and these convictions. The other apparent exception to this doctrine is, when the soul seems to receive holy comfort from expressions not found in the Bible. Thus hope and joy seem to have been communicated to Bunyan's mind from a verse in the Apocrypha: "Look at the generations of old and see did any one trust in the Lord and was confounded?" Eccl. ii. 10. This passage Bunyan supposed to be in the canonical writings, and was upheld by it, and although on discovering that he was mistaken in this supposition his heart seemed to be pained for a moment, yet did not his comforts utterly leave him. Now the true way of disposing of this seeming objection to the principle we would establish, is to state what is the undoubted truth, viz. that although the passage be not in the very words of Scripture, yet does it contain in

a very clear light, one of the fundamental and common truths of the evangelical system. It is precisely equivalent to this passage: "He that believeth shall be saved." So that we may boldly assert, that religious excitements in which it is taught and believed, that without the shedding of blood can be remission of sins, or that justification is by the works of the law, must be regarded as spurious.

Again: All genuine revivals are produced by the power of the Holy Ghost, and the genuine subjects of such revivals ascribe their conversion to the power of the Holy Spirit. The Scriptures leave us no room for doubt on both these points. Phil. ii. 13. Ephes. i. 18—20. 2 Thess. i. 11. 2 Pet. i. 3, and 1 John iii. 5, may be regarded as conclusive on the first point; and Rev. i. 5, 6. Ephes. i. 6 and 12. 1 Cor. xv. 10, sufficiently establish the last point in the assertion at the head of this paragraph. Should any desire more fully to investigate this subject, they are referred to Augustine, Epis. 107; also Augustine, lib. de Grot. cap. 24. Also, Gurnall's Christian Armor, vol. i. pp. 12—14. It is an exceedingly feeble objection to this doctrine, that the Spirit is not always mentioned, when sinners are called upon to believe, or when conversion is spoken of. Although not *always* mentioned in connection with this subject, yet is the Holy Ghost throughout the Scriptures declared to be the efficient cause of regeneration.\* Besides, hell is not mentioned once in the decalogue. Are we therefore to infer that there is not just as real, close, and indissoluble a connection between transgression of that decalogue and hell, as if hell were named at the end of each statute? It is, therefore, undoubtedly true, that revivals not produced by, and ascribed to, the power of God's Spirit, are not genuine.

The final and consummating evidence of the genuineness of a revival, according to common sense and revelation, must be the fruits of holy living. It was to this principle the Saviour appealed when he said, "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" The apples of Sodom do not grow on the trees of Paradise. Brainerd, remarking on the effects of the revival among the Indians says, "I think it worthy of remark, that numbers of these people are brought to a strict compliance with the rules of morality and sobriety, and to a conscientious performance of the external duties of Christianity, by the internal power and influence of the peculiar doctrines of grace. God was pleased to give those truths such a powerful influence upon the minds of these people, that their lives were quickly

\* See Charnock's Works, vol. iv. pp. 439—488.



reformed, without my insisting on the precepts of morality, and spending time in repeated harangues upon external duties.”\* Much more is said in the same place on this subject. May not one reason of the sudden cessation of reputed revivals be, that the hearts of those concerned in them were never truly and firmly bound and engaged to the glorious things of the Gospel? During the whole time their hearts were saying of the revival, “O that it were gone, that we might buy and sell and get gain.” If the people, who have recently had among them a reputed revival of religion, do afterwards exhibit an unsubdued fondness for wealth and splendour, for pride and party, for self and sloth; if they engage in vexatious law-suits, in giving or receiving usury, in extortion, in daring speculations; if they exhibit bad tempers, show severity of feeling towards servants and dependants; if they adhere to their old tricks of overreaching their neighbours, of chaffering and jockeying; in short, if a holy life does not succeed the revival, then was it no blessing to those who experienced it.

Having said thus much summarily on the history and nature of revivals, let us now take into consideration some things which show that it is important and absolutely necessary that such revivals as we have described should be numerous, extensive, rapid, powerful and frequent. We shall consider the whole subject in special reference to the United States.

In the first place, we in the United States are making the most important experiment in civil government ever yet made, our enemies themselves being judges; and without these revivals, the experiment must fail. More than once already has hung, “the peace of America by a thread, and factions were sharpening their weapons to cut it.” Of late years especially, have the wormwood and the gall of party spirit dashed over the bowl of our political festivity. Witness the ruthless spirit of persecution which ran high under one name, and of late was converted into a mere political party. Behold again the haughty attitude of some threatening political vengeance, and of others hurling the sternest defiance. See disappointed aspirant denounce disappointed aspirant, or unite destinies with him against a successful aspirant. How often have readers of the Scriptures been reminded within a few years of that remarkable passage—“The same day Pilate and Herod were made friends together: for before they were at enmity between themselves.” Luke xxiii. 12. During times of such excitement not only is common and statute law, but also fundamental

\* See Gillies' Collections, vol. ii. pp. 443—445; and Edwards' Works, vol. x. pp. 310—314.

law, yea, all law disregarded. In assemblies popularly called conventions, parties are organized, inflammatory addresses are prepared and sent forth to the people, and political doctrines insisted on as of the most ancient authority, which are as new as the party avowing them. Let men belong to what party they may, or let them belong to no party, and they will still say these remarks are just. All know that of late years our minds have been forced into very horrid familiarity with such words as swords, pistols, coercion, resistance, disunion, civil war, &c. Factions are of two kinds, to both of which we are subject. There is the *factio optimatum*, which rages and burns in the high places, and practises its intrigues with those in authority. There is also the *factio popularis*, which rages in the mind of that most terrible of all wild beasts, an excited populace. In our country these orders of factions, though distinct as in Rome, yet often unite for special ends, and when they do, and the populace can boast of *talents*, and the great ones of *numbers*, there is not a little danger. These factions, in the language of the Father of his country, "are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government, destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion."\*

We have no hesitation in asserting our unqualified and unwavering belief, that nothing but the prevalence of true religion, as promoted by glorious revivals, can hinder the faithful historian from emblazoning on the page of our country's future history that solemn truth so often read and so little regarded: "FACTION IS THE GRAVE OF REPUBLICS." But should even this evil be avoided, yet others might destroy us. Our large cities and towns, without the sanctifying influences of the Gospel, will become filled with dissipations, oppressions, frauds, riots, mobs, the habitations of cruelty, the dens of thieves and robbers, and the dark retreats of an organised atheism, and will vomit forth a lawless, rapacious, ignorant, and reckless horde worse than northern barbarians; or, like Sodom, being filled with pride and idleness and abundance of bread, their inhabitants will be sinners before the Lord exceedingly; and the hundred spires of sacred temples which now draw off in harmlessness the electric fluid of the divine wrath, will be laid low; and our Boston and Charleston, our Philadelphia and New York, will be as Sodom and Gomorrah, as Admah and Zeboim. The press too, may easily become licentious, the people fawning, the rulers sycophantic, honest

\* Marshall's Life of Washington, p. 697.

men flee an elective canvass, and down comes the whole fabric, notwithstanding our general unity of origin and interest, the vastness and connexion of our territory, the salubrity of our climate, the fertility of our soil, and our marvellous early history as a nation. Benevolent societies may send Bibles and Tracts, may plant schools, erect churches and support ministers; but without revivals all will be in vain, the land will mourn, the Constitution will be buried, and the cruel angel of tyranny proclaim throughout his dark dominions, that the car of liberty is rolled back and chained fast for centuries to come. The wisest and most patriotic of our political fathers have given to mankind views substantially corroborating those just expressed. Dr. Franklin, speaking to Paine about the Age of Reason, said: "I would advise you not to attempt UNCHAINING THE TIGER, but to burn this piece before it is seen by any other person. If men are so wicked WITH religion, what would they be WITHOUT it!" Washington also, in his last communication to his countrymen, says: "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labour to subvert the great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for prosperity, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of a refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

"It is substantially true, that religion or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?"\* But religion cannot be maintained and increased sufficiently except by revivals. It is therefore true, that without such revivals our experiment in civil government must be a failure. The importance of its success to mankind cannot make it successful.

Again: We in the United States are making a grand experi-

† Marshall's *Life of Washington*, vol. 5. pp. 699 and 700.

ment in church polity, having no connexion with the state, nor support from the civil arm; so that NOTHING but purely moral influence obstructs the passage of the whole nation to the gulph of Atheism. This is as it ought to be, God grant it may never be otherwise. The heaviest stroke of a nation's vengeance fall on the man or the men who shall devise any thing to the contrary! Important as we believe our experiment in civil liberty to be, we yet believe our experiment in religious liberty to be of still higher moment to the nations of the earth. Civil liberty may flourish under a limited monarchy with a free constitution; but religion under state patronage never can be pure, undefiled, and unspotted from the world; never can have free course and be glorified. How then is this moral influence to be preserved? Only by the prevalence of scriptural revivals. It is only by cultivating love to God and men, that we can keep the righteous from being sold for silver and the poor for a pair of shoes. It is only by the fear of God that the nation can be preserved from the sin of Jeremiah's time, when "every one neighed after his neighbour's wife." The grace of God alone can quench that febrile thirst, which pants "after the dust of the earth upon the head of the poor." Nothing but the fire of holy benevolence can effectually oppose the fire and the fury of fanaticism. It is not too late in the age of the world, nor in the history of America, for some master-spirit, filled with all deceivableness of unrighteousness, to gather around him an army of ignorant, infuriated fanatics, and go through the land, causing howling, lamentation and wo, and like a very tornado, making the land utterly desolate. Besides, there is at this time a most important discussion in progress in Europe, the chief force of which is derived, not from the galling effects of a hated establishment, nor from the manifest absurdity of the principles on which it is based, but from the example of America. The enemies of religious freedom are confounded by an appeal to things amongst us, but say. "Wait a few years, and you will see that religion in America is a sickly plant, not a flourishing tree under whose branches all the weary may find a quiet and cool retreat." In this state of things how unspeakably important that we should not spoil the pattern set for the world.

In the next place, nothing but such revivals as we have spoken of can cause genuine religion in this nation to keep pace with its rapid growth in some very important particulars. The growth of this nation in numbers is very great. We double our numerical strength in less than each space of 22 years. During the four years ending December 1832, more than 93,000 Protestant Irish entered the United States. That a large num-

ber of Catholic Irish entered our country during the same time, is at least very probable. But why mention particulars? Scotland, England, France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Poland, Germany, Spain and Portugal, are pouring in tens of thousands of people every year. Besides, the increase of the nation by births has perhaps not been equalled by any other nation for centuries. Indeed, at the present ratio of increase, in far less than a century, the United States will contain a population of more than 100,000,000. Can religion grow with this growth except by glorious revivals?

The power of the nation, both in nominal and real wealth, is not less remarkable. Though our Atlantic States are growing amazingly in wealth, yet is wealth travelling to the west and south west annually by tens of millions. If religion be not promoted by glorious revivals, will not the wealth of the land soon be nearly all unsanctified?

The intellectual growth of the nation increases with no less rapidity. In some parts of our land the desire for general and thorough education amounts almost to a rage. And the catalogues and number of our academies, colleges, universities, seminaries, &c. declare an increase of studious persons that is really surprising. But should the head of the nation grow much, and the heart not at all, what a monstrous appearance we shall make!

In fine, the growth of the nation in numbers, wealth, intellectual power, and in some other respects, is such, that without remarkable, glorious and frequent displays of divine grace, the wickedness of the wicked, the lawlessness of the profane, the licentiousness of profligates, the fooleries of superstition, and the impieties of atheism, must ere long overrun all that is good amongst us. Our nation, if not sanctified, will be a moral and political Maelstrom that will swallow up the last and the best hopes of the patriot and the Christian in reference to our miserable world, or more than volcanic Vesuvius, whose burning lava will scathe and scald and deluge, not only the American people, but the inhabitants of the whole world. This is an appalling subject.

Without genuine revivals of religion it is impossible that our benevolent Societies can be sustained, much less increased in usefulness. It is a delightful fact that the world is in a moral posture far more advantageous for the spread of the Gospel than it has assumed for centuries. It is also true, that in benevolent exertions we have as yet but made a beginning. Indeed one half of the Christian army does not seem to have girded themselves to the battle. And yet there is "a cry among the nations," Give us books and send us men, that may tell us how we may avoid

an eternal hell and be happy forever. Some have heard this cry already; and it lasteth so long, and waxeth so loud, that even the dead, one would almost think, must soon hear it. It seems as if ere long the Christian church will be compelled to renounce her name and forsake her colours, or go to work in greater earnest than ever she has done since the Apostolic days. Of late a voice seeming to come from the angel having the everlasting Gospel to preach has, with unwonted urgency and imperiousness, summoned all our national societies to redoubled efforts.

In this state of things, the cause of benevolence must renew its strength, must mount up with wings like eagles, or as the sun, rejoice like a strong man to run a race. But whence can this cause derive aliment in sufficient quantities but from the rapidly growing numbers and devotedness of the sons of God? Indeed, without these glorious revivals of religion, our theological seminaries may be razed to the foundation. and their funds restored to the heirs of their donors, for they would soon be without converted inmates. Our sabbath schools must languish, and instead of our national union going on to bless a world, she will lose her ninety thousand teachers, and her six hundred thousand pupils, and her thousands of libraries at home. Our domestic missionary boards and societies will not be able to retain any confidence among the pious, for then the Spirit will have ceased to descend and convert thousands annually through their endeavours. Our Tract and Bible Societies will then have ceased to bless this land. There will not be holy men enough at their anniversaries to perform their funeral rites, and the world will slumber on in its vileness and guiltiness. Our Boards of Foreign Missions must cease their doings forever. There will be no more of the spirit of Foreign Missions, no Missionaries, no funds to send them. Such must be the appalling result, unless the American churches shall have a regular, a frequent succession of blessed revivals, times of the right hand of the Most High, seasons of refreshing from the presence of the Lord.

All the foregoing statements and reasonings derive much additional force and pointedness from the fact that, undoubtedly God's providence seems to designate America as one of the nations to bear a conspicuous part in the introduction of the latter day glory. Indeed President Edwards in his work on *Revivals*, chap. 5. sect. 3. has some reasonings by no means inconclusive, to show that the Sun of righteousness will rise in this western world, and roll his glories back on the old world. Whether these reasonings be true or false, one thing is certain. Nothing has occurred since the publication of that work, that opposes the

idea, while much has occurred to favour it. But dropping this idea, on which it were easy to enlarge, what Christian can doubt but America is to be one of those nations to whom is reserved the honour of filling the earth with the knowledge of God? O! how important then that in this land we have one glorious revival after another until the nation shall feel and think and resolve and act as one man. But we pass on to remark,

That beyond all doubt these persons, other things being equal, who are subjects of renewing grace in revivals, do make more solid and useful members of the church of Christ than those who are brought into the church at other times. On this subject we beg leave to introduce the testimony of one whose observation has been extensive, and we doubt not correct. Our countryman, Mr. Nettleton, has said\* in speaking of revivals and their subjects: "*My heart has often been refreshed, when some Timothy has brought me good tidings of the faith and charity of these young converts. No tidings have been more 'refreshing.'*" I have often had occasion to adopt the language of Paul, on this very subject; *what thanks can we render to God again, for all the joy wherewith we joy, for your sakes before our God.*

"During the leisure occasioned by my late illness, I have been looking over the regions where God has revived his work for the two years past. The thousands who have professed Christ in this time, in general appear to run well. Hitherto, I think they have exhibited more of the Christian temper, and a better example, than the same number who have professed religion when there was no revival." A few paragraphs further on he says, "When I look back on revivals which took place ten or fifteen years ago, I have been agreeably surprised to find so many of the subjects of them continuing to adorn their profession. Take the whole number who professed religion as the fruit of these revivals, and take the same number who professed religion when there was no general revival, and I do think that the former have outhined the latter. I have not made a particular estimate, but from what I have seen, I do believe that the number of excommunications from the latter is more than double in proportion to the former." This testimony is good not only for the excellence of revivals in general, but also for the purpose of proving that subjects of revivals, other things being equal, excel in graces and usefulness those who are born into the kingdom when the attention to religion is not general and solemn. All this too is just what we might expect. Any husbandman

\* Letter in Spirit of Pilgrims for Feby. 1829.

knows that a plant set in the ground during a time of general drought, even though it live, does not thrive and grow like one planted during a season of refreshing showers. The great difficulty with young converts is to get them in their thoughts to conceive, and in their hearts to adopt, a high standard of holiness. This standard is always higher in genuine revivals than in times of general languor in religion. Of course, they are more apt to surmount this difficulty. But reasoning is not necessary. The facts are admitted by all to whom this article will do any good. If then these and other things already stated be so, how important not only that we have large additions of real Christians to our churches, but also that these real Christians be diamonds of the first water, stars of the first magnitude, at least not men of the dwarfish stature of our modern race of believers. Then we must have these glorious revivals.

The importance and necessity of genuine and numerous and mighty revivals will further appear if we will but consider that thus alone can we be prepared successfully to repress spurious revivals. We are aware that this is a subject of some delicacy, yet we presume that few will doubt but there are at least in some branches or sections of the American church spurious religious excitements, which do not advance genuine religion as much as they hinder it. We say not now where or when such excitements have occurred. We merely allude to their undoubted existence, and add, that those who promote them have no confidence in the reasonings of those, who know nothing of revivals by personal experience. Besides, a people who have enjoyed a genuine revival, will be the last to approve, in their taste at least, the silly doings of some of our modern revivalists. But we only meant merely to allude to this point, and pass on to two other points.

The first of the two is the argument drawn from the priceless value of the soul in favour of revivals. Verily any soul is of sufficient worth to demand the most fervent prayers and strenuous efforts for its salvation. Let us for a moment look upon the soul as capable of enjoyment and suffering here and hereafter. If regenerate, what carefulness is wrought in it, yea what clearing of itself, yea what indignation, yea what fear, yea what vehement desire, yea what zeal, yea what holy revenge, yea what ineffable love, yea what unspeakable joy. If unregenerate, it is the subject of tormenting fears, of unprofitable carelessness, of delusive joys, of wicked revenge, of unholy burnings, of tempestuous indignation, of mortal enmity to God, of vile ingratitude for mercies, and of dark forebodings of the wrath to come.

And in eternity the righteous soul shall flourish continually,



shall enjoy more than eye hath seen, or ear heard, or the heart of man conceived; shall go from glory to glory, being swallowed up in blessedness and in God; while the impure soul will be sinking deeper and deeper in ruin, and wretchedness, and guilt, and darkness, and despair, and remorse. In that state forlorn, passion will meet passion in "the fierce clash of sinful souls, until wrath and vengeance want a name." Comprehend all that is durable in eternity, all that is valuable in heaven, all that is horrible in hell, and all that is meant by the fierceness of God's wrath, and you will then know something of the value of a soul. The mightiest angels will require a whole eternity to learn the worth of one soul. How valuable then must those revivals be in which not merely one soul, or one score, or one hundred, but hundreds of souls are born unto God.

The last argument we shall hint at in favour of the importance of revivals is, that in nothing else earthly, can the glory of God be equally promoted. It is true, that at the creation of the material universe the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy. Yet do we not hesitate to declare our belief that loudly as the heavens declare the glory of God, yet a revival, yea a genuine conversion, speaks more to the honour of God than the whole material universe, considered as a mere physical structure. If this be true, the conversion of a thousand souls more loudly proclaims the glory of God than the creation of a thousand material worlds. There is a force, a clearness, a tangibility, a brightness about the manifestations of justice, holiness, love, mercy, truth, faithfulness, wisdom, and power in saving a sinner, which we in vain search for in the work of creation. No wonder then, that the Scriptures represent all holy beings in the unseen world, from the feeblest saint up to Him that sitteth upon the throne, as rejoicing at the conversion of even *one* sinner. It is a stupendous event. There will arrive a period in duration, when the brightest beams of the clearest summer sun would be but as darkness compared with the indescribable beams of glory that shall proceed from every one of the redeemed. Even our bodies, as Chrysostom says, will shine seven times brighter than the sun; or, as Paul says, they will be like Christ's glorious body. Thus, wherever the redeemed shall be, they will publish in a manner that mere dead matter, however organized could not, that God is just, is holy, is wise, is mighty, is love. Thus will be known unto principalities and powers in heavenly places by the Church the manifold wisdom of God, and that in all ages to come. If, then, we would promote God's glory in a wonderful manner, let us labour for revivals of religion, the religion of the Gospel of Christ.

**ART. VII.**—*A short Narrative of the extraordinary work of grace at Cambuslang in Scotland; in a letter to a friend. With proper attestations. Reprinted from the edition of 1742.\**

PREFATORY REMARKS.

THE Narrative which follows records one of the most remarkable instances of awakening and converting grace, which is contained in the annals of our church. It has often been published, but generally in periodical works of a more perishable nature. We have therefore deemed it advisable to give it a place in our volumes, as being a document of singular value, in the history of Presbyterianism. It will serve to show that the subject of revivals has been appreciated by our forefathers; that special efforts for the awakening of sinners are not without safe precedent; and that the doctrines of our ecclesiastical standards have been graciously used by the Holy Spirit for the conviction and conversion of multitudes.—*Ed. Bib. Rep.*

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SIR,—As the report of the good work at Cambuslang, which has for several weeks engaged the attention of numbers in this city and country in the neighbourhood, is now spread over a great part of the nation; it is no wonder that one who lives at the distance you do, should be curious to have a true relation of it. And as I would be glad of any opportunity to serve you, it

\* Attestation to the facts in the following narrative, by Mr. McCulloch, minister at Cambuslang.

May 8, 1742.

I have perused the following short narrative, and can attest the facts contained in it; partly from personal knowledge, and partly from the most credible information. But I think it a loss, that it is not more full. I have seen a larger paper compiled by different hands, which, besides the facts related in this, contains several useful reasonings, tending to prove, that the favourable judgment formed by many, and even by some, who, through want of due information, hesitated at first about this work, is supported by all that kind of evidence that things of this nature are capable of in such a space of time. And consequently, that there is good ground to hope, that by the divine blessing, the confirmation arising from perseverance, will be daily increasing as hitherto it has been.

For my own part, I desire to join in hearty prayers with the people of God, that he may revive his work in the midst of the years, in this and in all the churches, and make it to triumph over all opposition; and conclude with the words of the prophet Zech. iv. 6, 7. Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit saith the Lord. Who art thou, O great mountain before Zerubabel [the Lord Jesus Christ] thou shalt become a plain, and he shall bring forth the head-stone thereof with shoutings, crying grace, grace unto it.

WILLIAM McCULLOCH.

is very agreeable to me, to think I can gratify you in this matter; especially in what concerns the people in that parish, and some other parishes near it, having had opportunity to converse fully with the minister of Cambuslang, and with many of the people there, who are under this spiritual exercise, and also with some other ministers, who have several in their parishes that appear to be under the same happy impressions.

There is one thing in the entry I must apprize you of, viz. That I am to confine myself to a simple narration of facts, as the evidences on which the opinion of many concerning the present happy change that is wrought on that people, is founded; without entering into any reasonings, but leaving it to yourself to draw your conclusions from the facts, after comparing them with Scripture rules and instances.

I must also acquaint you, as it was natural to expect, when on a singular occasion of this sort, great numbers of people from adjacent towns and country, came flocking to a place that became so remarkable; that in such a promiscuous multitude some counterfeits would readily happen. It was the early care of ministers, who interested themselves most in that matter, to enter into a strict examination of those who appeared to be under a more than ordinary concern, so as to obtain satisfaction to themselves whether the work was solid, being justly apprehensive, that the powers of darkness would not fail to employ their devices, to bring contempt on what might tend so much to the honour of the Gospel.

In whose watchful endeavours it must be owned, that some imposters were found to have mixed with the sincere; but there is reason to bless God, that, so far as yet appears, they have been very few; and as these have been severely rebuked, so the most awful warnings have been given, against all such insincere pretensions, which warnings, there is ground to believe, have had very good effects.

Now, Sir, to give a short history of this matter:

The minister of that parish, in his ordinary course of sermons, for near a year before this work began, had been preaching on those subjects which tend most directly to explain the nature, and prove the necessity of regeneration according to the different lights in which that important matter is represented in Holy Scripture. And for some months before the late remarkable events, a more than ordinary concern about religion appeared among that people; one good evidence of which was, that about the end of January last, a petition was given in to the ministers, subscribed by about ninety heads of families, desiring a weekly lecture should be set up; which was readily granted, and the

day fixed on Thursday, as most convenient for the temporal interests of the parish.

On Monday the 15th of February there was a general meeting at the minister's house, of the particular societies for prayer, which had subsisted in the parish for several years before. On Tuesday there was another meeting for prayer there, the occasion of which was a concert with several serious Christians elsewhere, about solemn prayer, relating to the public interests of the Gospel; in which concert only a small number of people in Cambuslang were engaged at first, but others getting notice of it desired to join and were admitted. The people who met for prayer these two days, apprehended that they had been so well employed, and found so much leisure for it, that they had a third meeting on Wednesday. But on all these three days they returned timeously in the evening to their own houses, so far is it from being true that they rushed from some of these meetings to the church and continued there immured for some days and nights, as was reported.

Before Thursday, February 18th, they had week-day sermons only on Thursdays according to the above-mentioned desire of the parish; and before that day, though several particular persons came to the minister, from time to time, under deep concern about their salvation, yet there came no great number together.

But on that day after sermon a considerable number of people, reckoned by some present about fifty, came together to the minister's house, under convictions and alarming apprehensions about the state of their souls, and desiring to speak with him.

From this unexpected number, coming in an evening in so great distress, and the necessity of the minister's exhorting them in general, and conversing with many of them separately, you will easily perceive that it behoved him to spend that night with them, as he did most part of two or three more since this work began, which is now about twelve weeks.

After this, numbers daily resorted to that place, some to hear the word, some to converse with people who were under this remarkable concern, and others with different views. And the desires and exigencies of those were such, that the minister found himself obliged to provide them daily a sermon, a few days excepted, and after sermon usually to spend some time with them in exhortations, prayers and singing of Psalms, being especially encouraged thereto by the extraordinary success with which God was pleased, from time to time, to bless his own ordinances, in so much that, by the best information that could be

had, the number of persons awakened to a deep concern about their salvation, and against whom there are no known exceptions as yet, has amounted to above three hundred. And, through divine mercy, the work seems to be still making considerable progress every week, and more for some weeks of late than some times formerly.

Of the number just now mentioned the far greater part have given already, both to ministers and other serious Christians, a good account of what they have felt in their convictions and humiliation for sin, of the way of their relief by faith in the mercy of God through Jesus Christ, and of the change they feel in the prevalent inclinations and disposition of their hearts.

As to their devotion and other parts of their practice, which is that which chiefly attracts the attention and regard of this country, there are comfortable accounts given of it, by those who have the best and most frequent opportunities of knowing their daily behaviour.

The parish of Cambuslang being of so small extent, that most of the people live within a mile of the church, and some, who have the best intelligence, being almost every day with the minister, he and they have abundant opportunities to know the practices of such of the people I am speaking of, as live within their bounds, and the account they give of it is, that they appear to be in a very hopeful way; and the like good accounts are given by several ministers and others, of such of those people as belong to other neighbouring parishes.

Among the particular good fruits already appearing, both in Cambuslang and elsewhere, the following instances seem very encouraging. A visible reformation of the lives of persons who were formerly notorious sinners; particularly the laying aside of cursing, swearing and drinking to excess, among those who were addicted to that practice. Remorse for acts of injustice, and for violation of relative duties confessed to the persons wronged, joined with new endeavours after a conscientious discharge of such duties. Restitution which has more than once been distinctly and particularly inculcated in public, since this work began; forgiving of injuries, all desirable evidences of fervent love to one another, to all men, and even to those who speak evil of them; and among those people both in Cambuslang and other parishes, more affectionate expressions of regard than ever to their own ministers, and to the ordinances dispensed by them; the keeping up divine worship in families where it was neglected very often by some and entirely by others; the erecting of new societies for prayer, both of old and young, partly within the parish, where no less than twelve such societies are

newly begun, and partly elsewhere, among persons awakened on this occasion. And, together with all these things, ardent love to the Holy Scriptures, vehement thirsting after the public ordinances, earnest desires to get private instructions in their duty from ministers and others, with commendable docility and tractableness in receiving such instructions.

This thirst after knowledge is particularly remarkable in those who were more ignorant; several who cannot read, and some of them old persons, being so desirous to be better acquainted with the word of God that they are resolved to learn to read, and some of the younger sort actually putting themselves to school.

I would farther add, that these good impressions have been made on persons of very different characters and ages; on some of the most abandoned as well as the more sober; on young as well as old; on the illiterate as well as the more knowing, on persons of a slower as well as those of a quicker and more sprightly genius; and, which seems to deserve special attention, on persons who are addicted to scoffing at sacred things, and at this work in particular at the beginning of it.

The sum of the facts I have represented to you is, that this work was begun and carried on under the influence of the great and substantial doctrines of Christianity, pressing jointly, the necessity of repentance towards God, of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and of holiness in all manner of conversation; that it came after such preparatives as an extensive concern about religion gradually increasing; together with an extraordinary fervent prayer in large meetings, particularly relating to the success of the Gospel; that great and successful pains have been taken to discover and discountenance hypocritical pretences, and to warn people against what might have the least appearance of enthusiasm or delusion. That the account given by a very large number of people of their inward exercises and attainments, seems to agree with the Scripture standard; and are bringing forth in practice, fruits meet for repentance; comprehending the several branches of piety, and of the most substantial morality, that can entitle men to the regard of friends of religion and virtue.

And now, Sir, I have given you a plain and simple account of the most material facts relating to this extraordinary work at Cambuslang, and these awakened there belonging to other parishes; together with the proper documents by which these facts are supported, in all which I have avoided disputing and studied brevity.

I leave it to you to judge how far such facts make it evident,

that this work is from God; when (to use the words of a pious divine treating of a subject of the same nature.)\* "He that was formerly a drunkard lives a sober life; when a vain, light and wanton person becomes grave and sedate, when the blasphemer becomes a praiser of God, when carnal joy is turned into heaviness, and that professedly on account of their soul's condition; when the ignorant are filled with knowledge of divine things, and the tongue that was dumb in the things of God speaks the language of Canaan, when secure sinners have been roused with a witness about the state of their souls, Luke xi. 21, 11, those who were ignorant can speak skilfully about religious things, and even the graceless are increased in knowledge, swearers drop their oaths and speak reverently of God; vain persons who minded no religion, but frequented taverns and frolics, passing their time in filthiness, foolish talking and jesting, or singing paltry songs, do now frequent Christian societies (for prayer) seeking Christian conversation and talking of soul concerns, and choose to express their mirth in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs; they who were too sprightly to be devout, and esteemed it an unmanly thing to shed tears for their soul's state, have mourned as for an only son, and seem to be in bitterness as for a first born, Zach. xii. 10. And persons who came to mock at the lamentations of others, have been convinced, and by free grace proselyted to such ways as they formerly despised.

I am, Sir,

May 8. 1742.

Yours, &c.

It may be of use to readers, who live at a distance, in perusing the following attestations, to know, as to the situation of Cambuslang, that it lies about four miles from Glasgow. The several parishes, whose ministers, heritors, and elders sign most of the attestations, lie very near it, viz. the parishes of Kilbryde, Bothwell, old Monkland and Barony. That Mr. Matthew Connell and Mr. William Hamilton live but about three miles from Cambuslang, and are the oldest ministers of the Presbytery of Hamilton, in whose bounds that parish lies. That the two preachers who sign a joint attestation, and are young men of known probity, have frequently assisted Mr. McCulloch of late; that Mr. Duncan resides in the parish, and Mr. Young has resided a considerable time in the Gorbals near Glasgow, where many of the awakened people dwell. Also that Mr. Willison and Mr. McKnight, who live at a good distance from Cambuslang,

\* See Mr. Finley's sermon entitled, *Christ Triumphant*, &c.

spent some time there inquiring into this work as their attestations bear.

ATTESTATIONS, TO THE FACTS IN THE NARRATIVE, RELATING TO  
THE FRUITS OF THIS WORK.

*Attestation I. By Mr. Willison, one of the Ministers of Dundee.*

Glasgow, April 15, 1742

Rev. and Dear Brother,

SEEING some are desirous to have my thoughts of the work at Cambuslang, I am willing to own, that I have travelled a good way to inquire and get satisfaction about it. And having resided several days in Mr. M'Culloch's house, I had occasion to converse with many who had been awakened and under convictions there: I found several in darkness and great distress about their souls condition, and with many tears bewailing their sins and original corruption, and especially the sin of unbelief, and slighting of a precious Christ, and some who had been in this case for these several weeks past; yet I saw nothing in any tending to despair, but on the contrary their exercise pointed still at the great remedy, for oft they would be breaking out in hopeful expressions such as, "though he slay me I will trust in him."

Others I found in a most desirable frame, overcome with a sense of the most wonderful love, and loveliness of Jesus Christ, even sick of love, and inviting all about them to help them to praise him.

I spoke also with many who had got relief from their soul trouble, and in whom the gracious work of the Spirit of God appeared in the fruits and effects of it, according to my apprehension, such as their ingenious confessing of their former evil ways, and professing a hatred of sin; very low and abasing thoughts of themselves; renouncing the vanities of the world, and all their doings and righteousness, and relying wholly upon Christ for righteousness and strength; and expressing great love to Christ, to the Bible, to secret prayer, to the people of God, and to his image in whomsoever it was, without respect to persons or parties; and also love to their enemies; and when they heard of some who called the work at C——g a delusion of the devil, they showed no resentment against them, but wished their eyes might be opened, and earnestly wished they could bring all their enemies, and all the world to their dear Redeemer.

I conversed with some who had been very wicked and scandalous, but now wonderfully changed: though some were very



rude and boisterous before, they now had the mildness and meekness of the Lamb about them. When they spoke of their former ways they blushed and wept, and said none in all the country round were so vile as they, and earnestly desired to exalt free grace. And when I was cautioning them against new temptations and relapses, they showed a sense of their own weakness, and were afraid on that account to come near their old companions, though they would fain had them also brought to Christ. They said, they would wish rather to die than go back to their old sins, and if ever they should be left to any of them, they would incline to leave the country, because of the dishonor it would bring on the work of God, which they could not bear to see

Though I conversed with a great number both men and women, old and young, I could observe nothing visionary or enthusiastic about them; for their discourses were solid, and experiences scriptural; and all the comfort and relief they got from trouble, still came to them, by some promise or word of scripture cast into their minds, and it was pleasant to hear them mention the great variety of these words up and down the Bible. And some who could not read told their words of consolation, not knowing well if they were in the Bible or not, and when upon asking if they were Bible words or not, they greatly rejoiced to find they were.

I had heard much of this surprising work by letters and from eye-witnesses before I came, but all that made slight impressions on me, when compared with what I was eye and ear-witness to myself.

Upon the whole, I look on the work at Cambuslang to be a most singular and marvellous outpouring of the Holy Spirit which Christ hath promised; and I pray it may be a happy forerunner of a general reviving of the work of God in this poor decayed Church, and a blessed mean of union among lovers of our dear Jesus.

I am sorry I cannot stay to assist you further in this good work my business and circumstances oblige me to return homewards. May the Lord himself strengthen and encourage you in his work and graciously carry on what he has begun, and take to him his great power, that he may reign gloriously through all the land. I remain with all sincerity,

Your most affectionate brother, and  
servant in the Lord,  
JOSEPH WILLISON.

*Attestation II. By Mr. Connel, Minister in Kilbryde.*

Rev. and dear Brother,

Many have asked my opinion of the work at Cambuslang, which I freely gave (as I now write to you) that I looked upon it as a work of God's Spirit. When I compared the exercise of several persons that had been there, with the Scripture accounts of convictions and conversion, I have been under a necessity to conclude, that it is neither delusion nor imposture, as has been given out by those who are unacquainted with the dealings of God of that kind, or under the influence of party zeal.

Some I have seen crying out of the evil of sin, and of their danger by it, sadly bewailing their guilt and misery, expressing a most earnest desire of an interest in Christ, which they said they would value more than all the world, but bitterly complaining of want of love to him, want of faith in him, and undutiful carriage towards him through their past life, and if now it might be their attainments, for former coldness and deadness, to have love to Christ; for unbelief, faith in him; and for an undutiful behaviour towards him, a sincere and hearty embracing of him in the Gospel offer, and living the rest of their time to the praise and glory of his name. This they would account their greatest happiness, and the remedy of all the evils in their case; and for this effect, they begged the help of prayers.

Others I have seen who lamented their lost time and opportunities, and the vanity and the folly of their youth, saying, many good sermons and prayers they had heard, but all had been lost to them, and had no good effect upon them, being wholly carried away with youthful vanities and follies; but added now we are resolved in the strength of the grace of Christ (for said they of ourselves we can do nothing) to improve time and opportunities better, to value sermons and prayers, to read the Scriptures, to keep company with the fearers of God, and to shun fellowship with the wicked as much as possible, blessing God that he had not taken them away before they saw the necessity of all these.

Others I have conversed with, who like doves of the valleys, were mourning for their iniquities, principally because they did strike against God and wound their Redeemer, using the expression Psalm li. 4. and Zach. xii. 10. But with good hope through the merits of Christ and mercy of God in him that it would be well with them.

Others I have observed at one time much dejected and under a cloud, at another time possessed of a good measure of spiritual joys, as it happens with the best of saints.

Others I have heard cry, they had spent their money for that which is not bread, and their labour for that which did not satisfy, having given their time and strength to the world and the things of it, which now they resolved against, these being matters of greater moment, which they saw and were convinced they should be mainly taken up about.

And to trouble you with no more (for I could write you a volume on this subject,) a young woman, who after having given me a distinct account of her distress and outgate, said, I have lived about twenty years in the world, and all that time the devil had possession of my heart, and I am sure he is a bad guest, but blessed be God I hope he is now in a great measure dispossessed, and shall never, through the strength of Christ, recover the power over me that formerly he had. Meantime I observe to you, this person had all along been of a blameless life, and not chargeable with any scandal, but with tears regretted her careless way of going about secret duty, reading of the Scriptures, and hearing sermons, or neglecting these altogether; but with much humility and seriousness, in the strength of divine grace, expressed her resolution, that she would do so no more.

Upon the whole, in most of all I have seen and conversed with, I observed, and have daily occasion to observe, the effects of godly sorrow mentioned by the apostle 2 Cor. vii. 11.

Praying the pleasure of the Lord may more and more prosper in your hands, and begging the help of your prayers for me and this people,

I am, Rev. and dear brother,  
Yours, most affectionately,  
MATTHEW CONNELL.

*Attestation III. By Mr. John Hamilton, Minister of the Gospel in Barony.*

I understand it is expected from me, that I should declare my sentiments of the extraordinary work at Cambuslang, as a good many of my parishioners have lately been awakened there, to a great concern about their souls' happiness.

As soon as I was informed of their condition, I made it my business to wait on them, and found a good many persons under the deepest exercise of soul, crying out most bitterly, of their lost and miserable estate, by reason of sin, of their unbelief, in despising Christ, and the offers of the Gospel, of the hardness of their heart, and their former gross carelessness and indifference about religion. And though some, them said, they had regularly attended the preaching of the Gospel, yet acknowledged,

with much regret, their misimprovement of it; how many sweet sermons they had heard without any benefit, and they came to church with no design to be instructed, but only, as they said, to see and be seen.

I have heard them expressing a great deal of sorrow for these things, and seemingly, in the most serious and sincere manner; and not so much, as some of have told me, from the fear of punishment, to which they had thereby exposed themselves, as from a sense of the dishonour they had done to God and the blessed Redeemer; and frequently aggravated their sins from this consideration, that they had been the betrayers and murderers of the Lord of glory.

And though I have seen some of them under extreme affliction and distress, I could never observe the least disorder in their judgments. But their complaints were always suitable to their condition. Neither have I observed any of them carried away with despairing thoughts of the mercy of God, but all of them seem to be seeking relief in the method the Gospel proposes; and expressed the warmest desires after an interest in Christ to obtain which said they would cheerfully lay down their lives, and part with every thing that was dear to them in the world.

I have at several different times conversed with many of these persons, and have received no small satisfaction from such conversations. When speaking of prayer, they have told me how much their duty had been neglected by them, and in what a cold, lifeless manner it was performed; from which therefore they neither did nor could reap any satisfaction; but now, they said, it was an exercise in which they found much sweetness and comfort.

Their love to the Holy Scriptures all of them express in the most lively and moving manner, frequently calling it a precious and invaluable treasure, greatly surprised how they could possibly alight it so much in time past, and declaring they now saw many things in it highly useful and comfortable to them, which they never before imagined had been there.

They express a great love to and desire after the public ordinances; when I have asked some of them if they had as much affection as the Psalmist speaks of in the beginning of cxxii. Psalm, where it was said to him, 'Let us go up to the house of the Lord,' they have told me that though it was quite otherwise with them before, yet now they found a vast pleasure in attending the Church and public worship of God, and a great unwillingness in them to withdraw from it when the service was over.

They are likewise exceedingly desirous of more private instruction in their duty, and take all opportunities of waiting on

those that can be of use to them, and such of them as are near at hand, do frequently come to my house, and receive my advice and assistance, and I never saw persons more docile than they are. I must own, indeed, that when I first conversed with them, I found some of them pretty ignorant of the principles of religion. But this was what they seemed deeply grieved and afflicted for, and much condemned their former sloth and negligence, and since that time have been making use of the proper means of knowledge, and I think I can say, with no contemptible success, considering the short time they have had.

Some of them seem to discover devout breathings of soul after God and the blessed Redeemer, and resolutions through grace to depend upon him in the worst of circumstances, often making use of these words of Job xiii. 15, 'Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him.' I have been surprised to see how readily, nay even judiciously, some of them who have been formerly ignorant and unconverted, have spoke of some of the most important points of practical religion, and with what facility they had adduced passages of Scripture, very suitable to what they were speaking about.

There is another branch of Christian duty, that I do think they are likewise studying a conformity to, and that is love to mankind. I have heard them often wishing and desiring that all men might be brought to Christ and the knowledge of the truth, and particularly expressing a great regard for all that are the Lord's people. So far as I have yet access to know them, they seem to be of a meek and quiet spirit, and willing to forgive, telling me they desire to wish well, and to pray even for the happiness of those who had been injurious to them.

More might be said on this subject, but I choose rather to be sparing, till time make a clearer discovery of them.

The persons I have conversed with were of different characters. Some of them had all along been pretty sober and regular in their lives, and duly enough attended the ordinances of the Gospel, others of them were very careless this way, and addicted to many sins. But even those who were more blameless in their lives, have declared, that their hearts till now were never touched with anything they had heard from the word of God, that they had never lived under the influence of religion, and were grossly unconcerned about their salvation.

These now are the appearances I observe among some of my people, who were awakened to a concern about their souls at Cambuslang; which do strongly incline me to think that it is the work of God.

JOHN HAMILTON.

*Glasgow, April 26, 1742.*

*Attestation IV. By Mr. William Hamilton, Minister at Bothwell.*

Rev. and dear Brother,

I have seen the attestation by the Rev. Mr. Matthew Connell in Kilbryde, as also that by the Rev. Mr. John Hamilton in Barony. As I have no new thing to add, so I heartily join in the same sentiments with my above named brethren, both as to the reality of that extraordinary work at Cambuslang, being in very deed a gracious work of the Spirit of God, designed, I firmly believe, for the saving conviction and conversion of many perishing souls, not only in that parish, but in the neighbourhood. May the Lord, in his infinite mercy, shed abroad the influences of his saving grace through all the corners of the land.

There are a good number of my people, mostly young people, who have been awakened at Cambuslang, and have much the same account to give of them as my above named brethren. All of them are very serious and concerned about their soul's case, and are very solicitous to have others brought to acquaintance with Christ, and the way of salvation through him. Which has had, I hope, this blessed effect, that there seems to be a more than ordinary seriousness among a goodly number in several corners of this congregation, more conscience made of family worship in several families who made but too little account of it before; as likewise there are some new societies for prayer and Christian conference set up in this congregation, wherein several persons, besides these awakened at Cambuslang, have joined. I hope these things, through the blessing of God, may prove the beginning of much good, in this and in other places. May that blessed God, who has begun a good work, carry it on and perfect the same until the day of Jesus Christ!

May the Lord direct and assist you and all his servants to a right and faithful management of our great master's work amongst our hands. I add no more, but am, with the greatest sincerity,

Your affectionate brother,  
and humble servant in the Lord,  
W. HAMILTON.

*Attestation V. By Mr. William Hamilton, Minister in Douglas.*

Rev. and dear Brother,

WHILE I was with you, it gave me great pleasure to see so much concern upon people's spirits about the salvation of their precious and immortal souls, a thing very rare amongst us; some whom I had occasion to discourse with, appeared to be in the

utmost distress on account of sin, both original and actual, and that principally as it is that abominable thing which God hates. Others whose consciences God had awakened with a sense of guilt, but had now got believing views of Christ, as a most complete Saviour, both able and willing to save, and whom God had determined by the power of his Spirit to yield themselves to the Lord; they in a very strong manner expressed love to their God and Saviour, and to all his commands; and declared, that it was their firm purpose and resolution, through the assistance of the Holy Spirit, to walk in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless; and seemed more afraid of offending God, than of any sufferings they might be exposed to in the world. And their practices, as far as I can hear, are as yet agreeable to their resolutions; so that I not only hope but think I have good ground to believe, that work begun and for some time past carried on amongst the people of Cambuslang, and strangers that have resorted thither from many distant parts shall appear to the conviction of all good men, to be the work of God, from the after holy life and conversation, of not a few of these, whose consciences have at this time been awakened to a sense of their lost and undone state by nature. That the Lord may more and more assist, strengthen, and support you, and give you and all faithful ministers of the Gospel many seals of the ministry, is the hearty prayer of,

Your affectionate brother,

May 6th, 1742.

W. HAMILTON.

*Attestation VI. By Mr. M<sup>r</sup> Kneight, Minister at Irwin.*

Rev. and dear Brother,

As I had by information from letters, conceived a good opinion of the extraordinary and surprising work at Cambuslang before I went thither, upon an invitation from you, to preach there last Sabbath; so my said opinion has been very much confirmed by what I was an eye and ear witness to, during my abode with you, from Saturday to Tuesday last; being still more and more persuaded, that it is the real work of the Spirit of God.

While I joined with your congregation in public worship, I observed amongst the vast numbers that flocked to hear the Gospel preached at Cambuslang, not only the serious looks, the grave deportment, and the close attention of the multitudes to what was spoken, but also the weeping eyes of many that appeared to be in the greatest distress and trouble.

Again, in the evenings, after public worship was ended, and when I had occasion to converse with several of these afflicted

persons, I found their wounds and anguish of soul, together with their tears, did proceed not from a whimsical and enthusiastic imagination, but from a deep conviction of the great evil and demerit of sin, original and actual, particularly of their sin of unbelief, and slighting precious Christ, and the gracious offers of salvation by him; and when I exhorted and directed them to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, as the Apostle Paul did the convinced and trembling jailor, Acts xvi. 31, they answered, Lord help me to believe, gladly would I believe but I cannot. However, while under their soul exercises for sin, and because of God's wrath, I heard them expressing ardent desires after Christ, and an interest in him, and salvation by him; and a great thirst after the word, the knowledge of God and of divine things, and after a saving faith in Jesus, gave me ground to hope our Redeemer would soon accomplish these desires in relieving them from their distresses, of body and mind.

Likewise I conversed with others, who were under piercing and deep convictions of sin; and have felt the sharp arrows of the Almighty sticking fast in their souls, and to whom the Spirit of God had, upon their believing in Jesus Christ, applied his precious blood to heal these wounds, and hereon hath granted them relief and comfort, hath delivered their souls from death, their eyes from tears, and their feet from falling; for which distinguishing mercies, they were exalting free grace, saying with the Apostle Paul, It is by grace we are what we are, and blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ.

They, when I conversed with them, declared distinctly the way and manner, how their convictions began and wrought, and how the relief they got from soul troubles came to them. They also discovered the gracious work of the Spirit of God upon their souls, in their confession of sin with shame, sorrow and blushing; in their professing a hatred of it, and loathing themselves on account thereof, crying out behold we are vile, we abhor ourselves and repent in dust and ashes, in their love to God, and his ordinances, in renouncing their own righteousness and relying wholly on Christ for righteousness and strength, in their high esteem of, and ardent love to, their dear Redeemer, in their charity and love to one another, and to all Christians, and especially to those who are the real disciples of the Lord Jesus, and bears the image of their heavenly Father; in their tender sympathy with, and affectionate concern for those that fall under distress and anguish of spirit for sin; and in their endeavours to relieve them, by good advices and proper exhortations, and to comfort the dejected and disquieted in mind, with the consolations wherewith they



themselves had been comforted. These are a few of the good fruits of the Spirit of God, I observed among several I conversed with at Cambuslang.

Therefore I cannot but bear a testimony, that in my apprehension, the surprising work with you, dear brother, for these several weeks past, is of God. And if the work be of God, then neither the devil, nor all his agents shall be able to overthrow it; yea, I hope through the divine blessing on the seed sown, and to be sown, to hear more of its remarkable success with you. As I desire to join you in giving thanks to God, for this remarkable countenancing your sacred ministrations to many in your parish and neighbourhood; so I intreat you may constantly remember me, and my flock at the throne of grace; and join with us in earnest and repeated prayers to God, that the like observable outpourings of the Holy Spirit may visit my congregation and the neighbouring parishes; to revive his work in this west country; and may it not only spread through all the churches in Britain and Ireland, but throughout all the churches in the world, for building up Zion; yea, that the heathen may be given to Christ for his inheritance, and the utmost ends of the earth for his possession.

That a rich and powerful blessing from heaven, may crown your ministerial labours with more and more success, is and shall be the earnest prayer of,

Your affectionate brother,

and servant in the Lord,

Irvine, May 6, 1742.

W. M'KNEIGHT.

*Attestation VII. By John M'Laurin, one of the ministers of Glasgow.*

May 12th, 1742.

HAVING had occasion not only to converse with several in this city, who have been lately awakened at Cambuslang, to a deep concern about salvation; and upon inquiry to get good accounts of their behaviour; but also to bestow some pains, in conversations and inquiries of that kind, in the parish of Cambuslang itself; by these means I am in a condition to affirm on good grounds, several of the most material things in the above narrative and attestations. But in regard of the intended brevity of this paper, I judge it proper to avoid too particular repetition of things already attested by so many good hands.

By the accounts which several of these people give of their impressions of eternal importance, with great appearances of sincerity, supported by the accounts given by others of their conduct, they seem in the judgment of charity, to be persons to

whom the following Scripture characters agree, viz: That they are of broken hearts and contrite spirits; that they come to God through Jesus Christ as the way, the life, and the truth; that they endeavour by the grace of God, to give all acceptance, to the true and faithful saying, that Christ come to save sinners, that they have the love of God shed abroad in their hearts, and earnest desires to have his laws written on their hearts. While they are still deeply sensible of the remainders of evil that cleave to them and others in this imperfect state.

By the accounts given of their practice, by those who have the nearest view of it, they appear to have forsaken the sins to which they were addicted, to delight in the duties from which they were averse, to watch against temptations, to which they formerly yielded; and instead of separating one part of religion from another, to have a strict regard to the precepts of both tables of the divine law. Herein exercising themselves to have consciences void of offence toward God and toward men.

From the best observations I could make on their disposition and behaviour, compared with the observations made by others, they seem, in a particular manner, to excel in meekness, humility, self-denial, and charity. In the wisdom from above, described in Scripture (James iii. 17,) as first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, &c. in aversion from things that tend to strife rather than to edification; and in ardent desire of the conversion and salvation of others.

I would not be understood to assert such things of all whom I know to have pretended to seriousness about religion, on this occasion; being particularly concerned to attest from personal knowledge, in conjunction with Mr. M'Culloch, that part of the above narrative which relates to pains taken, with some success in detecting deceivers. A correspondence having been set on foot, and being indeed kept up still, and several here having begun and resolving to continue a proper scrutiny from time to time, in order to such discoveries.

Mean time, whatever ungrateful discoveries may have been made already, which indeed are not many, or may hereafter be the result of such inquiries; people of candour will own, that the faults of a few particular persons ought not to be charged on a body of serious people, who to other evidences of sincerity, add that of a hearty concern, that deceivers or backsliders may be detected, admonished, and by the divine blessing reclaimed.

Whereas an unknown person very lately wrote a letter to Mr. M'Culloch, dated April 29th, (in which was enclosed another letter with a twenty shilling note to Mr. J. J. merchant in this

city, on account of wrong done to his father of two or three shillings value many years ago) and that unknown person desires that in the printed account, that was expected of the work at Cambuslang, there might be some instructions about restitution; it is thought sufficient, in regard of the shortness of this paper, to refer that person and others, to the Scriptures cited in our Larger Catechism, where it treats of the eighth commandment; and to approved commentaries on the ten commandments in general, asserting and proving the necessity of that duty.\*

While the friends of religion will judge themselves obliged to desire, that all who have been awakened to a serious concern about it, may prove real converts, persevering to the end, they and others should remember, that though several should backslide, which God of his mercy prevent, it can be no argument against the sincerity of the rest.

So far as we have credible accounts of works to which this bears a resemblance, it does not appear, by what I can recollect or learn from persons well skilled in church history, that ever there were so great numbers awakened to so deep concern about their souls, attended with so promising evidences, as these mentioned in the above narrative and attestations, without a happy issue. It appears therefore agreeable to the rules of charity and just reasoning, to hope for the like good issue as to this present case.

It consists with my knowledge, that as to such of the people whom this paper treats of, as seem to have attained to joyful hopes, on which some particular Scripture promises appear to have a remarkable influence, care is taken to examine them, and to direct them to examine themselves about the essential evidences of interest in Christ, and so all the promises in general.

JOHN M'LAURIN.

*Attestation VIII. By two Preachers to the success of the Gospel at Cambuslang, for several weeks past.*

May, 1742.

HAVING had access to examine several persons that have been awakened to a serious concern about salvation by means of the ministrations of the Gospel there, we find with many of them what we cannot but construct, in the judgment of charity, to be promising appearances, or hopeful beginnings of a good work of

\* See Mr. Durham on the Ten Commandments.

grace; such as a deep sense of their sinful and guilty state, and apprehension of the extreme need of the Saviour Jesus Christ, to be justified by his blood, and sanctified by his Spirit. Their plain confession of their great ignorance, and blindness in the things of God, and mysteries of his kingdom, and earnest desire to know the truth as it is in Jesus; and laborious diligence to be better acquainted with the first principles of his doctrine; deeply lamenting their heart pollutions and abominations, as well as their great neglect of God's worship, and careless regard of the great salvation formerly, and with some their gross vices and scandalous profanations of God's name and day; their frequent complaints of the sin of unbelief in Christ, and of the deadness and hardness of their hearts, and anxious concerns and prayers to have them softened with the spiritual views of Christ as crucified, into the exercises of godly sorrow and repentance, and reduced in captivity to the obedience of the faith. Their cautious guard against sin and temptation; their tender circumspection over themselves, lest the corrupt conversation of others, the hearing of which sometimes is unavoidable, might stifle their serious concern, and extinguish religious impressions. Their frequent watchfulness unto the duties of worship, reading the scriptures as it becomes the oracle of the living God, hearing the Gospel preached with serious attention as the voice of Christ speaking to them; praying to God as the Searcher of hearts and trier of the reins, humbly supplicating him with a deep sense of their own unworthiness and demerit, as the father of all mercies, and God of all grace in Christ, and making conscience of having him frequently in their thoughts, and being tenderly sensible when the Spirit breathes on their souls in such exercises, as a Spirit of life and liberty, and anon when he withholds his sensible influences and consolations of grace, their hearts are troubled.

And when we consider that the young are early inquiring the way to Zion, seeking the Lord with weeping and supplication, that sinners are taught God's ways, and transgressors converted to him, the openly profane and profligate, who were running head-long in the paths of the destroyer, and enticing and corrupting others into the same pernicious courses, stopped in their hot career, and reformed by sovereign victorious grace, frequenting Christian fellowships, and abounding in Christian conference, and heartening and encouraging others to walk in wisdom's ways which are pleasantness and peace. We have good grounds to rejoice at this remarkable success of the Gospel, and to bless the name of God for giving such a sensible testimony to the word of his grace, and to plead in prayer to him, filling our mouths with this argument. That as he has begun to lift up

a cloud of his gracious presence on this spot of his vineyard that he would spread it far and wide, so that in many places the gathering of the people may be to our Shiloh, and many may be observed to fly unto him as clouds and as doves to their windows, even to fly for refuge from the wrath to come, and lay hold on the hope set before them.

JAMES YOUNG.  
AL. DUNCAN.

*Attestation IX. By Mr. D. Connel, Preacher of the Gospel.*

You desire some account from me, of what I have observed or know with regard to the work at Cambuslang, which I shall give without art or disguise.

I have conversed with a good many in this parish that have been affected there. Some have told me that by what they heard in sermon, they had great desires raised in their minds to be burdened with sin, that so they might come to Christ. And then have got so great a sense of sin and guilt as they could well bear. Others that have come to me in great distress, when I asked them how they came to me in that condition? answered, that while they were hearing some private exhortations of the minister, a great many of their sins were brought to their remembrance. They thought they had been doing nothing but sinning all their days; that they were empty of all good, and that they were undone without Christ. Some have told me, they met with great opposition in going to attend upon the ordinances, but they became resolute and went. And what places of Scripture first fastened any sense of sin upon their minds; how this was more and more increased, and what text kept them from despair amidst the greatest terror one could readily be under. Others, that all things in the world were now become tasteless to them, seeing the danger their souls were in. I have seen some sitting all alone in tears, and when I asked them what was the matter, they said, they were afraid lest their convictions should go off without any good effect; and expressed a strong desire after Christ. Others that seemed to be under great concern, being asked what they wanted, said, conviction of sin and faith in Christ. I have been greatly surprised to hear such a distinct account of the provoking nature of sin, and the terms of our acceptance with God, given by those that are reputed the most ignorant, and who I believe knew scarce any thing at all of religious matters till this work began. I cannot say, that among all I have conversed with here, I have

found one in despair, but have heard them expressing a great sense of their inability to believe.

I have heard them expressing the highest esteem of the mercy of God, and the mediation of Christ; the most earnest desire after an interest in him; and telling the promises and declarations of mercy, and representations of Christ in the Scripture, that were the foundation of their hope, and praising Christ as one altogether lovely.

I have heard them expressing a sense of the evil of sin, and their own vileness by it; earnest desires after perfection in holiness, and fears lest they should fall back in their former sinful state; mentioning the promises that supported them under these fears, and telling what love and joy and praise these produced when cast into their minds.

Their earnest desire and diligent endeavours after more knowledge, the deep sense and a sweet relish of divine truths they seem to have, their readiness to apply what they hear to themselves, even these things that discover more of the corruption of their hearts, or errors of their lives to them, the pouring out of their souls to God in prayer, which they speak of, the perplexity and dejection I have seen them in, when, as they told me, they have not been able to do this, the steadiness and fixedness of their minds on spiritual things not only in stated duties, but when about their worldly affairs, that they inform me of. Their grief when vain thoughts fill their minds, and restlessness till they recover their former spirituality, their charitable disposition towards men, of which I could give variety of instances; their great care to do the will of God, and fear lest they trust in their own righteousness. These and other things I have observed in, or heard from them, and about them, puts it out of doubt with me, that the finger of God is in this work, which I pray may more and more appear.

I am, sir, yours, &c.

DAVID CONNEL.

Kilbryde, May 14th, 1742.

*A true account of the wonderful conversion at Cambuslang, contained in a letter from a gentleman in the Gorbles of Glasgow, as a satisfactory answer to his friend at Greenock.*

Sir,

The work at Cambuslang is so differently spoken of with us, that serious people are at a loss what opinion to entertain about it; and even people who went from this place to Cambuslang, on purpose to satisfy themselves, differ after they are come

home; some calling it mere delusion; others judging it a glorious work of the Spirit of Almighty God. So, for my and others of your acquaintances here, their satisfaction, I have troubled you with this missive, desiring you may favour us with your opinion of the affair. In giving it freely, you will oblige,—Sir, your humble servant.

A. B.

Greenock, March 28th, 1742.

Sir,

In answer to yours in few words, take the following account of the work at Cambuslang. Notwithstanding of all the slur cast upon it, I can take it to be nothing but the mighty power of God concurring with the means of grace of God's own institution and appointment, and making a preached Gospel mighty through God to the pulling down strong holds, &c. And after strict and impartial inquiry and examination into its first spring and rise, I tell you that Mr. M'C—h hath for a considerable time past, been praying fervently for a revival to decayed religion, and that God might glorify himself in the conversion of sinners, be the instruments how they will. And after he had preached long upon the new birth, he was observed one day in prayer to express himself, 'Lord who hath believed our report? or to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?' Where is the fruit of my labours among this people? Upon his expressing these words, several of the congregation instantly cried out publicly. I must likewise observe to you, that the people there have been wonderfully given to private, secret and social prayer, and religious conferences, assembling themselves as the manner of some is, and considering one another to provoke to love and good works. And, as there has been unusual wrestling and pouring forth of their hearts in prayer, intercessions and supplications, it appears evident to me, that the hearer of prayer hath heard in heaven, his dwelling place, and turned their prayers into their own bosom; and, as they have been unusually exercised, there's unusual fruits now following thereupon. For,

1st. The Rev. Mr. M'C—h, or some other for him, hath preached daily, Sabbaths and week days, these five weeks last past; and several days he and another both.

2dly. These public ordinances have been attended with people in the parish, and out of the parish from distant places, thirsting after the sincere milk of the word.

3dly. Either before or after public worship, and ordinarily both, the people convened in the manse, the church, or other convenient places for prayer, praising, reading the Scriptures,

solving cases of conscience, religious conferences, and the like godly exerciscs.

4thly. At public ordinances there has appeared amidst the whole congregation great and unusual awakenings among the hearers, insomuch that several have been pricked in their hearts, and cried out like Peter's hearers, men and brethren what shall we do to be saved? Others lamenting their lost state, adding: They have been despisers and rejecters of a crucified Christ. And others unable to conceal great raptures of joy in their believing, and using all friendly offices to administer consolation and comfort to those in soul trouble.

5thly. There have been several drooping and disconsolate persons, after swooning amidst the congregation, carried to the manse, and attended closely there several days and nights by Mr. M'C——h, and other ministers or preachers, and known experienced christians, approved by them, who have been at all pains imaginable with them, praying with and for them, solving their doubts and administering consolation to them on scripture grounds.

6thly. Persons thus exercised have consisted most of illiterate folk, or of those formerly of no very great note for christian knowledge, profession, or practice of religion, yet now, by all that appears to the minister and other solid judicious experimental christians, there is a real, thorough, and universal change wrought upon them, and the converts are mostly, though not altogether, young ones.

7thly. I am credibly informed, that the apparent change wrought at Cambuslang, by means of a preached Gospel, doth prove itself to have been real by the fruits and good effects that have followed thereupon in their lives after they have gone home, particularly their spending spare time in secret retirements, pouring forth their hearts in prayer, and by their being strict and circumspect in their afterwalk and conversation.

8thly. As the work holds on, and some persons are newly awakened, which were not known to be concerned before, so Mr. M'C——h seems to renew his strength; and notwithstanding of extraordinary fatigue and toil, both in season and out of season, he seems to be more than ordinary lively, prompt and extemporary in all the parts of his ministerial work.

And though I am neither to say that all who have been convicted have actually been converted, nor that the convictions of all have been alike deep, durable, and genuine, yet I assure you there has been days of power there, and such days as I take to be in answer to the prayers, wishes and wrestlings of such as seek the face of the God of Jacob with their whole hearts desire, even yet



in this day of upsittleness, deadness and formality. But such as are otherwise minded, they will oblige me if they answer the subsequent queries.

Q. 1. Where doth it appear that satan ever promoted the interest of his kingdom purely by the preached Gospel, since it is the very device infinite wisdom hath contrived for its overthrow?

Q. 2. Where can we instance that satan wrought in people an earnest desire and thirsting after the ordinances as new born babes after the breast.

Q. 3. If it be not rather one of the depths and devices of satan to lull people asleep in security and thoughtlessness about a future state, rather than to prompt them jointly with exercised folk to awake, when others sleep, in praying, wrestling, praising, religious conference and proposing doubts and fears about their spiritual state.

Q. 4. Doth it not appear evident that it is the Spirit of the Lord poured down, when we see young ones not come to age to discern betwixt the right hand and the left in religious concerns, having the gift and the grace of prayer, as appears by their fervent expostulations, importunate wrestlings, and, in the tongue of the learned, speaking words in season to christians of old standing?

Q. 5. Granting there may be hypocrites among them, if some have been brought savingly to believe the report, can any deny that the arm of the Lord hath been revealed?

Q. 6. Is it not the manner of God in dealing with adult persons, to begin the saving work of their conversion with convincing them?

Q. 7. Whether or not it were better conduct to be thankful for such revivings in a day of deadness, under the ordinances, than entertaining groundless prejudices and false aspersions, be the raisers of them who will?

Q. 8. Ought we not to construct it as a token for good at the hand of God, when, at this extraordinary work, it is evident he is supplying his servant with extraordinary supports both inwardly and outwardly?

Thus, sir, I have endeavoured to satisfy you in answering your letter.

I am your humble servant,

M. O.

## Select List of Recent Publications.

### THEOLOGICAL.

**Quakerism versus Calvinism**, being a reply to Quakerism not Christianity, or reasons for renouncing the doctrine of Friends, by Samuel Hansen Cox, D.D. Pastor of Laight street Presbyterian Church, and for twenty years a member of the Society of Friends. By David Meredith Reese, M.D. New York.

**On the Extent of the Atonement in its relation to God and the universe.** By the Rev. T. W. Jenkyn, of Oswestry. London.

**The Dangerous Doctrines of the Baptists Refuted**, and Infant Baptism proved from Scripture and antiquity. By a Graduate of Oxford.

**The Infidel's Own Book**; a statement of some of the absurdities resulting from the rejection of Christianity. By Richard Treffry, jun. London.

**New volume of Bampton Lectures.** The Analogy of Revelation and Science, established in a series of lectures delivered before the University of Oxford, in the year 1833. By Frederick Nolan, LL.D. F.R.S., Vicar of Prittlewell, Essex.

**Letters on the Divine Origin and Authority of the Holy Scriptures.** By the Rev. James Carlile, minister of the Scots' Church, Dublin. 2 vols.

**Lectures on Theology.** By the late Rev. Rev. John Dick, D.D., of Glasgow, Professor of Theology to the United Secession Church. 4 vols.

**Christian Ethics, or Moral Philosophy on the principles of Divine revelation**, in nine lectures, with Notes and Illustrations. By Ralph Wardlaw, D.D.

**A translation of the Epistles of Clement of Rome, Polycarp, and Ignatius; and of the Apologies of Justin Martyr and Tertullian; with an Introduction, and Brief Notes**, illustrative of the Ecclesiastical History of the first two centuries. By the Rev. Temple Chevalier, B.D., late fellow and tutor of Catharine Hall.

**Reply to the "Travels of an Irish Gentleman in search of a religion."** In a series of letters addressed to the Editor of the British Magazine, and reprinted from that work.

**A Popular View of the Correspondence between the Mosaic Ritual and the Facts and Doctrines of the Christian Religion.** In nine discourses. By the Rev. William Greswell, M.A.

**The Gospel of the Old Testament: an explanation of the types and figures by which Christ was exhibited in the legal Dispensation.** Re-written from the original works of Samuel Mather. By the Author of "The Listener, &c.

**Parochial Lectures on the Law and the Gospel.** By Stephen H. Tyng, D.D., Rector of St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia.

**The Works of Jonathan Edwards, A.M., with an Essay on his genius and writings**, by Henry Rogers. And a Memoir by Sereno Dwight, revised and corrected by E. Hickman. 2 vols. London.

**An Exposition of the Parables and of other parts of the Gospels.** By the Rev. Edward Greswell, B.D.

**Controversy between the Rev. John Hughes of the Roman Catholic Church, and the Rev. John Breckinridge of the Presbyterian Church**, relative to the existing differences in the Roman Catholic and Protestant religions.

**The Principles of Christian Philosophy**, containing the doctrines, duties, admonitions and consolations of the Christian religion. By John Burns, 12mo. Carey, Lea and Blanchard, Philadelphia.

**A Body of Practical Divinity**, in a series of sermons on the Shorter Catechism, composed by the reverend assembly of divines at Westminster. To which is appended Select Sermons on various subjects; including the Art of Divine Content-

ment, and Christ's various Fullness. By Thomas Watson, formerly Minister at St. Stephen's, Walbrook. London.

The Christian Rule of Marriage. An Essay by Howard Malcom, A.M.

Hints on the Portable Evidences of Christianity, by Joseph John Gurney; to which is prefixed an Introductory Essay by F. Wayland, President of Brown University.

Christian Baptism; an Examination of Professor Stuart's Essay in the Biblical Repository, April, 1833, on the "Mode of Baptism." By Henry J. Ripley, Professor of Biblical Literature in the Newton Theological Institution. Boston.

The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller, in two large vols. 8vo.

## BIBLICAL.

A Common-Place Book; or, Companion to the New Testament; consisting of illustrations of difficult passages, apparent contradictions and inconsistencies reconciled, &c. Chiefly collected from the most eminent authors and critics. By the Rev. S. Longhurst, B.A.

The fifth volume of the Biblical Cabinet, containing Tholuck's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, translated from the German. Vol. I. By the Rev. R. Menzies.

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The Bible Advocate, and Doctrinal Expositor; comprehending the most important Evidences of the Divine Inspiration of the Holy Bible; a variety of interesting particulars respecting its several Translations; and a Historical, Doctrinal, and Practical Epitome of the same; also a Sketch of the Principal Denominations of Christians; together with a valuable Appendix. By the Rev. M. Seaman, of Queen's College, Cambridge.

The Criterion; or Rules by which the True Miracles recorded in the New Testament are distinguished from the Spurious Miracles of Pagans and Papists. By John Douglas, D.D., Lord Bishop of Salisbury. A new edition, revised and abridged by the Rev. W. Marsh, A.M., Rector of St. Thomas' Birmingham.

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Horne's Introduction, abridged; a Compendious Introduction to the Study of the Bible; being an analysis of an introduction to the study of the Holy Scriptures, in four vols. by the same author. By Thomas Hartwell Horne.

The Cottage Bible and Family Expositor, containing the Old and New Testaments, &c. By Thomas Williams, with various additions to the American edition, by Rev. William Patton. New York. Conner & Cooke, 1833. 2 vols.

Exposition Dogmatique et Morale de l'Épître de saint Paul aux Romains, à l'usage, tant des Chrétiens que des Israélites disposés à la foi Chrétienne: par M. Moulinié, pasteur. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris.

Conversational Exercises on the Gospels. In two small volumes, adapted for families and schools. London.

## HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

The Christian Library, Vol. II. Part VII. contains the conclusion of Heber's Bampton Lectures, and the first part of the History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain in the sixteenth century; by Thomas M'Crie, D.D.

THE  
BIBLICAL REPERTORY.

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APRIL, 1834.

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No. II.

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**ART. I.**—*An Address delivered before the Alumni Association of Nassau Hall, on the day of the Annual Commencement of the College, Sept. 25, 1833, by John Sergeant, LL. D.*

THE day which closes the college life of a young man, is highly interesting, not only to the individual, but also to his friends and to his country.

Having finished his preparatory studies, he is ready to select a profession or occupation for life. Released from the inspection and control of teachers, he is henceforth to follow, in a great measure, his own guidance.

On such occasions, the most heedless can hardly exclude from their minds serious reflections respecting the past, and painful solicitude respecting the future. At this moment, whatever directions, or warnings, or encouragements may be given, by men of distinguished talents and virtues, cannot fail to make a deep and salutary impression on the youth anxious to know which way to direct his steps. On this account we cannot too highly commend the custom which prevails of having addresses delivered on the anniversaries of our literary institutions, by men eminent in civil and professional life. When the subject is well chosen and when the speaker is adequate to the task which he has undertaken, the most happy results may be safely anti-

icipated. Not only the youth, who are going forth into active and public life may be benefitted, but the mind of the community may be enlightened respecting the nature and importance of education. It gives an interest to these anniversaries which they could not otherwise profess. Men of intelligence and influence, who would not leave their business and homes to witness the first public efforts of the graduating class, will be induced, on these occasions, to meet each other, to renew their early friendships, to cheer and encourage each other in advancing the cause of literature and science.

By a mutual interchange of sentiments, as well as by the public addresses delivered, new light will be thrown on the nature and importance of education. Old and established errors will be overthrown, and the numerous schemes of education every year promulgated will be examined and approved so far as they are worthy of commendation, and condemned and rejected when destructive of intellectual and moral improvement. There is no subject on which experiments are more dangerous, and if unsuccessful, more fatal, than education. The youth, on whom abortive experiments are made, are lost to the community, and not unfrequently extend the errors which prevented the full development of their own powers to others; so that the evils resulting from a false scheme of education involve many far remote from the first individuals concerned.

On this subject very little confidence can be placed in mere theory, however plausible it may appear. A system of education which in time past has produced distinguished and useful men, ought not to be hastily abandoned, in order to adopt others not proved by experience.

We are very far from intimating that we have reached the acme of perfection in the art of intellectual and moral discipline; so that no changes should be admitted in the course pursued by our forefathers. Our meaning is, that such changes ought to be made with caution, because when the season of youth is past, the loss sustained by a wrong course of training can seldom be repaired.

On this subject the opinions of men of acknowledged professional eminence and moral worth ought to have great weight. If they recommend a course of education different from that which was employed in their own early training, we should conclude that they wish to warn others of the errors into which they have fallen. On the other hand, if they have found no inconvenience, but great advantage arising from their early studies, we should pay great deference to their opinions. In either case their testimony should be considered as the honest conclusion of

men desirous to promote the improvement of the rising generation.

The address to which we have referred contains views of the nature and importance of a collegiate education so just, that we are desirous to aid in causing them to be more generally known. And it is the presumption, that many of our readers will not have the opportunity of seeing the address, that induces us to make liberal extracts, believing that we cannot better subserve the cause of education than by presenting the views of the author in his own words.

After an appropriate introduction derived from the occasion on which the Alumni of the College were assembled, and noticing the interesting scenes which such an occasion recalls to the memory of such as revisit the place of their early studies, the author inquires why all students do not receive the same literary distinctions during their college course? And he very justly remarks that in many cases the student is not to be blamed, because he does not occupy the first place as a scholar in his class. Causes beyond his control not unfrequently prevent his making attainments equal to others, not more deserving. Among these causes a prominent place is very justly assigned to the want of suitable preparatory instruction, and to the folly of parents in urging the admission of their sons into a class for which they are not prepared. After mentioning a less advanced state of the intellectual faculties, accidental disturbance in study, temporary loss of health, as causes of literary and scientific deficiency during the College course, the author adds the following appropriate remarks:

“It happens, too, and deserves to be especially remarked, for the consideration of parents, and of all who are charged with the care of the instruction of youth, that a failure in the competition for the highest honors of the College, is owing sometimes to defect in preparatory education. If *that* has been defective and insufficient, there is a want of strength for the trials of the collegiate course, which can only be supplied by uncommon abilities or extraordinary application. Very often, however, this sense of comparative weakness developed in the exercises of the College, becomes a discouragement to exertion, and the young aspirant yielding to what seems to be an invincible obstacle in the path of a just ambition, abandons himself to indolent despair, and sinks below the level he might really have attained without any very undue effort. Of the permanent ill effects of such despondency, which every day becomes deeper, as its consequences are more and more felt, until it settles into a permanent feeling of self-abasement;—of the probability or even the possibility, that it may enfeeble the character for life, disappointing and destroy-

ing the hopes of friends, and turning to naught the time, the labour and the expense bestowed for his improvement, it is needless to speak. Let us hope that they seldom occur, at least to the whole extent that has been suggested. That they *may* occur, in any degree, even though it be far short of the measure of calamity, supposed to be possible, is one among many arguments that might be urged to enforce the duty of parents and guardians who are entrusted with the care of children. They cannot be too often, nor too anxiously reminded, that upon this point the responsibility is theirs. The examinations for admission into College will, to be sure, exclude the cases of plain deficiency—though not even then, without encountering resistance and complaint;—but that fulness of preparation, which will give confidence and strength, and enable the student to apply himself to his task, with all the power at command which ought to be brought to it, depends upon years of previous careful instruction and discipline—nay, it depends upon every moment of those years, and hence the indispensable necessity there is, and the high obligation resulting from it, that every moment shall have been well employed, under the direction of able and conscientious teachers.

“It is a mistake to suppose that this portion of education may be committed to feeble and incompetent hands—that it may be negligently conducted without much injury—and that all its omissions and defects are to be made up and supplied during the few years that are passed in College. This is what a College does not profess to do. It is what a College cannot do. Its professors, however learned, cannot bring back the time that has gone by, nor cause the work to be done, which that time was allotted for performing. If it were allowable at present to dwell longer upon this subject, it might be added with unquestionable truth, that the examinations for admission into College ought to be considered as the disinterested judgment of enlightened and competent men upon the progress that has been made. There can be no motive for unreasonable strictness. The bias, if any there be, must be on the other side. There is great danger, indeed, that the motives for undue laxity will be too much increased, since institutions professing to teach the higher branches have become so multiplied in our country; some of them struggling for a precarious existence, with the fear of poverty always before their eyes. But if in the faithful discharge of their duty as examiners for admission into College, professors are obliged to make known to parents, that their children are not qualified, however unwelcome such a communication may be, parents, if considerate, will receive it as information given to them for their own benefit, and instead of complaining, or seeking to evade its effects by appealing to a more liberal tribunal, or a more indulgent interpretation, will profit by it, for the benefit of their offspring, by sending them to places of instruction, where their defects can be supplied. A little more time may qualify them to enjoy the advantages of College. What will they be profited by entering College, if they be not so qualified? At best, they can reap but a barren honour.

And this is not all. If, when their course is finished, they are found to be deficient in the proper requirements belonging to a collegiate education, they are degraded in the estimation of others, as wanting in capacity or industry to profit by the opportunity they have enjoyed. What seemed to be an advantage, thus becomes in effect, a most serious injury. The whole matter may be thus summed up. The work is in fact but one. The preparatory education is the ground-work. The collegiate education is the structure raised upon it. If the former be wanting, the latter has nothing to rest upon. If the one be defective or unsound, the other will be imperfect and insecure. Should it become necessary in any given case to decide which of these shall be dispensed with, (both being unattainable,) there can be no hesitation whatever in making the decision. An attempt to build without a foundation is too obviously absurd to require to be insisted upon, and any scheme, however plausible, which professes to accomplish such an end, must inevitably originate in ignorance or imposture.

"A College may perhaps be so organized as to do the work of a Grammar School, and then it ought to be considered as a Grammar School, and nothing more; but if it undertake to do the proper work of a College, without the aid of suitable preparatory instruction, it will graduate pupils who, with their Bachelor's diploma in their hands, could not be received into the lowest form of a conscientious and well arranged institution, without a violation of its statutes, and, (if it be not a contradiction to say so,) an egregious imposition upon their parents.

"Long as this digression has already been, it is impossible to leave it, without an additional remark. After what has been said, very little reflection is necessary to enable any one to perceive, how important a place in the work of education is occupied by what have been denominated preparatory schools, by which of course are understood to be meant those schools where pupils spend some of the years which precede their being presented for admission into College. Yet, it is more than doubtful whether their value is justly appreciated; or those who labour in them as teachers, are in general estimated as they ought to be. The name may have some influence. They are denominated Schools, which at the same time that it places them in the relation of inferiority to Universities and Colleges, seems to confound them with the greater part of the class designated by the same term, and occupied only with the instruction of children. They are affected too by the fact, that their pupils, when received into them are really children, and a large portion must always be actually of that description. But while to those who take a careless or superficial view, it has thus the appearance of a children's school, it will be found to embrace a portion of life when the developement of the faculties is more rapid, and the transition greater, than at any other period whatever. Compare a boy, for example, of ten years of age, entering upon a course of discipline like that we have been



speaking of, with the youth of fourteen or fifteen who has passed through it. What a difference there is in his moral and intellectual power! How much may have been determined for his future character and habits! His success in College, as we have already seen, may depend upon it, and the character and the self-respect with which he enters upon the larger scene of life may be influenced materially by that success. Nor must it be forgotten that the entrance into College is the period when the first considerable change of discipline takes place. The pupil is no longer to be so much in the presence of his teacher, nor under his immediate personal inspection and control. He is to be left more to his own government, rendering an account of his conduct, at stated periods, by the ability he manifests to perform his tasks in the recitation room. For this change too, he is to be prepared. A most serious one it unquestionably must be, since it commits to him at once the direction of so large a portion of his own employment, and requires him to make the first serious essay, (which through all his life long, he will be obliged to repeat, if he mean to be a rational creature,) of his capacity to sacrifice present inclination for the attainment of future advantage—to make his appetites and his passions yield to his sense of duty.

“Enough, it is hoped, has been said to give some faint and imperfect notion of the nature of the charge which devolves upon him who undertakes to conduct this portion of preparatory education. In proportion as it is arduous and important, ought the teacher who faithfully acquits himself of it, to be treated with respect and consideration—not for his own sake merely, and as due in justice to honest and valuable services of a very high order—but for the sake of society, for the sake of parents, for the support and advancement of the great interests of morality and learning. All are deeply concerned, and there is little hazard in asserting that the finishing department of education can never be what it ought to be, unless the department where so large a part of the substance and body of the work is prepared, be sustained at its proper elevation, by an adequate public estimate of its value, and a suitable regard for those who labour in it with diligence and effect. Let them be judged, not by ridiculous promises of which any one *may* know can never be fulfilled—not by assurances of short and easy methods—not by a vain display of trifling accomplishments, or precocious and ephemeral acquirement to captivate the ignorant—but by the fair fruits of discipline and instruction, coming in season, gradually unfolding their beauty, and at length attaining their full size, and ripening according to the order of nature.”

To the truth of the preceding remarks we most fully subscribe, and we think the author might have added other consequences of a defective preparatory education still more disastrous. The intellectual attainments of a youth while in College are not only retarded, but moral habits are also put in imminent hazard by a defect in his previous attainments.

A youth of delicate feelings enters a public institution with an expectation of standing on an equality with at least the majority of his class in the studies prescribed. At first he applies himself with all possible industry to the task assigned; and failing to comprehend the subject, and to answer the questions proposed in the class-room, he sinks into despondency, and abandons the hope, and at the same time, the attempt to make himself master of the studies prescribed. His situation is like that of a debtor, who has lost all hope of extricating himself from his embarrassment by honest and persevering industry. He becomes reckless, and makes no effort to repair his deficiency, or to maintain his present condition. To the youthful mind, full of hope, and anticipating distinction in future life, nothing is more injurious than assigning a task utterly impracticable. In these circumstances not one youth in a hundred will continue to apply himself to his studies from day to day. Persevering industry will accomplish wonders, but it cannot effect impossibilities. Feeling that he has no chance of maintaining a decent standing as a scholar, it would be strange if he did not seek distinction among the idle and vicious. His mind becomes soured, his feelings irritated, and he dislikes his books, his instructors, and every thing which reminds him of the disgrace under which he labours.

It is very possible that the supposed youth is not destitute of talents, and if he had been well taught before he entered college, he would have chosen very different companions, and have avoided the temptations which ruined his moral habits.

Parents are afraid their sons will be idle, and therefore they wish them to enter a class above their attainments. They forget that by requiring too much, they present a more powerful temptation to idleness and immoral conduct than by requiring too little. As far as our observation has extended, we have noticed that generally the worst scholars in a class are most idle and mischievous. Place a youth among the first in his class, and if he has any love of knowledge or any desire of distinction, he will endeavour to maintain the high ground which he occupies; but if by his utmost efforts he cannot rise higher than the lowest, he will probably make no exertion, lose his self-respect, and endeavour to forget his disgrace in the society of corrupting companions.

The next topic touched in this excellent address, is the importance of improving the advantages afforded during a collegiate course, and the difficulty of repairing, at a subsequent period, the loss sustained. The remarks on this head are appropriate and highly important; but as they are applicable to persons into whose hands this work will not probably fall, we omit

to give any extracts, and hasten to present to our readers the masterly refutation of a prevailing error on the subject of a collegiate education. The extract is long; but it cannot be abridged without injuring the argument:

"The error chiefly in view, is that which supposes the higher education, or collegiate education, to be useful and even necessary for those who are intended for what are denominated the learned professions, but not for those who expect to dedicate their lives to other occupations. If a parent mean that his son shall be a divine, or a lawyer, or a physician, he does right, according to this theory, in sending him to College; but if he mean that he shall follow any other way of life, a College is not a suitable place for him. Thus stating the matter, it will be at once perceived where the danger lies, and what is the extent and magnitude of that danger, if such a notion as this could become generally prevalent. Of all the youth of a country, by far the greater part are debarred by uncontrollable circumstances from the privilege of extended moral and intellectual culture. The residue, consisting of the few who might enjoy this advantage, is to be again divided, and a portion of that few excluded—strange to say—by deliberate choice. It cannot be requisite, in exposing the fallacy of an opinion like this, to insist upon the obvious objection, that it assumes a basis which cannot be admitted, namely, that the occupation for life is to be determined before the time arrives for entering College. It would be unwise if it were practicable. But it is plainly impracticable. Who can tell what changes may happen before the period arrives for carrying such a decision into execution? Why then make it? Why adopt unchangeably a system for the future, when the future may not admit of its application? Surely no discreet parent—whatever his fond anticipations might suggest—would do any thing so absurd. He will postpone his decision, till the fit time for it shall arrive, and that fit time is not the period for entering College; but the period of leaving it. The faculties and dispositions are then more fully developed, the character better understood, the means of forming a judgment more distinct and ample. One consideration, indeed, ought upon this point to be entirely conclusive. The trials of the College, and their results, are themselves the very best guides to a sound and wise decision. They try by actual experiment the qualities which are the proper elements of judgment in this delicate and important question. Sometimes it may happen that they disappoint expectation. Much oftener they disclose a power which was before unknown, and but for their searching efficacy, might have remained unknown even to the possessor of it himself. If they had no other use than this; if the process of collegiate education had no other virtue, than to detect and bring out the latent fire which lies slumbering and unnoticed for want of excitement and collision, what parent who can duly estimate the value of such a hidden treasure, would hesitate to have it sought for, if there were but a chance that

it might be found by searching. Nor is it necessary to urge another obvious consideration, namely, that the choice of a pursuit or occupation, made at the proper time, and actually carried into execution, is still not final. How many accidents, over which he has no control, may compel a man to change his pursuit in life! How many powerful motives may induce him to do so, when he is under no such compulsion! Instances of both are every day occurring, numerous enough to falsify a calculation founded upon the indissoluble union of man with the occupation he enters upon in the beginning of life.

"Waiving these considerations, however, weighty as they are, enough will still remain to show satisfactorily, nay, to show demonstratively, that this notion has no foundation whatever, and thence to lead us to the plain conclusion, that every parent who has it in his power, is bound in duty to give his child a collegiate education, unless he can give him a better. It is not intended to discuss at all the question between public and private instruction. All that is to be insisted upon is, the advantage of as full a measure of thorough education, as can be given, without encroaching upon that portion of life, which in the order of nature ought to be applied to the performance of duty, rather than to preparation for it.

"It may be, that in the distribution of the occupations of this world, with reference to their nature, some are regarded as intellectual, and others as not so; and it may be that it is thence concluded, that the culture of the intellect is necessary for the former, but not for the latter. Such a distribution cannot be admitted to be correct. But if it were, would the inference be a just one? Upon a fair estimate of the matter, it ought to be the very reverse. If the way of life to be followed, is such as to afford neither nourishment nor discipline to the intellect, then ought the provision of both to be the greater before it is entered upon, unless we mean to admit the extravagant suggestion that the capacity which our Maker has in his wisdom given us, may, with impunity, be suffered to perish. A divine, or a lawyer, or a physician, is all his life long in a state of intellectual exercise;—his faculties are continually kept alive, and in healthy action, and his learning continually increasing;—this is what is said,—therefore it is proper that he should receive a full preparatory training—that he should be fully educated. One devoted to some other calling—we dare not be more specific—it would be deemed derogatory and disrespectful—such an one will never be invited or required by his occupation to make an effort of mind, nor furnished by it with the slightest particle of intellectual wealth. The stock that he begins with, is all that he can ever expect to have. Therefore, it is better that he should begin with none at all. Absolute destitution is thus deliberately chosen. Such a conclusion is not warranted by sound logic, nor by sound wisdom. It is worse than this—it is immoral and sinful. It is no better than a voluntary sacrifice of the gifts of God, to some idol, whose ministers are the meanest appetites of man. That any parent should ever consent thus to devote a child, with a sense

of what he is doing, it is impossible to believe. If he err, it must be simple error, the offspring of sheer ignorance.

"But is there any reason in such a distribution, or, to speak with more exactness, is there any sense in the inference made from it? Is it true that education can or ought to be thus adapted to the occupation or profession intended to be pursued? There is no difficulty in understanding why a very large portion of mankind are excluded from the benefits of liberal education. It is from various causes placed beyond their reach. Of such we do not speak. We speak only of those who have it in their power; and as to them we would inquire whether there is any rational ground for asserting, that some ought to have more, and others less of the advantages of early discipline and culture? Whether, in other words, to the inevitable privation caused by uncontrollable circumstances, we are to add a conventional privation arising out of the arrangements of society;—whether, to state it plainly and at once, in the shape of example, one who is to be a merchant, ought to be less educated, than one who is to be a lawyer;—whether the one ought to be sent to college, and continue to receive instruction till the age of eighteen or nineteen, and the other be taken from school, and put to work, at thirteen or fourteen, simply because they are respectively designed for different pursuits?

"The first mistake committed by those who would adopt this arbitrary and injurious distinction, is in supposing that a man's occupation or profession, being merely of a worldly nature, is the whole concern of his life; that it occupies all his time, and includes all his duties, and all his pleasures. Miserable would his condition be, if this were true. Miserably would he fulfil the purposes of his existence if it were even to approach the truth. But it is not true. For, whether he be a lawyer or a merchant, or a planter or a farmer, or a manufacturer, he is, notwithstanding, a *man*, with the high privileges and duties belonging to that character, which he ought to be able to enjoy and to fulfil. He is a social being, connected with those around him, by a thousand ties from which he cannot disengage himself, without doing violence to the better part of his nature. He cannot shut his eyes to distress, nor close his ear to its cry, nor withhold his hand from its relief. He cannot refuse to aid the ignorant, or to help the friendless. He is a son, a brother, a husband, a father, relations which employ and reward his affections, but call for the exercise of his virtues and his talents. He is a citizen of a free political community, and there, too, finds occasion to reflect, that there are other claims upon him, besides the claims that are made by his peculiar business. Nor must we forget that he is subject to infirmities; that calamity may overtake him; that death will come to him;—that he is exposed to temptations;—that he has an evil heart to be purified, and that he stands in need continually of the aid of an enlightened conscience. Surely it must be conceded by every one who has bestowed a single thought upon our nature, that these points of identity are far more numerous, and far more important, than the accidental difference occa-

tioned by profession or occupation. They entirely outweigh it. Duly estimated, they render it absolutely insignificant. Nay, there is scarcely one of them, that singly taken, is not of greater moment. Collectively, they make up the character, not of a lawyer, a physician, a merchant, a manufacturer, but of that which is common to them all, the character of a man—a social man, in a civilized and Christian community. It is upon these points peculiarly, that education operates, where it produces its proper effect. It forms the man—its impress is upon the general character—its discipline for general usefulness and worth. To admit that any calling in life is of such a nature that it cannot be successfully followed by one who is wise and good, or that it will be more successfully followed by one who is weak and wicked, would be to sink it below the level of honest and worthy occupations. Such an admission supposes that it requires the individual who enters upon it to be in a degraded state as to morals and intellect. Who would be willing that such an opprobrium should be fastened upon the occupation he follows, and, as an unavoidable consequence, attach to himself, and go with his gains to his children? No one, assuredly. But some who would indignantly reject such an imputation, will hint, nevertheless, that a certain natural shrewdness and dexterity, unrestrained by too nice an observance of the dictates of a becoming pride, or the admonitions of a vigilant moral sense, are in some pursuits the best instruments of success. Be it so. For the sake of exposing a miserable fallacy, let it be conceded that this is the shortest and surest way to succeed. What then? Is the nature of the thing altered by the mode of stating it, or even by the assurance that the end is likely to be attained? What is thus described, is but the definition of knavery, however it may be disguised or softened in terms. Brought into plain English, it is neither more nor less than this, that a knave will do better than an honest man. What kind of work must it be that requires such a workman? Will any one with the slightest sense of accountability, contend that it is lawful, or honourable, or becoming? Will any one be hardy enough to assert, that an intelligent and accountable creature, ought to be counselled, or even permitted to degrade and dishonour the faculties his Maker has given him, by such a prostitution of them, for any earthly purpose whatever? If education will preserve him from such debasement, it performs a noble office.

“It will appear the more extraordinary that such a notion as we are now considering, should be entertained for a single moment, when we reflect, that it is now an universally established law of society, that men are not to be marked or known by their occupation or profession. According to a common but somewhat coarse adage, they must not smell of the shop. In their general intercourse with their fellow men, they must be able to present a character and qualifications so entirely independent of their peculiar pursuits in life, that what these are, shall not be known by any thing in their conduct, or conversation. Such a requirement may possibly be sometimes carried

too far. But in the main, it is right, and founded in good sense and good breeding, which both demand that when we go out into society, we shall leave our working dress and our private affairs at home, and carry with us what will be agreeable and profitable to others, as well as to ourselves. How shall we be able to comply with this law, if we have nothing to carry out with us? Shall we sit in a corner, stupid and vacant, contributing nothing to the innocent gratification or to the instruction or assistance of others, and receiving nothing from them in return? This is what no man could endure. Will he then retreat from the world entirely, shut himself up in his own shell, and devote himself exclusively to his own concerns? They will not occupy him. They are not sufficient for him. No young man can live safely in retired leisure, unless he has the capacity to read, to reflect, to study, to enjoy the exercise of his intellectual and moral faculties. How shall he have this, if they have never been cultivated, if he has been left unconscious of their very existence? But man is not born to be idle, nor to be alone. He must have exercise, and he will seek association. If he cannot enjoy what is good, he will betake himself to what is bad. He will connect himself with his fellow creatures, not by his strength, but by his weakness. They will be bound together, not by the exercise of their rational powers, but by the indulgence of their sensual and vicious propensities, corrupting and destroying, instead of enlightening and invigorating each other. These indulgences create and increase wants, whose importunate craving, unchecked by moral restraint, leads in so many instances to frightful crime. This is a catastrophe too hideous to be regarded with indifference or unconcern.

"In the adoption of such a notion, there seems, besides, to be a striking contradiction and inconsistency. There is scarcely a man engaged with any activity in business, of whatever kind, who does not promise himself a period to his labours, when he shall be able to retire from business, and enjoy repose and reflection. This is a natural feeling, and, if not absolutely universal, a very extensive one. A hasty view might incline us to believe that it is nothing but the desire of rest. One would fain hope, however, that it is something more—that there is a stirring in it of our better faculties—a prompting of the sense we have, that these faculties are capable of other and higher and more expanded exercise, and a sort of promise that their neglect and abuse shall be atoned for at some future time—a scheme, in short for *living*; which, whether well or ill conceived, does certainly admit that a man is not living when he is entirely engrossed by his business. And this is undoubtedly the truth. The future, thus contemplated, if the matter be rightly considered, is present every day of our life. It is especially present in the earlier part of it. There are portions of every day which may be given to reflection, to reading, to preparation for the performance of our duties, and to the performance itself. No rational man need postpone to the end of his life, that calm which all promise themselves; he may have it each day if he will; he may have it, if he choose to understand aright

the gracious appointment of the Author of our being, in a still higher degree, at the end of each week, when he is not only permitted, but enjoined to withdraw one-seventh of his time from the cares and occupations of life, and to dedicate it to meditations which refresh his weary nature, which purify and refine it from earthly corruptions, and while they exalt, invigorate it for whatever tasks it has to perform. There are those who persuade themselves, that their business demands of them all their time, and that even the Sabbath cannot be spared for its appropriate employment. Let such an one deal fairly with himself. Let him take as strict an account of his time as he does of his money, for a week or a month, allowing six days to the week, summing up at the end all the fragments that have been wasted in listless idleness,—that have been worse than wasted in hurtful indulgence, or have been involuntarily sacrificed to some of the thousand contrivances invented for killing time,—and then say whether he had not a moment to spare for moral and intellectual improvement, for cultivating relations of good will and kindness, and for fulfilling the duties of a social man, in all their various forms. The best excuse he can offer, if he should find a large balance against him, will be, that he has not been educated—that his taste has not been cultivated—that his capacity has not been developed and disciplined; in a word, that he is unable;—that while yet a child, he was plunged, uninformed and uninstructed, or imperfectly instructed, into the turbulent current of business, and he is fit for no other element. Why was he not educated, is the natural inquiry? If he be less than he might have been, as the confession seems to imply, there is a grave responsibility somewhere. Let all who have the care of the conduct of youth, look to it. But for encroaching upon the appointed day of rest—putting aside all serious considerations—there is no excuse at all. It is not an evidence of industry in one's avocations, but the contrary. It is not profitable upon a mere worldly estimate, but injurious. It is commonly the refuge of laziness and disorderly habits, which, neglecting things when they ought to be done, suffer them to accumulate, with the expectation that the arrears will be cleared off on Sunday. A man who yields to this temptation, does not labour seven days—he allows himself seven days to do the work of six, and after all the work is not done. The thief procrastination will be sure to steal more than one day out of the six, and leave to the seventh an undue proportion of work, even though its own proper duty be at the same time left entirely unperformed. What was said by Sir Matthew Hale in 1662, doubtless he would have been able to repeat in 1833—“I have found by a strict and diligent observation, that a due observance of the duty of this day hath ever had joined to it a blessing upon the rest of my time; and the week that hath been so begun, hath been blessed and prosperous to me.” But apart from the considerations which governed that pious man, and deserve the deep attention of every one, no one who seriously reflects, will fail to be convinced, however paradoxical it may appear, that more work can be done in



six days than in seven. The fact is believed to support the argument. Speaking as a witness, after some experience, and careful observation, I can say, that many of the most industrious, and in their respective walks, the most eminent men I have known, have been those who refrained from worldly employment on the Sabbath. But to return to the point under discussion—how do those who promise themselves a period of rest and of rational enjoyment, after the fatigues of a long day of uninterrupted labour, propose to spend it, if in the course of Providence it should be mercifully granted to them? I will not attempt to answer the question, but leave it for those to reflect upon, whose experience and studies have enabled them to decide, what the chances are, that the buds, and the blossoms, and fruit, which in the order of nature are the ornament and delight of the season of genial warmth, will come forth in the frosts of winter.

“An opinion has already been intimated that the benefits of early education, continued through the period which nature indicates as the time for training and discipline, are not entirely lost, even though the acquirements in College should afterward be neglected. Wholesome nourishment and exercise for the time, are like wholesome nourishment and exercise for the body. They enter into the constitution, and impart to it a general health and strength, and capacity for the exertions it may be called upon to make, and the trials it may be doomed to suffer. This is especially true of childhood and youth, and as to all that concerns our physical condition, is universally admitted, in practice as well as in theory. The tender infant is not suffered to lie in torpid inaction. Its little frame is put in motion in its mother's arm. As soon as it can bear exposure, it is sent forth to larger exercise in the open air. The boy is permitted and encouraged to rejoice in active and invigorating sports; and the youth, quite up to the season of manhood, is taught to blend the healthful exertion of his sinews and muscles, with the cultivation of his intellectual and moral powers. Why is this indication of nature, thus carefully observed and obeyed? Why do parents watch with so much anxious care over the forming constitution of the body, and seek to train it to grace and vigour? It is because it is *forming*; and the fashion it then receives may more or less abide by it ever after. Their anxious care is well bestowed. Much of the happiness of life depends upon it, and every one is aware that such is the case. Hence it is that gymnastics have been introduced into places of instruction, where feats are performed which no man of full age expects to repeat, unless it should be his lot to be a tumbler or a rope-dancer. Is there not a precise analogy, in this respect, between the two parts of our nature? Have not the moral and intellectual faculties a growth, a period of expansion, a season for nourishment and direction, when the constitution of the mind and heart is taking a form like that of the body, and when the intellectual and moral capacities are to be assisted and trained into a healthy condition? Are there no gymnastics of the mind? It would be deemed a palpable absurdity if any one were to

argue, that a child was likely to be employed in sedentary occupations, and therefore it was not material that he should have the use of his limbs. Is it not still more absurd to use such an argument in relation to his higher and better faculties? It is a great calamity to be deprived of sight—to be unable to behold the glories of the visible creation, and enjoy the beauties of art. Is it a less one, to be destitute of intellectual vision, by which we are enabled to ‘look through nature up to nature’s God,’ and to discern glories greater far than those, great as we must confess them to be, which are manifested to the eye of the body? By which, too, we are enabled to look into ourselves, and there to see the fearful and wonderful thing we are, and how it is that from the source of infinite wisdom and goodness, there is an emanation of light imparted to us, which we are commanded not to allow ‘to be darkened.’ Surely, surely, these are reflections which ought for ever to silence the sordid calculation that would bend man’s whole powers down to the earth, instead of helping him to grow up towards the heavens. The super-incumbent weight of the world’s business will press heavily enough upon him. With all the preparation he can have, and all the improvement he can make of it, there is danger that he will but seldom be able to raise himself above the thick fog that creeps along the ground, and limits his view to the objects immediately around him, into the clear region where higher duties and higher enjoyments offer themselves to his attention—where the spirit may breathe, the mind hold communion with intelligence, the affections kindle, the charities be nursed, and his whole nature exalted, under the quickening influence of the consciousness that he is a man. It is in this consciousness, properly enlightened, that dwells his real dignity, and in it, too, the sense of all his duties. What parent, then, who has the ability, will withhold from his child, the means of such instruction and discipline, in their fullest measure, as may promise to give him a moral and intellectual constitution fitted to seize upon, and improve the occasions that may arise for purifying and exalting his nature, and fulfilling all his obligations? In this consists his highest happiness. It will not control the course of events. It will not make adverse fortune prosperous, nor the contrary. But, like a wall in the sea, well planted and well supported, broad in its foundation, and carried to its proper height, it will establish a secure and quiet retreat from the shocks, both of prosperity and adversity, to which he may betake himself in the hour of dangerous trial, and escape the imminent hazard of being overwhelmed by either.”

The reader will indulge us in giving one more extract; it refers to the duty of educated men:

“The body of educated men in a country, besides their other distinctions (all attended with corresponding duties) are the natural guardians of the cause of education. They are expected to be able to

perform the office of guardians. To them, chiefly, this great cause must look for support, in all its extent and variety, from the highest to the lowest. Professors and teachers, learned and able as they may be, are still regarded as interested persons, and listened to with doubt and distrust. They must be upheld by testimony entitled to respect as disinterested and competent—the testimony of men known to be able to appreciate their labours and their services, and to judge of their fitness and their qualifications. Hence it is, that every considerable institution is finally under the control of a board of trustees, in some way selected from the mass of the community, to superintend its interests, to watch over its conduct, and by actual inspection to observe the working of the system as well as the capacity and fidelity of all who are entrusted with its details. Who will be able to perform this duty but such as having had the advantages of early education have improved it by continual culture? Who else can be competent to judge of the examination of classes, of the merits of professors and teachers? In whom else can there be confidence that the great interests of education are safe under their charge? And *they*, too, are to be judged; they are amenable to public opinion, which is at last to decide upon them, who decide upon every thing else. But how shall the tribunal be constituted which is to pass upon their doings? How shall public opinion be enlightened, so that from their judges they may look for justice, unless there be a body of educated men, who feel a lively sympathy in their labours because they know their value, and who are able by their influence to inform and direct the public mind?

“To this same body of educated men, it belongs to judge of proposed improvements, to weigh them carefully, to examine thoroughly, and to sanction and adopt them only when after a rigorous investigation they appear to be clearly good. New schemes are constantly offering themselves, claiming to be superior to the ancient methods. Sometimes, they profess to make the way of learning easy and quite an amusement; forgetting that one great point in education is to prepare us by discipline for a life of exertion and toil. At others, they would exclude the ancient languages, and instead of the fine models they exhibit in the productions of the masters who used them, satisfy us with translations, when every one who can study them in the original is aware, that even if the substance can be retained, (which is more than doubtful) the graces and beauties which constitute their main charm, are unavoidably lost in the transfer. Then there are those who, under the plea of utility, would crowd into the work of education many things which may be admitted to be well in their place, and fit enough to be learned at the proper time, but have nothing to do with our general nature, nor with the cultivation of our general powers. And so of a thousand other plans, to which there is not time even to make an allusion. But of all the blows that can be levelled at this good cause, there is none so deadly and destructive, as that which aims to sever or to weaken the union of learning and

religion. Our fathers thought them inseparable. When they were to build up an edifice for instruction, they laid its foundation in piety, and they humbly invoked the Divine aid to fill the whole structure with the light of truth. Nor did they neglect the appointed means. Within its walls they fixed an altar, not like that in Athens, inscribed to the "Unknown God," but to Him, who having always manifested Himself in the works of creation and Providence, has also made Himself known by the revelation of His attributes, and of His holy will. Around this altar they thought it right to assemble daily the youth committed to their care, and to endeavour to provide that its fire should be fed, and its services be performed, by pious and learned men:—that so the perfume of its offerings might fill the atmosphere of the nursery of youth—all human learning be accomplished with the spirit of devotion, and the recollection of our dependence, and our duties be continually present with the effort to improve the faculties of the mind. Such an institution was to be an Alma Mater. It was to fulfil a mother's duty, not only with a mother's affection, but with the deep religious sense that is seated in a pious mother's heart, to guide and govern that affection so beautifully exhibited, in the first lessons of childhood, when the little hands are upraised towards heaven, by the mother's side, before the tongue has power to give utterance to praise or thanksgiving. But now, there are those who would separate religion from learning, who would exclude the altar from the nursery of youth, and leave the place of instruction without any visible manifestation or acknowledgment of duty to our Maker. If such a proposal were limited to scoffers at religion, to such as indulge in sneers and sarcasms at all that is serious, to men who vainly imagine they make themselves giants, by raising their puny hand against heaven—it would not be surprising, and, comparatively, it would be harmless. *They* are few in number, and of little weight. The real matter of astonishment, not unmixed with deep concern, is, that it should find favour with any one else. That it can be entertained for a moment must be owing to ignorance or thoughtlessness. Here, then, the body of educated men must take their stand. By all the means in their power they must endeavour to avert the pestilent mischief of desecrating the place of instruction, of separating the culture of the heart from that of the mind; and, under the pretence of a liberal morality, of rejecting the only morality that is clear in its source, pure in its precepts, and efficacious in its influences—the morality of the Gospel. All else, at last, is but idolatry—the worship of something of man's own creation, and that thing imperfect and feeble like himself, and wholly insufficient to give him support and strength."

## ART. II.—*The Religious Obligations of Parents.*

IN considering this subject it would not be irrelevant to refer to the proof which the social organization furnishes of the wisdom, as well as the benevolence of God. It is easily seen that whilst such an arrangement seems indispensable to the happiness of man, it appears to be no less essential in effecting the great moral designs of the Creator. It accomplishes the former purpose by its coincidence with the affections of human nature; whilst to promote the latter and supreme object, it furnishes the best mode and the best security for the transmission and maintenance of the Divine authority.

But in inviting the attention of *Christian* parents to the contemplation of what is deemed their positive *duty*, we shall postpone the argument drawn from the constitution of society, until we have looked at the expression of the Divine will as made known by revelation, and exemplified in the history of the race.

At the calling of Abraham is dated the commencement of the formal recognition of a portion of mankind as the Church of God. In looking at its constitution, we see at once, that the children of the faithful are prominently included in the covenant made with their fathers, and that its blessings are expressly entailed upon them. "I will establish my covenant between me and thee, and thy seed after thee, in their generations, for an everlasting covenant, to be a God unto thee and thy seed after thee." Gen. xvii. 7. The condition of the blessing uniformly was, "thou shalt keep my covenant, thou and thy seed after thee, in their generations;" Gen. xvii. 9. always implying that their duty to God, and their interest in the engagement with Abraham, was to be the subject of instruction of one generation to the succeeding. So, it was on the ground of this confidence in the faithfulness of the original party to the covenant, that the Lord condescended to impart to Abraham his secret counsels respecting the destruction of the cities of the plain: "For I know him that he will command his children, and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment; that the Lord may bring upon Abraham that which he hath spoken of him." Gen. xviii. 19. The expectation, then, that the Divine precepts would be transmitted and perpetuated by the faithful instruction of the children, was part of the arrangement on which the Almighty based his purpose of blessing his people; a purpose extending far onward to the end of the

human family, and embracing all those, who being "Christ's," are "Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise." Gal. iii. 29.

To make this obligation still more impressive and memorable, the Lord established a solemn rite, which was made obligatory, under the most fearful penalties, on every parent. This law required him to present his male offspring in an early period of existence to receive the token of its connexion with the promise. Gen. xvii. 10—14. Thus was established an ordinance with the express object of keeping in mind the conditions on which all the advantages of the Divine favour are suspended, and appealing to the duty of the father to insure their performance. How wise the device! how doubly dear its perpetuation in the Christian form!

The proposal to the father of the faithful was repeated in the same terms, to his lineal descendants, at Gerar and Bethel; Gen. xxvi. 3—5; and the title by which Jehovah announced himself to the nation, after this distinct engagement with the representatives of three successive descents, is strongly characteristic of the nature of the constitution, "THE LORD GOD OF YOUR FATHERS, THE GOD OF ABRAHAM, AND THE GOD OF ISAAC, AND THE GOD OF JACOB. This is my name forever, and this is my memorial unto all generations." Exod. iii. 15.

At the next great epoch in the history of Israel, on the eve of their release from Egypt, and when they were about to resume their national and ecclesiastical existence, the family character of their religion was again signally marked. The passover was directed to be observed in each *household*, and a special command given that the ceremony should be explained to the children. Exod. xii. 1—28. The peculiar devotion and redemption of the first-born was also required from every parent, to commemorate the same event, and thus another occasion was furnished for teaching the children their obligations to the God of Israel. Exod. xiii. 11—15.

When the tribes had arrived at the end of their forty years' pilgrimage, and Moses was to be left to die on the borders of their inheritance, he reviewed before them the history of their trials. In the prospect of their separation, the venerable leader enjoined on the people obedience to the law of God, and the preservation of his worship. "Take heed," said he, "to thyself, and keep thy soul diligently, lest thou forget the things which thine eyes have seen, and lest they depart from thy heart all the days of thy life." And as the surest means of averting the result, he adds, "but teach them to thy sons, and thy sons' sons." Deut. iv. 9. He then rehearsed to the tribes the precepts of the deca-

logue, and with the solicitude of one who had so memorable an experience of their liability to forget God, solemnly repeated his instructions that these commandments should be faithfully transmitted from generation to generation; "and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thy house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up." Deut. vi.

7. And this was not merely for a memorial of an historical event, but when their children should inquire into the meaning of "the testimonies, and the statutes, and the judgments, which the Lord our God hath commanded," they were to be taught, in connexion with the history of the deliverance of their fathers from Egypt, that "the Lord commanded us to do all these statutes, to fear the Lord our God, for our good always, that he might preserve us alive, as it is this day; and it shall be our righteousness, if we observe to do all these commandments before the Lord our God, as he hath commanded us." Deut. vi. 20—25. And thus Moses commanded that all Israel should be assembled at the feast of tabernacles, to hear the law "that they may learn, and fear the Lord your God, and observe to do all the words of this law, and that their children which have not known any thing may hear and learn to fear the Lord your God." Deut. xxxi. 10—13, and see ver. 19—21. One of the national poets celebrates this statute, in opening an exhortation which may be regarded as a specimen of the pious instruction of the age, "Give ear, O my people, to my law; incline your ears to the words of my mouth. I will open my mouth in a parable; I will utter dark sayings of old, which we have heard and known, and our fathers have told us. We will not hide them from their children, showing to the generation to come the praises of the Lord, and his strength, and his wonderful works that he hath done. For he established a testimony in Jacob, and appointed a law in Israel, which he commanded our fathers, that they should make them known to their children; that the generation to come might know them, even the children which should be born; who should arise and declare them to their children, that they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works of God, but keep his commandments, and might not be as their fathers, a stubborn and rebellious generation, a generation that set not their heart aright, and whose spirit was not steadfast with God." Psalm lxxviii. 1—8.

Thus it appears evident that the Hebrew parents were held under a moral and positive obligation to teach their children fully, constantly and practically the laws of God, and the history of their people as illustrative of the consequences of fidelity or

disobedience, and that this mode of transmission was adopted as the most natural method of preserving the religion of Sinai. That this instruction was expected to be something more than a matter of mere rote, is clear from the spirit of the latter quotations. That it was thus understood, is exemplified in several particular instances. David not only assured his son of prosperity if he should take heed to fulfil the statutes and judgments which the Lord charged Moses with concerning Israel, 1 Chron. xxii. 13, but added this solemn admonition, "and thou Solomon my son, know thou the God of thy father, and serve him with a perfect heart and with a willing mind; for the Lord searcheth all hearts, and understandeth all the imaginations of the thoughts; if thou seek him, he will be found of thee; but if thou forsake him, he will cast thee off forever." 1 Chron. xxviii. 9. Nor did the anxious monarch leave the vain warning without supplicating the "Lord God of Abraham, Isaac and of Israel," to give his beloved successor "a perfect heart" to keep the commandments of the Most High. 1 Chron. xxix. 18, 19. Solomon has made an immortal record of the faithfulness of his father, and given an epitome of his lessons of wisdom: Proverbs iv. and it was with a vivid impression of the effect of parental fidelity that he wrote "train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." Prov. xxii. 6. The history of Samuel, and of Eli, also stands forth in contemporaneous history, as if to show by contrast the results of parental fidelity and parental neglect. 1 Sam. i. 26-28, and iii. 12-14.

There has been but one system of religion revealed to man. The mode of its external organization has been different, but the Mosaic and Christian theology are one. Moral obligation is unaltered, and the principles of human nature remain the same. The old dispensation was immature Christianity: the Gospel is its consummation. The rule of transmitting this religion when first revealed to men, therefore required no republication. The provision for its propagation was not limited to the patriarchs, or to Israel. It looked forward to all who are blessed in Abraham, and the same natural principles which secured its operation whilst the Jew was the depository of the law of God, insured its perpetuity when the Gentiles were admitted to the inheritance. It could not, therefore, be repealed without altering the characteristics of man, and changing the plan of the divine government. Besides, such an admission would annul the precepts of inspiration in the Old Testament, which enforce the parental duty as one of immutable obligation. As Prov. xxii. 6: xxix. 17, &c. We do not mean to argue that the accomplishment of the divine purposes was dependent on the traditionary effect of



this instruction, but that it was the evident design of God so to incorporate this duty with the domestic obligations, as to make it the ordinary channel of the blessings of the covenant.

Accordingly, we find that the church of Christ, like its type, receives its members as infants, and acknowledges them as her children. The same duties of instruction and example are implied, as the obligation not only of the church but of the parents. All that is tender in natural affection gives force to the duty as a result of faith in the Gospel. Does the parent believe that if his child is spared to the age of moral responsibility, repentance and faith alone can bring him within the promise of mercy, and will not nature bind him to the duty of training his child in such a manner as to afford the strongest ground of hope that his soul will yield that faith and repentance? Does the parent feel bound to glorify God by bringing the impenitent within the means of grace, and will he overlook his own offspring? Does he feel his solemn responsibility to improve every means and opportunity of imparting a Christian influence, and shall not his own household be the first to feel its power? Above all, if he is actuated by love to Christ, enjoys the peace which it imparts, and is prompted by the holy zeal which it inspires, he will need no penal statute to drive him to the duty of striving to bring his own children to the enjoyment of the same gracious hope.

The primitive Christians rejoiced to know that the promise was "to them and to their children," Acts ii. 39: and that as they were "Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise," Gal. iii. 29: their offspring, like his, were interested in the covenant and entitled to its seal. They asked for no positive command *requiring* them to offer their children for baptism. They could not have reconciled the exclusion of their offspring from the Christian church with the provision which admitted them into the Jewish. They did not believe in such an inconsistency. As a matter of course it would follow that the same kind of instruction required by the Mosaic law should be continued, with the assistance of the light revealed in the Gospel. "Bring them up," said the Apostle, "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord;" Ephes. vi. 4: a precept full of significancy, meaning literally, nourish them in the discipline and instruction of the Christian religion.\* The exemplification of it is furnished by the same Apostle, when speaking with confidence of the "unfeigned faith," of his disciple, he refers to the piety of his two maternal ancestors, and afterwards to his early instruction in

\* Εκτρέφετε αὐτὰ [τὰ τέκνα] ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ νουθεσίᾳ κυρίου.

religion, implying that it was to parental care, that "from a child" he had "known the Holy Scriptures," not only as an intellectual acquisition, but as able to make him "wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus." Comp. 2 Tim. i. 5, and iii. 15. Timothy had been educated according to the injunctions of Moses; the Scriptures which he had learned were those of the Old Testament, and it was that knowledge, perfected by faith in the Redeemer and a reception of the Gospel, which became to him the wisdom of salvation.

But the precept had already been emphatically delivered by the Lord himself in a living parable, when "they brought young children to him that he should put his hands on them and pray." He who did nothing that was unmeaning "took them up in his arms, put his hands upon them and blessed them." Matt. xix. 13: Mark x. 13. 16. There was a significance in this unusual act, which rendered explanation unnecessary. It is connected with the command that will go with the record forever, as making its own application, "suffer the little children to come unto me and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God." Mark x. 14. The deed was more eloquent than the words; and no incident can be compared with it for expressiveness, with the single exception of that kindred scene when the dying Lord from his cross said to his mother, "woman behold thy son," and to the disciple whom he loved, "behold thy mother!"

Having thus reviewed the scriptural authority in proof of the duty of parents to educate their children religiously, we can only glance at the evidence of nature and reason to the same point.

That such a responsibility exists might be judged, even if revelation were silent, from the natural relation in which God has placed children to their parents. He has made them dependent for their daily support, protection and preservation, during a long period of helplessness. He has so constituted the tie, that there is an influence inevitably exerted by the parents on the child by which his character is formed. By the force of habit and association, if not by direct instruction, they mould his habits, direct his thoughts and fix his early opinions. They can take advantage of the pliant state of his faculties to place before him such subjects of knowledge and observation, as may establish in a great degree all his future views and conduct. His inexperience of the world, his comparative innocence, and docility, present the most favourable circumstances for the exercise of a good or evil influence. They have him constantly within their reach, and subject to their authority. Not only do habit and

authority secure this influence; but where the affection of a parent accompanies it all to the tender and open disposition of a confiding child, the effect is deepened beyond the power of any other human agency. The natural affections, indeed, lose their end in the moral economy, if these results do not follow as a general consequence. God has thus bound parent and child, and that shall measure that parent's guilt, who either overlooking this law of nature, neglects to avail himself of it to promote the eternal welfare of his offspring, or who takes advantage of it to transmit his own wickedness by his example and licence!

There is also a natural consciousness of responsibility to which we might appeal. Every one instinctively feels that he is in some measure answerable for the general character of those over whom he exercises a constant influence. The master of the apprentice, the man of eminence among his followers, the parent of the child, feel sure that there is a connection between their conduct and that of their dependents. But most of all does the *Christian* realize this obligation, who has been taught by the Gospel that men must give account for all the means and opportunities of glorifying God, that he has given them. He knows that neglect of duty, as well as the commission of positive evil, is criminal in the sight of the searcher of hearts, and that "inasmuch as YE DID IT NOT to one of the least of these" was the very instance of guilt chosen by the Judge to characterize those who shall be consigned to the condemnation of the devil and his angels. Matt. xxv. 45. If the house of Eli were to be "judged forever," "because his sons made themselves vile and he restrained them not," though he had remonstrated with them, 1 Sam. iii. 13. what must be the guilt of the parents who embrace the Christian faith and do not "bring up" their children—"train" them, from infancy in the "nurture and admonition of the Lord"? If he has practically "denied the faith," and is, in this respect, "worse than an unbeliever" in that faith, who in temporal things, "provides not for his own and especially for those of his own house," 1 Tim. v. 8, how would Paul have described the parent who professed to be Christ's, and to have his spirit, 1 Cor. iii. 23, Rom. viii. 9, and yet uses not his influence to save his children from the consequences of their depravity? Such a parent must not look for sympathy to the man who had "great heaviness and continual sorrow" in his heart for his "brethren and kinsmen according to the flesh," Rom. ix. 1—3, and who "by the space of three years ceased not to warn every one night and day with tears." Acts xx. 31.

The question of positive obligation being evident from every

view in which the subject can be considered, the manner of its performance is easily learned from the same sources which teach the duty. To "train" or "nurture" a child from infancy on any particular set of principles or for a particular end, implies regular, patient cultivation; it supposes that the great object will always be pre-eminently in view, and that every thing in the education and associations of the child shall be favourable to the design. So will it be in training children for heaven. The example of the parent, manifesting the holy and happy influence of his piety in all his domestic intercourse; the uniformity of his religious conduct, impressing the child from his earliest observation with the assurance that godliness is the supreme duty of life; the punctual observance of the ordinances of the church of Christ; the maintenance of family worship; the regular perusal and explanation of the Scripture; the constant exhibition of the necessity of regeneration by the Holy Spirit, of the plan of salvation through the atonement of Jesus Christ, and of the importance of seeking the divine blessing in the use of sacred truth as a means of converting and sanctifying the heart; the constitution of the church as the depository of the Gospel and its ordinances; by these and similar methods of "discipline and instruction," Ephes. vi. 4, will the faithful parent fulfil his obligations. They will be conducted with all the affection and anxiety of the Christian parent, actuated by the desire of glorifying God and seeing the salvation of his child. They will be accompanied with secret and fervent supplication for the blessing of heaven to make his efforts effectual.

In the discharge of these personal duties the assistance of the Church will be sought. Her ministry and her institutions afford facilities for advice, control, instruction, and devotion. In receiving the sacrament of baptism the child has been admitted into the visible Church, and received a sign and seal of the covenant of grace.\* The parents are, on that occasion, exhorted,† and in most cases, make express stipulations to teach the child to read the Scriptures, and to instruct it in the principles of religion, to pray with and for it, to set an example of piety and godliness before it, and by all the means of God's appointment to bring it up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.‡ They are, thenceforward, unless suspended or removed by ecclesiastical judgment, members of the Church,§ responsible to its authority, and subject to its guardianship. How far the Church is faithful to this sacred charge it is not within our pre-

\* Confession of Faith, ch. 28.

† Directory, chap. 7. § 4.

‡ Directory, chap. 7. § 4.

§ Confession of Faith, ch. 25, § 2.

sent purpose to inquire. But Christian parents must be reminded that they stand pledged, by their voluntary act, to the Church and to God, for the full and faithful performance of these solemn engagements. All that is binding on them by the ties of nature, and by the word of God, is thus strengthened by their own assumption. These duties are imperative and unalienable; but both parent and child, as members of the Church, have also claims on its care.

The special modes of assistance offered by the Church in aid of parental duty, are the catechising of the children by the minister, and the instructions of the Sunday School. The former means must necessarily be, in the generality of congregations, insufficient for all the purposes desired in the religious teaching of the young. The various calls upon the services of the minister, the shortness of time during which he is able to meet the children, and the difficulty of suiting instruction to their different ages and capacities, allow but partial benefits from this source. The Sunday school precisely meets the deficiency. It is part of the parochial organization of the Church; it is, if properly constituted, under the same inspection and control as the other means of religious instruction enjoyed by each congregation; first, for the instruction of the children of the Church, and secondly, for all such other children as may be sent for the same purpose. The advantages of the system are obvious. Provision is made for imparting knowledge and impressing truth on the young, under the most favourable circumstances. The subjects of instruction are made plain to their comprehension; the mode of conveying it is adapted to their taste and intelligence; the acquaintance which each teacher gains with his own class of pupils, gives a clew to their feelings, and opens an avenue to their hearts which no other means can so well effect. They are also supplied with books expressly suited to the study of the Scriptures, and with others for miscellaneous reading, calculated to impress moral and religious truth in the most engaging and permanent manner.

But the Sunday school is not to be regarded as the substitute for parental care. These obligations cannot be transferred. The parent will employ it as an auxiliary, and will labour in co-operation with it to make its instructions effective. It supplies a valuable kind of knowledge which few parents are qualified to impart, such as relates to the explanation and illustration of the customs, geography, history, and antiquities of the Bible. And in other respects too the teachers, (who are supposed to be pious, intelligent, and prudent,) may be supposed to enjoy peculiar advantages. They associate for the purpose of mutual assistance in all the departments of their duty; they employ the best

helps to aid them in preparing for the service; they devote themselves to this special duty, aiming to forward the religion of Christ, by making it understood, and bring their pupils under its influence.

When such a system as this, consistent as it is with the principles of the Bible, owned by the divine approbation, and directed by the Church, is offered to a parent, surely there is an obligation on him either to avail himself of its gratuitous privileges, or to be sure that his own care at home renders such a resort unnecessary. It is not a device to relieve parents of their responsibility, or to enable them to dispose of their children on the Lord's day, or merely to keep them from profaning it; it is not an unimportant appendage to the Church, which may be disregarded and forgotten by its members, and consigned to the charity of a few teachers. It is the *nursery of the Church*, and demands the protection, the support, and the prayers of the Church. We have considered the Institution in this special light in a former number,\* and shall here leave it in the connexion in which it occurs among the auxiliaries to Christian duty, which claim the serious regard of every consistent parent.

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#### ART. III.—*The Bible the Christian's Standard.*

ALL men have some general standard of action; and this standard, whatever it may be, will determine the character. The world abounds with false standards, while there is one, and only one in the universe, that is right. This God himself hath framed; and it is identified with the richest gift, next to the Saviour himself, which he has ever bestowed upon the world. This gift is the Bible; which reveals not only a perfect rule of conduct, but a perfect way of salvation. Let all standards then which are opposed in any degree to this be cast to the winds; and let all men, as they regard their own highest interests, and as they revere the authority, and dread the displeasure of God, keep "to the law and the testimony."

\* Our design in this article is to hold up *the Bible as the only authoritative standard*; as the great rule by which we are to settle our faith, by which we are to regulate our conduct, by which we are to try our characters; and then to notice some of the *advantages* which will result from our adopting and adhering to this rule.

The Bible is the only rule by which we are to try the principles of our faith. It is so in distinction from human authority and human reason.

Human authority.—We do not mean to intimate that no advantage is to be derived in this respect from uninspired men and uninspired books; on the contrary, he who should turn his back upon these, would certainly set at nought an important means of good; and besides, Providence has clearly intimated that it is right to avail ourselves of human helps in forming our religious opinions, by having made parents and teachers responsible for the first religious impressions which are communicated to children. We say then it is right that, in learning the mind of the Spirit, we should not only consult the record itself, but the commentaries, and treatises, and catechisms, and systems of great and good men; and he who is too wise to be instructed by any of them, is most probably too wise to open his mind and heart to the teachings of the Spirit. The point to be insisted upon in this matter, is, that all human productions should be kept in their proper place; that they should be considered merely as helps in interpreting God's word, and not be substituted in place of it. Be it that children in the earliest stage of their existence must depend on their parents for their views of religious truth,—yet, whenever they arrive at the period in which they are capable of examining the Bible for themselves, they are bound to do so; and if they neglect it, every error which they hold, however early they may have heard it inculcated, involves aggravated guilt. The Bible is a plain book. It commends itself to the understanding and conscience of every one who studies it with an honest and docile spirit. No man then can have any apology for holding a fundamental error; not even in the fact that he inherited it from his parents, or learned it in the catechisms and standards of his church. Parents, and catechisms, and standards, have no dominion over his conscience, any farther than they speak in accordance with the lively oracles.

Let us say a word here in respect to church standards and confessions of faith. It has been common for some religious sects in modern times to speak against all creeds and confessions as worse than useless, on the ground that they were a substitute for the Bible: but this is misrepresentation; and it is what their advocates would revolt at as truly as their opposers. They are designed not to take the place of God's word, but simply as an epitome of what God's word is supposed to contain. When I subscribe to a confession of faith, the language of that act is, not that this confession is the *ultimate* standard of truth, but merely that it expresses what I believe are the genuine doctrines

of the Bible. And who will question my right to do this? I do not thereby infringe upon the liberty of any other man—I merely express my own convictions. There may be those bearing the Christian name who reject doctrines which I may consider fundamental; and I may refuse to recognise them as Christians; but the ultimate ground of this refusal is, not that the doctrines which they reject are prominent in my confession of faith, but that I regard them as prominent in the Bible; in other words, it is because I consider the individuals concerned as disbelieving the testimony of God. And if one man has a right to express his conviction of what constitute the doctrines of the Bible, so has another, so have any number; and they have a right to associate together in church fellowship, taking this common expression of their belief as the basis of their communion. No individual can honestly join himself to such an association, if his views differ materially from what they have taken as their standard; nor can any one honestly and consistently remain in such an association, if his views of Christian doctrine become materially changed. The language we hold by joining ourselves to it, or by remaining in it, is simply this—that we regard it as maintaining the great principles of gospel truth and order. We still take the Bible as the ultimate standard; and the only ground for regard to any confession of faith, is that we suppose it to be conformed to the Bible.

But we are to take God's word as the rule of faith, not in opposition to human authority only, but to human *reason*. There have always been men who have manifested a disposition to be wise above what is written; to substitute their own speculations for the simple verities of God's word. In the indulgence of this propensity, some have completely annihilated the Gospel, while others have greatly weakened its energy and obscured its glory. We do not object to human philosophy—we only insist that it should be kept in its place; that it should neither be substituted for the doctrines of the Gospel, nor so connected with them as to hinder their legitimate efficacy. Reason has certainly something to do in respect to religion: she has to weigh and decide upon the evidence that the Bible is the word of God; and she has moreover, to determine what the Bible actually contains; but if she attempt any thing beyond this, she manifestly strays beyond her province. Then and only then, is she in her right place, when, with a spirit of humility and docility, she is inquiring, "What saith the Lord?"

The Bible is the great standard by which we are *to regulate our conduct*.

Men adopt a variety of standards in this respect, according to



the circumstances in which they are placed, and the ruling passion by which they are controlled. Even professing Christians, to a great extent, adopt other rules of living than those which are contained in God's word. They measure themselves by each other; and instead of inquiring of conscience, and the God of conscience, what is right, they look to others who have the weight of Christian obligation resting upon them, and who *ought* to exhibit an example which it is safe to follow. But all this is utterly wrong. The only rule they have a right to think of for a moment, is the perfect rule which God's word exhibits. Say, if you will, that Christians are often called to act in cases which no precept of God's word *particularly* contemplates—yet there are no cases which the *spirit* of his word does not contemplate; and very few in respect to which the Bible does not speak to an enlightened conscience in such a manner as to preclude doubt. The grand difficulty is, not that there is any obscurity in the rule of duty, as it is laid down in the Bible, but that men will not contemplate it—will not study it: they love darkness rather than light, and hence they turn aside from the Bible to some human standard that is more accommodating to their corrupt inclinations.

Let us illustrate more fully what we mean. A professing Christian is tempted towards some scene of vain amusement or forbidden pleasure—his conscience is right, but his inclination wrong; and instead of looking to the Bible, which would settle the question of duty in a moment, by saying, "Be not conformed to this world," he begins to look at one and another of his fellow professors, and those perhaps who may have been considered sufficiently strict, and inquires whether they have not sometimes done the very thing to which he is tempted; and when he finds that he can plead the authority of their example, he asks for nothing beyond it. So too, a professor may be tempted to defraud his neighbor in a slight degree in a bargain, and instead of looking at God's word which says imperatively, "Defraud no man," he turns his thoughts to some other professors whom he may have known guilty of some similar aberration; and with their example in his eye, he goes forward and commits the sin without much compunction. Now this is the exact opposite of what the Christian's duty requires. If we would know what we ought to do in any given case, our only inquiry should be, "what the *Lord* will have us to do."

The Bible furnishes the rule by which we are *to try our own characters*.

The question more interesting to every individual than any other, is, whether he has experienced that great change without

which no one can ever enter heaven. There are many, indeed, who practically treat this as an unimportant matter, and never take the trouble to refer their character to *any* standard; but there are many others who earnestly desire to possess evidence that they have been renewed; and of these not a small number judge their experience by other standards than that which the Bible furnishes. Some will have it that the great evidence of Christian character is to be sought in a life of honesty or of active benevolence; and because they are conscious of general uprightness in their dealings with men, and in giving liberally of their substance for the promotion of Christ's cause, though they have no real love to the Saviour, and no intelligent acquaintance with his doctrines, they take the comfort of thinking that they rank among his friends. Others make the great evidence of piety to consist in burning zeal; and because they find themselves possessed of it, they imagine that they are certainly Christians, though they have nothing of the spirit of humility, or charity, or genuine devotion. Some fasten upon one grace, and some upon another, as if it were the whole of the Christian character; and because they find something which they imagine is like it in themselves, (too often, there is reason to fear, it is not the genuine quality) they confidently conclude that they have been born from above, and not improbably pass severe judgment upon those whom they suppose, in that particular, to fall below themselves.

But very unlike all this is the *Bible* standard of Christian character. The Bible Christian is he who understands and believes the great truths of the Bible; who feels their influence on his heart, and exhibits that influence in his conduct. It is not he who has merely a knowledge of God's truth; nor he who has merely an occasional gust of religious feeling; nor he who is merely exemplary in his external deportment; but it is he in whose character, knowledge, and feeling, and action are all combined. And he who would know whether he be a Christian in deed and in truth, must inquire whether such be his own character. If he suppose that he has evidence of possessing only one of the Christian graces, and is relying upon that as evidence of his piety, it is altogether probable that he is deceiving his own soul. The Christian character, though it is a consistent and beautiful whole, is nevertheless made up of many parts; and in investigating our claim to it, we ought to extend our inquiry to every part, and especially to those which the Bible makes most important.

What are some of the **ADVANTAGES** that would result from adopting and adhering to this rule?

*It would impose a powerful check upon religious controversy.*

It admits of no question that the controversies which have existed in the church in respect to religion have been one of the most formidable obstacles to the progress of the Gospel; and amidst the disputes which have arisen in respect to what religion is, multitudes have found it an easy matter to act upon the principle that it is nothing. Nay, there is scarcely any point which infidels have made more prominent in their attacks on the Gospel, than the fact that its advocates could not agree in respect to its doctrines; and that what some professing Christians have regarded as of great importance, others have rejected as absolutely false. Now there is no room for question that this evil is to be referred more than to any other cause, to a disposition to be wise above what is written; to substitute human philosophy for the simple testimony of God, or at least to add the one to the other. Let all who profess to be Christians consent to bring their opinions to this simple test, and instead of inquiring what is, or what is not, consistent with some favourite system of human philosophy, let them simply ask, "What saith the Lord?" and rely on it, most of the controversies which exist in the church, and even some which are conducted with the greatest asperity, would be banished at once; and some who seem now to be at a great distance from each other, would be seen walking together in the love and fellowship of the Gospel.

An adherence to the Gospel standard *would contribute much to Christian consistency and decision.* A Christian may be said to be inconsistent, when one part of his conduct does not agree with another, or when any part of it is at variance with the word of God. There are some men who profess a strong regard to the truths of the Bible in conversation, who yet manifest but an equivocal regard for them in their lives. There are some who appear devout without being charitable; and some who seem to be full of Christian sympathy and kindness, who nevertheless exhibit less relish for devotion, and other more spiritual parts of religion than could be desired. There are those too, who, without evincing much positive regard for religion in any way, by their worldliness, by their levity, by their opposition to good objects of various kinds, make the cause of the Redeemer bleed continually. Let a professor of religion be in some respects exemplary; let him in certain departments of religious action even be a model, and at the same time let his deportment in other respects be loose and unedifying, and it is probable that the bad influence he exerts, will preponderate over the good—the world who look on and scrutinize his conduct will find it much easier to account for what may seem good in it in consistency with his being a bad man, than for what may seem evil,

and what really is evil, in consistency with his being a good man. Many a true Christian, no doubt, who has been influenced in the main by a sincere desire to glorify Christ, and who has really brought forth much fruit to his honour, has greatly abridged his good influence by being conformed in some respect to the world, or by being delinquent in some course of duty, of which perhaps he may have formed a partial or erroneous estimate.

Let the Christian take the Bible as his only standard, and this evil he will of course effectually avoid: Here are rules to guide him in every part of his conduct; and in adhering to them, he can exhibit no other than a consistent character. By doing the various duties which devolve upon him, at the proper time, and in the proper place, he cannot fail to let his light shine before men.

But the adherence to this standard is not less important to Christian *decision* than to Christian consistency. Wherefore is it that when Christians are placed in circumstances of temptation, they so often yield, and thus shamefully violate covenant obligations, and bring a reproach on the cause of Christ? Wherefore is it that they so often seem embarrassed as to what they ought to do, and after reflecting, and hesitating, and counting the cost on one side and not on the other, finally do wrong? The great reason is that they are looking away from the perfect and unerring standard of God's word, to the low standards of human opinion. There is ordinarily no difficulty in the case but what they themselves make; and they make it by turning their eye away from the perfect rule of duty. That individual who makes it a rule to ask but this single question in respect to any case in which he may be called to act—"What does God require me to do?"—will rarely be at loss in regard to the course he shall adopt. And acting upon this principle he will acquire a firmness of purpose which nothing can shake—he will have genuine decision of character—decision based on Christian principle. And while this will give an energy and efficiency to all that he does, it will impart to his general character an influence, the extent of which it is not easy to calculate. Witness examples of this in Moses, and Daniel, and Paul, and Luther, and a host of martyrs, who valued their convictions of truth and duty so much, that, rather than abandon them, they have marched fearlessly and triumphantly to the stake.

An adherence to this great standard would be *the best security against a false hope of an interest in Christ*. There is always danger that persons will think themselves Christians when they are not so; owing to the difficulty of distinguishing between true and false experience—a difficulty which arises from

the deceitfulness of the heart, and the power and wiles of the adversary. And while this danger is incident to any period, it is especially incident to a period of great excitement—such as that upon which the church at this day has fallen. It is no doubt one of the great errors of the day that men are encouraged to think themselves converted too soon; and instead of *proving themselves*, they too often rely on the favourable opinion of their minister, or some other persons; and there is reason to fear, often settle down permanently on a false foundation. It is impossible, from the nature of the case, that any sufficient evidence of Christian character should be gained in a moment, or a day, or a week. There may indeed, in so short a period, be much transport; there may be bright visions of God and of heaven; and so too they may prove to be not the visions of Christian faith, but the delusions of a heated fancy. The scriptural evidence of regeneration is to be sought in holiness of heart and life. This always exists at first as a very feeble principle; but it gradually expands and developes itself, so that its existence may ultimately be known, if the Christian is faithful, with absolute assurance. Let the principle be generally adopted, that the slightest change of feeling, when the sinner is under conviction, or indeed any change of feeling he can experience, is to be taken as sufficient evidence of conversion, and you will see the number multiplying on every side who are going down in the light, or rather the darkness, of a false hope, to the chambers of death; and let this be the evidence on which the doors of the visible church are open to receive communicants, and you may rest assured that there will soon be an amount of spurious religion in the church, which will be just cause for her putting on the garments of sackcloth.

The way, and the only way, of guarding against this evil, is to refer all religious experience, or all that purports to be such, to the unerring standard. Each one must do this for himself, if he will not run the hazard of being found at last with the hypocrite's hope. And so too ministers and Christians must do the same thing in respect to others, especially in seasons of revival, when, from the strong excitement that often exists, there is extreme danger of self-deception. When an individual begins to express a hope that he has obtained God's gracious forgiveness, while he receives all the encouragement the case will warrant, let him be distinctly admonished of the deceitfulness of the heart, of the importance of self-examination, and especially of his trying himself not by the opinions of men, but by the perfect standard of God's word. And we cannot repress the conviction that, if all were to be withdrawn from the church, who have come in in consequence of judging themselves by a wrong standard, we

should find a large accession to the ranks of those who are confessedly strangers to the power of religion.

An adherence to the standard furnished by God's word, would *save true Christians from forming erroneous estimates of their own spiritual condition.*

Every Christian knows, and most know by sad experience, that good men are liable to grievous backsliding; and sometimes they wander long before they are reclaimed. Now it often happens that the Christian backslides, while he is scarcely sensible of it. And the reason is that he is not comparing his feelings and his conduct with the divine rule; he is looking rather to the opinions and example of his fellow men. In this way he, imperceptibly to himself, declines, and is scarcely sensible of any unfavourable change in his spiritual condition, till he finds himself at a great distance from God, and begins to doubt whether all his previous experience has not been delusion.

But in this state, again, he is liable to be misled by looking at a wrong standard. It has been specially common in latter years for Christians who may have been cold or backslidden, in seasons of unusual excitement, to give up their hopes, and proclaim to the world their conviction that they had hitherto been strangers to the renewing grace of God. No doubt there are cases in which a false hope is detected in such circumstances, and then surely it is right to abandon it; but it may be doubted, even then, whether more harm than good will not result from the fact being published to the world: better, we verily believe, that the world should learn the change from a subsequent change of conduct than from any professions, which have almost always the appearance of ostentation. But the remark which we were about to make is, that Christians, from looking away from the true standard, may sometimes too readily cast away their hope, and write bitter things against themselves. If you look into the Bible, you will find that David and Job and other holy men, were subject to seasons of desertion, and temptation, and spiritual despondency; and one reason why these things are recorded respecting them is, that they may help the faith and encourage the hope of other Christians in similar circumstances. It seems to be part of the economy of sanctification that Christians should sometimes have their seasons of darkness and trial; and though during such seasons there may be special reason why they should inspect closely the evidence of their discipleship, they are not warranted, they are not permitted, for a light reason, to refuse the comfort that may really belong to them—that of hoping that they have been born of the Spirit.

A proper regard to the Bible as a standard of faith and conduct

would minister greatly to all the interests of the church. On the one hand, it would keep out error; on the other, it would secure the prevalence of truth in all its greatness and power. On the one hand, it would make men earnest in defence of the faith once delivered to the saints; on the other, it would induce a spirit of gentleness and kindness towards those whom they regard in error. It would increase a deep, and earnest, and glowing piety, while it would banish inconsistency, irreverence and delusion. It would put out the wild-fire of fanaticism, while it would cause the fire of true devotion, of holy zeal, of genuine love to God and man, to burn with increasing fervour. It would render the church every where, one bright field of Gospel order, so that the eyes of the world could not be turned towards it without admiration. It would, more than any thing else, nourish the spirit of genuine revivals. It would set Christians to labouring and praying, and sinners to mourning and repenting, and the angels to rejoicing and triumphing. Away then with every standard that is not in accordance with the Bible, and let this be all in all. Take it, Christian, as the rule of your faith, as the rule of your conduct, as the rule of your experience; and you will have nothing to fear as it respects your influence or your destiny. But take any thing else than this, or adopt this but partially, and if you are not a mere cumberer of the ground, you certainly will not be a flourishing plant of righteousness; if you do not actually lose your soul, it will be saved only so as by fire.

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#### ART. IV.—*Decorum due to Public Worship.*

THERE is not less of truth than beauty in the declaration of the poet, that "order is Heaven's first law." We see this every where exemplified in the kingdom of nature, providence, and grace. Whether we look at the grandest or the most insignificant of the works of creation; whether we observe the revolutions of the heavenly bodies as they sweep through the illimitable regions of space, or the motion of an atom as it is borne on the wings of the wind; whether we ascertain the laws of physical existence as applied to the formation of an insect, or the laws of mental existence as exemplified in the intellect of an angel; we cannot fail to discern evidence that it is all the production of a God of order. In contemplating the system of providence too, when we make due allowance for the derangement that is occasioned by sin, we arrive at the same conclusion: we find there

are certain fixed laws, agreeably to which the course of events is regulated. And in the kingdom of grace, we find God still working like himself, evincing design and contrivance in every thing. The scheme of divine mercy for the salvation of men which the Gospel presents, is complete in all its parts: the design which it contemplates, it accomplishes by the most simple, and yet the best adapted, means. And while the Gospel, considered as a system of doctrine, is characterized by perfect order, the same is true of all its practical bearings and results, its ordinances and institutions. In the worship of heaven we are taught that, though there is a fervour that mortals cannot conceive, and though there are ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands who join in it, yet there reigns the most perfect order; and as it is in this respect with the glorified inhabitants of heaven, so it ought to be with humble worshippers on earth. To illustrate the nature and importance of Christian decorum in connexion with the public worship of God, is the whole design of the present article.

Let no one imagine that this is an unimportant topic; for nothing is unimportant that relates to the worship of God, or that God has been pleased to make the subject of an express command. Let it be considered also that this subject has much to do with the *spirituality* of Christian worship; for not only is it essential to our religious improvement that we *observe* this divine institution, but that we observe it in the very manner which God has ordained; and hence it will always be found, other things being equal, that religion exists in the most healthful and flourishing state, where the ordinances of God, and especially this ordinance, are most faithfully and diligently observed. Not that any thing merely external can be substituted for purity and devotion in the soul, but these ordinances as God has given them to us, are among the most important means of awakening and cherishing spiritual affections; and just so far as, in our observance of them, we mar the simplicity, and beauty, and order, which bespeak their divine original, so far we must expect to come short of the advantage they were designed to secure.

There should be proper decorum on the part of *those who attend on social worship, without taking a direct part in its services*. When we speak here of social worship, we mean to include not only the public services of the sanctuary, but the more retired services of the lecture-room and of the prayer-meeting.

It cannot be necessary here to dwell upon the more gross violations of decorum in the house of God, and in other places appropriated to religious worship; such as jesting, and trifling, and unnecessary talking; for it is not to be supposed that persons



who so flagrantly offend, not only against Christian propriety, but common decency, will occupy themselves in reading these pages. There are, however, some other points concerning which it is more common to transgress, and in relation to which the error, though a serious one, is so frequent that it often passes unnoticed.

We mention particularly a habit which too often exists, of gazing over the assembly, with a view to ascertain who are present, or to make observations on the appearance of individuals. This is indeed generally considered a harmless matter; and the rather, as merely looking at a person does not, of course, ordinarily disturb him; but is it not manifest that this habit, to say the least, must greatly interfere with one's own religious improvement? We assemble in the sanctuary for the professed purpose of worshipping God and listening to his truth; and just in proportion as we fail of this, our attendance there is the merest mockery. But if an individual passes the hour in gazing over the assembly, with a view to ascertain the number or appearance of the strangers, or for any other purpose, it is utterly impossible that, in *his* case, the end of public worship should be answered: and we have only to suppose that a whole congregation should do this, (and certainly if it is right for one it is right for all) in order for the whole service of the sanctuary to degenerate into the merest formality.

But while this habit is to be reprobated as it respects *any* part of the service, it is especially worthy of reprehension as it respects public prayers. We will not say that it is not possible that an individual may acquire, in so high a degree, the power of abstracting himself from surrounding scenes, that external objects, and even objects fitted to awaken curiosity may meet his eye, without causing his mind to wander; but if this attainment is possible, it is manifestly one that few ever reach. And hence when an individual in prayer voluntarily suffers his eyes to wander over the assembly, fastening upon every person who happens to enter or leave the house during that period, there is great reason to fear that that individual's heart is wandering as well as his eyes: certainly if he really prays, he cannot blame others for suspecting that he does not. It is not uncommon for men of the world, who do not so much as profess to join in the devotions of the sanctuary, to express their surprise that many professed Christians apparently feel no more interest in this service than they do themselves; that their attention can be diverted, and their heads turned, by the most trifling occurrence. We would say to every Christian, even if this habit is consistent with the keeping of his thoughts and the keeping of his heart before God, it had still better be avoided; because it does leave on the minds of others a painful impression of insincerity; and there are those no doubt

who will take occasion from it to excuse their own listlessness and inattention in the house of God.

There is yet another practice, which is even a still greater offence against the decorum that is due to public worship, than that which has just been noticed. We refer to the practice of making personal applications of the truth, by casting a significant look at the individual to whom it is supposed to be especially adapted. Persons who allow themselves in this habit, will be sure to hear preaching to little purpose; because, in their excessive concern for their neighbours, they entirely overlook themselves. They carve out large portions for those around them, and lest they should not have another opportunity, they serve them up on the spot; but they appropriate nothing for their own benefit; and even if others provide for *them* in the same way, it is all to little purpose; for it generally happens that persons of this class have so little self-knowledge, and so much self-confidence, that it is not easy by a look, however significant, to turn their eye inward upon themselves. We said that they who indulge in this habit are not likely to derive any personal advantage from the ministrations of the sanctuary: we go farther, and say that there is a great probability that they will prevent the spiritual improvement of others. You hear a reproof, or some exhibition of divine truth, from the pulpit, which you think must strike hard upon the conscience of a neighbour. Now then, if you will do your utmost to give it its effect, let your heart go up to God in a silent petition that he will accompany it by the influence of his Spirit; but do not turn your eye upon the individual to see how he bears it. For if you do this, and he observes it, whatever else you may accomplish, you have not aided the effect of divine truth upon his heart. You may have succeeded in awakening in his bosom mortification, or resentment, or some other evil passion, and you may have even sent him away from the sanctuary in the attitude of reflection; but then he will be reflecting not upon the truth of God, but upon what he at least will deem the impertinence of a fellow mortal. Let every one remember that his great business in the house of God is, not to watch the effect of divine truth upon others, but to see that it has its full effect upon his own heart; not to endeavour to read the operations of other minds in the countenance, but to commune with his own spirit on the one hand, and with the Almighty Spirit on the other.

But there is also a decorum to be observed in respect to *the manner of conducting public worship*. Our remarks under this article shall be confined to the exercises of devotion—to prayer and singing.

In respect to the first of these—viz. *prayer*, it is due to the

decorum of worship that it should be conducted with great reverence. We would indeed never have it forgotten that fervour of spirit is essential to this part of the service of God; and that however reverential may be the manner, if there be little or no feeling, there is an awful and radical deficiency. Still we maintain that mere fervour can never make amends for the lack of reverence; and that where the former exists without the latter, there is great reason to believe, either that it is mere animal excitement, or at best is associated with gross ignorance. The fervour which is inspired by genuine devotion is simple and child-like: it is the devout and earnest longing of a spirit that feels itself to be as nothing in the presence of the Almighty Spirit with which it is attempting to commune. But there is a fervour which is noisy and boisterous; which breaks out in extravagant and sometimes violent expressions; which descends to a degree of familiarity with Jehovah which would scarcely be considered decorous in the intercourse of one mortal with another; and we may even add, which sometimes discharges itself in a sort of holy trifling with the Highest, and in little short of imprecations on some of his creatures. We know there are those with whom this passes for prayer; and who, if there be an apparent earnestness in this exercise, think little of what there is, or what there is wanting, besides; but it is greatly to be feared that much that passes for prayer on earth, passes for mockery in heaven; and that many a man who takes upon himself the credit of wrestling with God, is actually chargeable with the guilt of insulting God. When you remember, Christian, who the Being is whom you profess to approach in your devotions,—that God in whose sight the heavens are not clean, and before whom even the angels do not bow without veiling their faces; and when you contemplate the examples of prayer which are left us in God's word, and observe by what deep and awful reverence they are marked; can you doubt for a moment that any approach to an irreverent manner in this exercise must be exceedingly offensive? This is an evil to be avoided even in our private devotions; and certainly it becomes greater in social worship, where its influence is felt not merely by the individual who conducts the service, but by those who wish to join in it.

Let us say one word, before dismissing this topic, in respect to the length of social prayers. The human mind is so weak, and in its best state so inclined to wander, that its powers cannot remain fastened in all their intensity, and without interruption, for a long time, even upon the most interesting and glorious of all subjects. Hence, that this service may be performed with the best effect, it must not be protracted beyond a proper limit; be-

cause, whenever the mind becomes fatigued with the exercise, it is worse than in vain to have it continued; for not only is all spiritual communion for the time at an end, but the wandering of the mind in such circumstances is fitted to produce a habit of irreverence, and to render the duty of devotion less welcome under more favoured circumstances. If the individual be only speaking forth his own desires to God in the closet, why then he may be governed, as to the time of his continuing this exercise, by his own feelings alone; but when he leads the devotions of an assembly, he is bound to keep in view their benefit as well as his own; and especially to bear in mind the fact, that if he wearies them by the length of his prayers, he actually defeats the end at which he is bound to aim; viz. their spiritual improvement. It is a fact which deserves to be carefully considered, that the specimens of prayer which are recorded in Scripture, and especially the form of prayer which our Lord gave his disciples, are short—very short; and though we may not infer from this any obligation on our part never to transcend these precise limits, yet we may reasonably conclude that God intended to inculcate in general the duty, that when we approach him, our words should be few as well as rightly chosen.

But we pass to consider the other part of public worship—viz; *singing*. No one who is at all familiar with the Scriptures, can doubt that the celebration of God's praise has always made part of public worship. The design of sacred music of course is nothing less than to awaken devotional feelings in the heart, while it serves as an expression of those feelings as they are directed to the heart-searching God. Most persons are capable of being wrought upon, and many in a high degree, by this peculiar exercise of the human voice; and though there may be a glow of animal feeling produced by it without any thing like genuine devotion, yet in a mind piously disposed, it cannot be doubted that it is eminently fitted to awaken and cherish a devotional spirit. The effect must, of course, be measured, in some degree, by the original capability of the mind to receive impressions from this source; but there are few minds so constituted that the impression made by devotional sentiments will not be heightened by their being appropriately expressed in music. If such be the design of this part of public worship, then it follows not only that it is of great importance that sacred music should be cultivated, but that that is the best style of music which is best adapted to cherish true devotion. That it should be conducted with propriety and with taste, certainly does not admit of question; because, otherwise, instead of being a help to devotion by falling in with an original current of feeling in the human breast, it be-

comes a hinderance to it by giving a shock to some of our finest sensibilities. There are indeed a few minds constituted in such a manner as to be in a good degree proof against the most exquisite melody on the one hand, and the most grating discord on the other; but in the great majority of instances, the devotions of the Christian will in the one case be greatly embarrassed, in the other, greatly assisted.

But while this part of public devotion ought to be performed with correct taste, and if you please, with a measure of elegance, it ought to be in a style of Christian simplicity. If the minister who should lead in the public prayers should assume the manner of an actor, and should seem to be praying merely to gratify the taste or amuse the fancy of a portion of his hearers, every one would regard it not only as unpardonable trifling, but downright impiety. And what better is to be said of that style of singing God's praise, which causes his praise to be forgotten, and the singing only to be thought of? God forbid that the church should ever borrow any thing from the stage—no, not even the parade and fascination of its music! We repeat, let every thing be done here in perfect simplicity! It matters little whether the devotions of Christians be hindered by awkward and discordant sounds, on the one hand, or by strains which only become the theatre, on the other: in the latter case, as truly as in the former, the decorum of Christian worship is violated.

If the preceding remarks are correct, it surely is the duty of every religious congregation to cultivate sacred music to such an extent as to secure in the best manner the design it is intended to answer as a part of divine worship: and if it is the duty of every congregation to do this, it is the duty of every individual who is endowed with the power of music to cultivate this gift, as God gives him opportunity. And we go farther and say, that it is the duty of all who are able, to aid, from time to time, in this part of public religious service. It was for this very purpose, of celebrating his praise, that God gave them this noble faculty; and if they never use it in this way, are they not chargeable with burying at least one talent in the earth? This is a duty which every individual who is thus gifted, owes to himself, his fellow-worshippers, and his God. He owes it to himself, as it is not only an expression of devotional feeling, but a powerful means of exciting and cherishing it. He owes it to his fellow-worshippers, as he thereby contributes to make melody in their hearts, and to deepen the current of their devotion. He owes it to God, as a reasonable expression of his homage for every good gift; and as one principal means which God himself has ordained for acknowledging his goodness and celebrating his praise.

I cannot forbear to remark in this connexion, that the course to which I have here adverted, would be an important security against the decline of sacred music in any congregation, as well as the most efficient means of effecting a revival of it where it has already declined. Let not this be a thing to be monopolized by persons of any age; but let all who have the ability regard it a privilege to render their aid. Even the tremulous voice of old age, if it does not destroy the harmony, will increase the solemnity and dignity, of this part of religious worship. Can you conceive of a spectacle at once more delightful and more sublime, than a great congregation all engaged, so far as they are able, in celebrating God's praise; in which the old, and the middle aged, and the youth, and even the little child—we had almost said the lisping infant, are mingling their voices in a common expression of thanksgiving to God and the Lamb? Let each one feel his personal obligation on this subject and act accordingly, and this blessed, thrice blessed result would be realized.

In illustrating the IMPORTANCE of the general duty which has been presented in the preceding pages, we would remind every Christian that he obeys God in the observance of his ordinances only in proportion as he attends upon them, or celebrates them, with religious propriety and decorum. In relation to the manner in which we are to celebrate his worship, he has given us as explicit directions as we need; and this not only by direct precept and instruction, but by recording for our benefit the example of those who have shared most richly in the influences of his Spirit. Just in proportion then as we depart from the scriptural manner of worshipping him, and substitute any invention of our own, we are chargeable with disregarding the Divine authority. No doubt there are some things in relation to this matter which are left to human discretion; but it is not left to human discretion whether or not all things shall be done decently and in order. We acknowledge too, that there may be some things that are wrong, very wrong, in the observance of this ordinance, when after all its substance is retained; but if we do these wrong things, we are without any apology; we may imagine that we are honouring God by adding to his institutions; but we are really dishonouring and disobeying him.

Besides, it is only as we maintain a proper regard to Christian decorum in our worship, that we have a right to expect that our service will be crowned with a blessing. The ordinance of religious worship, as God has established it, is adapted in the happiest manner possible to exert the influence it was intended to exert on the intellectual and moral nature of man. We know that it *must* be so, from the fact that it was appointed by a Being of

infinite wisdom, who made the mind, and who knows perfectly how to influence it; and we know that it is so from actual observation and experience. If then God's appointment is overlooked, and something else substituted in its place; if under the cover of great zeal and spirituality, public worship degenerates into a mere tumult of the animal passions, why then the blessings promised to those who wait upon God will be withheld of course; not only because God will frown upon the perversion of his own institutions, but because whatever is substituted in place of them, being a device of man, is not adapted, like the ordinances of God, to subserve man's religious improvement. If any thing better than these ordinances could have been devised, God no doubt would have devised it; and certainly his work will not be the more perfect for man's attempting to mend it.

But does any one ask, if this be so, how is it that in scenes of tumultuous excitement, where the common proprieties of public worship are all set aside, and there is groaning, and falling, and writhing, there are so many more converts, than where things are conducted with more coolness, and as we should say, decorum? We answer, this question takes for granted a fact which, to say the least, is of a most equivocal character;—the fact that the mass of individuals who profess to be converted in these circumstances are really so. If a man lives a Christian life, let it have commenced in as suspicious circumstances as it may, doubtless, we are to acknowledge his claim to the Christian character; but with our eye not only upon God's word, and the record of all past experience, but upon the very principles of human nature—we declare unhesitatingly, that all those supposed conversions which take place under powerful efforts to inflame the passions, amidst scenes of disorder and tumult—in short, where God's institution is in a great measure set aside, and the wisdom or rather the folly of man substitutes something in its place—that all these supposed conversions may be doubted—ought to be doubted, until their genuineness has been proved by a long course of holy living. It is hardly to be expected that men will be converted to God in the very act of disobeying God's plain commandments. We know that ignorance may sometimes be pleaded as an apology for fanaticism; but is not that ignorance which excuses fanaticism inconsistent with that knowledge of the truth which is essential to our sanctification?

Let it be remembered, moreover, that the manner in which these external duties are performed, must, from the very nature of the human constitution, powerfully influence the heart, and give complexion in a great degree to the religious character. It is a law of our condition that our characters are formed, to a con-

siderable extent, by external circumstances; and that the practical estimate which we form of any thing, depends much on the objects with which we find it associated, or the medium through which it is seen. Now then, if we are accustomed to associate religion with scenes of disorder, or to connect with its appropriate duties, extravagances which God's word does not warrant, admitting that there is a principle of grace in the heart, we shall inevitably in this way prevent it from a regular and vigorous growth. If there be true religion in this case, it will indeed live amidst all the rubbish by which it is surrounded; but it will not exist in fair and beautiful proportions. And on the same principle, just in proportion as we err habitually in respect to any of the parts of external worship, our Christian character must suffer loss; because, though the error relate to an external act, it is an act which is designed to influence, and which must influence, the inner man.

Let no one suppose that it has been the design of any part of this article to plead the cause of a formal religion. We have indeed exhorted Christians to a faithful observance of the ordinances of God; but we have done this not in the way of proposing a substitute for the devotion of the heart, but the most efficient of all helps to it; even that which God himself hath prescribed. We would that it might be distinctly impressed on the heart of every reader, that nothing that is merely external can ever be a qualification for entering heaven; and if there is no sincerity, no life, no spirituality in your religious services, however much of order there may be in them, however much to attract the eye and call forth the praise of man, they will be found to contain the elements of an aggravated condemnation. Be satisfied with nothing short of the religion of the heart, and let this be acted out, not only in your faithful observance of God's institutions, but in whatever is pure, and lovely, and of good report. Thus will your Christian character rise in goodly proportions, and you will be training up for an inconceivably glorious reward.

And that reward—oh! it will consist in no small degree, in worshipping God with the innumerable throng of heaven. Christian, *there* will be nothing of the frost of formality on the one hand, or the false fervours of animal passion on the other. *There* indeed will be burning zeal; devotion that never tires; joy that rises to higher and still higher ecstasy; but there also will be light without a cloud; order without interruption. All will rise and bow around the throne, and will shout together the praises of redemption; but there will be no discordant notes in their music: the song that will tremble on their harps and on their tongues will be one—the song of praise to the Lamb that was



slain. Christian, you will soon be there. Let your worship here be more like the worship of heaven. Let the inward feeling and the outward act be just as God requires. And while you are yet watching, and waiting, and worshipping, your Saviour will reach down from the heavens, and take you up into his presence, and the light of the throne will shine upon you, and you will know how to touch the golden harp, and all your worship will be pure and transporting, like that of the angels.

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*ART. V.—Reflections on the Life and Character of Balaam.*

Few men whose history is recorded in the sacred Scriptures, possessed a more extraordinary character than Balaam. He was, a famous diviner of the city of Pethor on the Euphrates. As the children of Israel were on their march to Canaan, Balak, king of Moab, in conjunction with the princes of Midian, became alarmed lest this vast multitude which were passing through their territories, should fall upon them in a hostile and successful invasion. With a view to impair the strength of the Hebrews and render them a more easy conquest, Balak despatched messengers to Balaam, with an urgent request and with powerful inducements to come and curse this formidable nation. Balaam, whose ruling passion was covetousness, was more than willing to comply with this request: but from some divine impression upon his mind, he was afraid to give them an answer, till he had had an opportunity of consulting the divinity: whether he meant the true God or an evil spirit it is not easy to ascertain. But be that as it may, the true God took the matter into his own hands, and commanded Balaam not to go on this malignant errand; assuring him that the people whom he was desired to curse, were blessed. Mortified and vexed with his ill success, he sent the messengers back to apprise Balak of the result. Balak thinking it possible that there was something lacking either in the character of the messengers or in the reward that was offered, which occasioned the reluctance of the enchanter, immediately sent more honourable messengers, and offered a larger reward. To this message Balaam replied, that for a house full of silver and gold, he could not go beyond the word of the Lord to do less or more. Nevertheless, having his heart set upon obtaining the reward that was offered him, he besought them to remain till he could have an opportunity to consult the deity again, to ascertain whether he had changed his mind. The result was that God in judgment gave him liberty to go; declaring at the same time that in the

course he should pursue in respect to the Israelites, he should be guided entirely by subsequent intimations of the divine will.

The point was now settled in the mind of Balaam that he would go; and early in the morning, he and the messengers set off. But before he had proceeded far, he met with a severe reproof for his wickedness, in a miraculous and most appalling incident. The angel of the Lord, or the angel Jehovah, had placed himself in the way with a drawn sword in his hand. Balaam perceived not the unusual appearance; but the beast on which he rode saw it, and was affrighted. After the poor creature had been most wantonly abused by her master, and had actually fallen down with fear, not daring to go forward, she was miraculously endued with power to reprove him for his cruelty and madness: but even this seems not to have terrified him, owing probably to the fact that he had been accustomed to converse with devils in the form of beasts, and perhaps maddened with rage. The eyes of Balaam were then opened to behold the angel, who also rebuked him for his cruelty; and assured him that the turning aside of the beast was what saved his life. Balaam acknowledged his sin, and reluctantly offered to return; but he was permitted to proceed on his journey on the condition that he should be governed in respect to the object of it by divine directions.

To a man of almost any other spirit than that which Balaam possessed, this would have been enough to have changed his purpose, and to have caused him to abandon with terror the errand on which he had set out. But no; he has a sort of courage that carries him forward. Balak met him on the frontiers of his kingdom, and conducted him no doubt with great pomp to his capitol, and there entertained him with a splendid feast. On the next day he brought him to an adjacent hill, which was consecrated to Baal, that there he might have a good view of the people whom he had been sent for to curse. That he might obtain divine permission to comply with Balak's wishes, Balaam requested the erection of seven altars, and the offering of a sacrifice upon each. While this was doing, Balaam retired to take counsel of the divinity; and lo! he was inspired with this unwelcome message;—that it was in vain he had been brought from the East to curse the Israelites whom God had not cursed; and that they should be the numerous and peculiar favorites of heaven. In delivering this message, he expresses the wish that in respect to his death and posterity he might resemble Jacob.

By request of Balak, two other attempts were made in circumstances which were considered more favourable, to obtain the divine permission for the accomplishment of his purpose; but in both cases there was the most mortifying failure. Balaam was

not only forbidden to curse the Israelites, but was commanded to bless them; and to predict in the most unqualified manner, not only their future prosperity and glory as a nation, but the prosperity and glory which would be secured to the world through a Hebrew Messiah. The result of the whole was, that Balak kindled into rage, and directed Balaam forthwith to leave his territories; while the prophet justified the course he had taken by a constant reference to what he had originally told the messengers, that he could not go beyond the word of the Lord to do less or more. Thus was the counsel of the wicked turned against themselves;—turned into foolishness.

But while Balaam was divinely constrained to bless the people of Israel, and to utter predictions which should be for the consolation of the church in all ages, it is certain, that with criminal inconsistency, he suggested a plan to Balak for seducing the Israelites into gross iniquity, and thus causing them to forfeit the favor of God. The plan was adopted, and with success; for it issued in the death of a thousand Hebrews by public execution, and twenty three thousand more by a plague. Shortly after, however, God commissioned Israel to avenge herself of these enticements of the Midianites by making war upon them; and in this war Balaam himself closed his miserable career. He was caught, fatally caught, in the net which had been spread by his own hands.

The history which has been thus briefly sketched from the inspired record, suggests several important practical lessons. We will attend to a few of them.

*I. It presents a striking example of an awakened conscience in connexion with an unsubdued heart.*

The fact that Balaam would not venture even to attempt to comply with the request of Balak, till he had obtained the divine permission for going with the messengers;—the fact that he did not dare do otherwise than obey strictly the intimations of the divine will, and that he actually blessed the people which he was sent for to curse, and which in his own heart, he desired to curse; and still more the fact, that he expressed his desire that he might himself die the death of the righteous, proved beyond all question that he had a conscience which recognised the difference between right and wrong, and which during all this time was awake, and faithfully doing its office. But, on the other hand, his whole career furnished equal evidence that his corrupt inclinations existed in all their strength; and especially that avarice, which seems to have been the ruling passion of his nature, held him in complete dominion. It was this which made him dissatisfied with the answer that God gave to his first application, and em-

boldened him to renew his request. It was this which urged him forward in spite of all the appalling manifestations which he witnessed of the Divine displeasure. It was this that made him so ready at the suggestion of Balak to change the post of his observation, and to obtain, if possible the approbation of God to the malignant work for which he had been called. He loved the wages of unrighteousness. His heart was fully set in him to do evil. His ruling inclinations were utterly at war with the decisions of his conscience. Do you imagine that the case of Balaam in this respect stands alone? Far from it—it is a case of which every unrenowned sinner, if he would take cognizance of all that passes within, would, at some time or other, find himself an example. You are meditating some act of doubtful character;—it may be to practise some deception upon a fellow mortal for the sake of advancing your fame or your fortune; or it may be to rush into the haunts of guilty pleasure and sensual indulgence. And yet in all this you do not feel free and happy. And wherefore is it? Not surely on account of the feebleness of your inclinations to compass the object in view; but because there is a principle within you which you are obliged to respect, whether you will or not, which contravenes your inclinations, and inspires a gloomy foreboding that the indulgence of them will be fraught with evil. In the conflict which is thus occasioned, conscience will sometimes prevail; and sometimes inclination; but at any rate, it greatly embitters the pleasures of sin.

There is another case in which the war between conscience and depravity sometimes produces a still greater tumult in the bosom: we refer to the case of the awakened sinner;—the sinner who has become convinced of his guilt under a special divine influence. On the one hand, conscience thunders out against him the sentence of condemnation. She points him to the wrath to come. She well nigh uncovers before him the fiery gulf. She causes images of woe and despair to pass before his eye, and will let him hear of nothing but weeping and gnashing of teeth. On the other hand, his corrupt inclinations rise up with a giant's strength. He knows the reasonableness of God's claims, but his heart rebels against them. There is in his bosom a spirit which would, if it were armed with power, usurp Jehovah's throne. The thought of yielding up all pretensions to personal merit, and of being saved through the righteousness of Christ, is so revolting to his pride that he knows not how to submit to it. There are not wanting those who can testify from experience that this conflict is productive of the keenest agony they have ever felt.

And here too lies to a great extent the secret of the torment of hell. The moment the sinner has passed into that region of

outer darkness, every restraint upon his evil inclinations is removed; and the principle of sin is left to operate in all its fierce and appalling malignity. There too, conscience, though for the most part it may have slumbered up to that hour, wakes in stern and awful majesty; and resents the insults which have been shown it in a life of sin; and makes itself felt as a tormentor in every thought and emotion that rise in the soul. Oh, could the inhabitants of the world of wo pluck out this never-dying worm, hell would cease to be hell; acclamations would ring through the prison of despair; and smiles would beam upon countenances from which joy had been supposed to have taken her final flight.

Here then is a great practical lesson for every sinner. It is, that in order to be happy, his conscience and inclinations must be brought into harmony. In other words, the desires and affections of the soul must be subdued to the authority of conscience: in compliance with its dictates, he must yield up the rebellion of his nature, and devote himself, his all, to the service of God. Do you say that we are giving you a false alarm, and that you are not sensible of this internal war of which we are speaking? Then it is because your depravity has, for the present, got the mastery over your conscience, and is keeping it in an unnatural subjection. Rely on it, though your conscience may be asleep, it is not dead; it will ere long wake, and will not only cause you to feel the reality of its existence, but to writhe under the fierceness of its accusations. Your conscience you cannot exterminate, but your depravity, by the aid of God's Spirit, you may. Conscience is one of the original elements of your moral nature, and must remain forever: depravity is a superinduced or accidental quality, and may be eradicated; and this instead of occasioning a defect, will contribute to the perfection of your moral nature. God has told you how to get rid of your depravity, and to pacify your conscience. He has pointed you to the blood of Christ, which has a sovereign efficacy over the one, and to the Spirit of Christ, whose operations effectually destroy the other; and as you desire that the harmony of your nature may be restored; as you desire that you may be delivered from the corrosions of guilt, and from the promptings, and the restlessness, and the turbulence of evil affections;—above all, as you desire that you may be saved from the miseries of hell, and exalted to the glories of heaven, be entreated to avail yourself without delay of the glorious provision which is offered in the gospel. An active conscience and a rebellious heart would make hell any where in the universe. Beware, O beware, that this fearful union does not exist in your own case, no not for an hour!

II. In the history of Balaam *we have a striking example of the mischiefs and folly of a spirit of avarice.* It is manifest that Balaam was prompted by this in every step that he took in his foolish expedition against Israel: this is the solution given of it by the apostle when he says, that "he loved the wages of unrighteousness." The rewards which were held out to him by Balak, were too tempting to be resisted by a man of such disposition. He eagerly hailed the opportunity, as he regarded it, of making money; and to this ruling passion he made himself a slave. But what was the result? It was confusion, mortification, utter defeat. It proved to be an expedition fraught only with disappointment and disgrace; an expedition which will cause his name to go down to the end of the world, with the curse of God resting upon it.

It is important that a spirit of avarice should not be confounded with that prudent attention to our worldly pursuits which reason and even religion enjoins. The fact that a man is diligent and industrious in his worldly calling, and even that he is intent on accumulating property, by no means renders him liable to the charge of covetousness. It is part of his duty to provide for his own subsistence; and if there be others dependent upon him, to provide for them also; and this in all ordinary cases, involves the necessity of diligence and industry. So too, he may task himself to the utmost in the acquisition of wealth for the sake of appropriating it to useful and charitable objects; to benefit his fellow men, and to extend the kingdom of Christ. It is not the fact then that an individual is intent on increasing his substance that renders him liable to the charge of avarice; but the spirit with which he pursues his worldly vocation. If he labour, or if he desire to become rich, merely for the sake of being rich; of enjoying the reflection that he has his tens of thousands or millions at his command, when neither himself nor his fellow men are the better for it; in short, if he labours for worldly property only in the spirit of a miser, you may rely on it, he is pursuing a course which will bring down upon him the rebukes of Providence; and which he will himself sooner or later be compelled to deprecate.

There is no spirit which more effectually than avarice, benumbs the best feelings of the heart. There is a noble kind of pleasure in doing good; though it be only from the impulse of a naturally generous disposition. But the avaricious man knows nothing even of this kind of pleasure. The region of his affections is cold as winter, and dark as midnight. He has the strange faculty of deriving happiness, and even his chief happiness, from the sight of heaps of money, which are lying utterly useless, when they might be appropriated to supply the wants of the wretched

and suffering around him, and possibly even his own personal necessities. Will you call this happiness? Who that is not cursed with the spirit of a miser would desire it?

Besides, the gratification of an avaricious spirit is usually marked by severe labour and painful self denial. The man who possesses it is not merely industrious, but his faculties are continually upon the stretch, and he toils with unremitting assiduity, and sometimes hazards, and even sacrifices, his health, in the pursuit of gain. He is not merely frugal, but not unfrequently subjects himself to a retrenchment of many worldly comforts, and sometimes even to severe bodily sufferings, that he may have larger heaps of glittering dust to look at. If he would speak out the honest language of his heart, he would say that his life is a hard one; nevertheless he voluntarily renders it so by indulging his excessive love of the world.

And then too, it is the ordinance of God that the covetous man should not always attain his object: he never indeed fully attains it, for at least nothing short of the wealth of the whole world would satisfy him; but he is often signally frowned upon; and his most diligent efforts to become rich do not raise him above a moderate competence; possibly not above abject poverty. Here then there must be unhappiness of course; for the disappointment of one's wishes always occasions unhappiness; and that in proportion to the strength of desire and effort with which the object has been pursued. But there is something worse still; for scarcely any thing is more common than for the avaricious man to see his wealth blown away after it has been actually acquired; blown away by a single blast of misfortune, perhaps by a single miscalculation of his own, after it had been acquired by the laborious, the self-denying, the miserly, efforts of many years. But even if his property all remains with him to the last—suppose that up to the moment that there arises in his case the necessity of a shroud and a coffin, all that he has acquired or inherited, and set his heart upon, remains in his possession—what becomes of it then? We may not be able to tell what *will* become of it; but we may say with confidence what *will not*: it will not accompany his body to the chambers of the sepulchre; it will not attend his spirit in its flight to other worlds. It remains here; but it does not remain long as he left it; for as his heirs have not known the labour of accumulating these possessions, they will most probably make short work of dissipating them. Say, if you will, that this will all be nothing to him *then*; but ought it not to be something to him *now*? Ought it not at least to rebuke his insatuated pursuit of the world?

But the worst thing in respect to an avaricious spirit remains

to be said: it is, that where it is the ruling passion, and is suffered to continue so, it destroys the soul. If you die unrenewed you must indeed perish at any rate; but if your ruling passion be covetousness, it will be to that especially that you will have to refer your destruction. Oh, dwell upon that most impressive question, which fell from the Saviour's own lips—'What shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?'

The practical use which we wish to make of what has been said under this article, is to lead all who read these pages to a proper estimate of the possessions of the world. It is not a virtue to be regardless of them; it is almost a condition of our existence here, that we make them in some degree an object of pursuit; and in doing so, we certainly increase the means of our own usefulness. But on the other hand there is danger that we shall set our hearts upon these perishable things, and love them merely for their own sake; and that in the pursuit of a bubble which will after all elude our grasp, we shall sacrifice our souls. Beware, ye men of business, that ye do not incur this amazing evil. Beware that ye use the world as not abusing it. Seek it from right motives, and use it for right purposes, and you need not fear that it will harm you; but if you suffer your attachment to it to be supreme, from whatever consideration, you will be treasuring up for yourself bitter disappointment, and everlasting, though unavailing regret.

III. In the history of Balaam we have an instance of God's restraining influence on the mind of a bad man.

When he was first applied to to curse the people of Israel, he hesitated, and from some divine impression no doubt, refused to go, until he should have taken counsel of the divinity. And after his meeting with Balak, though he manifestly desired to comply with his wishes, yet during the whole time there was a divine influence acting upon him, which not only prevented him from cursing, but caused him to bless the Hebrew nation. He repeatedly declared, both to the messengers and to Balak, that he could not go beyond the word of the Lord to do less or more.

Admit, if you will, that the influence which was exerted upon Balaam was to some extent miraculous, yet in its general aspect, it is a fair specimen of what God is constantly doing in the world. Sinners, we know, act as if they regarded themselves independent even of the Highest; they project and mature, and carry forward their guilty plans, with as much confidence as if there were no eye that could see farther than their own, and no power that could confound their evil designs; but the real fact is that their principal witness and their tremendous judge is always present; and he has his own plan in suffering them, not in compelling them, to work iniquity; and



though they do not realize it, he restrains them at his pleasure, and causes even the wrath of man to praise him. Yes, that sinner who glories most in his fancied independence, is doing nothing but what God permits him to do; nothing even but what God will take care shall redound to his own glory.

One means by which God restrains bad men in their wickedness, is the operation of conscience. Balaam's conscience, as we have seen, was awake; and this it was that dictated a refusal to comply with Balak's wishes, and even to yield to his own. Other sinners have been checked in their career of guilt by the operation of this principle as well as Balaam. Have you never yourself half projected a guilty purpose, which something within forbade you to mature, much more to execute? Admit that a regard to your own character in the view of the world may have had some influence in keeping you back, yet are you not conscious that the most efficient agency has been that of this internal monitor which has spoken with stern authority, and bid you look forward to the results of your conduct, as they will be developed at the judgment? We venture to say, if you knew the secret history of every wicked man, you would know that his conscience often operates as a curb upon his inclinations; and that one grand reason why the world is not literally engulfed in crime, is, that this ever present judge of actions *will* speak, and for the most part, *will* be heard, even amidst the clamours of passion and the boisterous revellings of vice.

There is another way in which God exercises a restraining influence upon the wicked: it is through the arrangements of his providence. You are not conscious perhaps that there is any other agency in the disposal of your lot than your own: you do not even dream that there is any higher power at work in ordering the circumstances of your condition. But the fact really is, that God's providence is concerned with every thing that happens to you, and every thing that relates to you; and all the minute circumstances which mark your lot, are as truly a matter of his cognizance and direction, as is the great system of worlds that fill immensity. And he orders the condition of every sinner with reference to the amount of wickedness which he shall commit; that is, he so orders it that he shall be restrained in his guilty career beyond a certain limit. This he may do by keeping him out of the way of temptation;—temptation especially to those sins to which his inclinations most powerfully prompt. He may also bring him under the influence of circumstances which shall serve to inspire self-respect; and thus keep him from the extreme debasement of his faculties. Many a man no doubt has a respectable standing in society, and would revolt at the idea of gross

crime, who has nevertheless that in him, which if it were called forth by temptation, might make him a terror or a scourge to all around.

You see then that God keeps the rein in his own hand. Why he permits sin at all is indeed a question which we cannot answer; but that it is not forced upon the universe without his permission, and that he has said concerning it in his decrees, and does say in his providence, that "hitherto it shall come and no further," is alike a dictate of reason and revelation. Here then, sinners, is a consideration which ought greatly to abate your triumph: for even *you* are in the hand of God, to be dealt with according to his pleasure. You cannot go beyond the limit which he has marked out; and though you are perfectly voluntary in your wickedness, and of course answerable for it, yet you will know at the last, that God's eye and God's hand had been always upon you. Here too is a consideration in view of which the church, and every true member of the church, has a right to rejoice. You may not understand wherefore sin is permitted at all, wherefore the wicked seem to prosper, wherefore there are sometimes no bands in their death, but you do know that all this shall never harm your interests; because your interests are bound to the throne of Him who has declared in respect to his people, that all things, even the most adverse, shall work together for their good.

IV. We may learn from the history of Balaam that *dangers lurk in the path of the wicked*. The angel of the Lord had stationed himself in Balaam's path with a drawn sword; and the life of the prophet must have been the sacrifice, if the beast on which he rode had not turned aside. From some cause, either natural or preternatural, the appalling spectacle at first entirely escaped his observation.

So too there are dangers in the path of every sinner. In the way of open vice there are dangers which respect the present life, as well as the future. The dishonest man, the gamester, the intemperate man, the sensualist, the thief, the liar, the robber, the murderer, the openly wicked of any character, are constantly in the midst of dangers: this is true even of those who are but just beginning, or who are only just contemplating a career of vice. You are in danger of losing your character, of losing your health, of losing your property, of losing your friends, of losing your life. But what is worse than all, whether you are openly vicious or not, if you are only unrenewed, you are in imminent danger of losing your soul; in danger of having your portion at last in everlasting burnings.

But is it true that you are sensible of these dangers? Are you

practically sensible that destruction is in your path, and that if you keep on, you will inevitably run yourself against the sword of Jehovah's vengeance? Is it not, on the contrary, the melancholy fact, that like Balaam you see not your danger; and that you even resist every effort that is made to bring you to see it? When the ministers of Christ proclaim it to you, and urge you to flee from it, what else do you do than treat the warning as if it were an idle tale? When your Christian friends perform in private the same office of kindness, can you say that they are more successful in rousing you! And when God speaks, nay thunders, in his providence, are you not as deaf as adders? We tell you now on God's authority that there is destruction in that path in which you are walking; yes, in that path of gaiety and amusement, that path of supreme devotion to worldly gain, that path of forgetfulness of God, there is stationed an angel of death, who, if you are not speedily arrested, will surprise you by executing his office, and consigning you to the miseries of the lost. God reproves you for your wickedness, not indeed by supernatural means, but in the common course of his providence, and through the operations of your own conscience; and if you neglect to heed these reproofs and rush on to destruction, say whether your blood will not be upon your own head?

V. In the history of Balaam, *we behold a wicked man rendering his homage to the truth and excellence of religion.* This Balaam did in taking counsel of God on the point whether he should go at Balak's request; and in his persevering adherence to the divine command to bless and not to curse the Israelites; and more than all, in the earnest wish he expressed that in respect to his death and his posterity, his lot might belike that of the people of God. He was a bad man, but nevertheless he revered the good; and though he was not willing to live the life of the righteous, he was more than willing to die the death of the righteous.

In this respect also, there was nothing in the disposition which Balaam manifested, to distinguish him from other bad men. It is true of the wicked generally, it is true of them all without exception, that in some way or other, they testify to the excellence and value of religion. Even those who trifle with the gospel, and profess to regard it with contempt, do really, though most unintentionally, proclaim their secret conviction of its truth and divinity: in other words, they prove that in their professed opposition to religion, they act the part of hypocrites.

Wicked men render their homage to the excellence of religion, when they assume the appearance of it without the reality. For why is it that they are willing in this way to submit to the

drudgery of systematic deception;—of trying to support a character which they know does not belong to them? Manifestly, the only reason is that they expect hereby to commend themselves to the favour of the world; and they know that from the very constitution of human nature, virtue must always be respected, vice always detested. Every hypocrite, then, every false professor of religion, every man who tries to pass himself off in the world for something better than he really is, renders his decisive testimony to the excellence of religion. The genuine quality he has not, but he regards it as so important, that he is willing to assume the appearance of it, and support that appearance at the expense of a studied duplicity. Religion is often attempted to be traduced on the ground that there are many hypocrites in the church; but if those who prefer the charge would allow themselves to reflect, they would perceive that this very fact takes for granted the excellence and value of religion; for who would have any motive to counterfeit that which was after all good for nothing? Again; the openly vicious testify in various ways their respect for good men while they are living, and their respect for their memories after they are dead. We know, indeed, if they wish to find some one to aid them in the accomplishment of their evil designs, or to participate with them in their guilty pleasures, they will not go to the good man: they will go on such occasions to one like themselves; to one whom they know to have proved himself capable of conniving at their wickedness, if not of becoming an accomplice in it. But let them have any important trust to be executed which shall involve in a great degree their own interests, or the interests of their children, and you will find them looking out for the man of unyielding integrity and virtue; and they will be just as unwilling as you would be to trust one of their own associates. And when the good man dies, think you they will love to traduce his memory? Far from it. Even though, while he was living, they might have been disturbed by the purity of his example, and possibly by the faithfulness of his admonitions, and might have sometimes made him the undeserved object of their reproach, yet when they come to follow him to the grave, they will be heard to speak of him as a good man; and his good deeds will sometimes be the theme of their eulogy after his body has mouldered in the grave. We ask those who are observers of human conduct, is it not so?

It is moreover to be observed that the wicked render their homage to religion, even in their attempts to vilify and abuse good men. For what is it that they reproach them for? Never for that which is good; but always for something which is sup-

posed to involve error or crime. You often hear a professor of religion reproached as a hypocrite, but never as a truly religious and devoted man. You will often hear professors called bigots, and knaves, and drunkards, and these things will be dwelt upon in the way of bitter reproach; but never will you hear them reproached for charity, and honesty, or any other Christian virtue. What more decisive proof than this could be desired that bad men reverence religion? If it were not so, they would attack Christians, because they *are* Christians; and would not find it necessary to call things by wrong names; to change virtues into vices.

But there is yet another way in which the wicked do homage to religion; it is in forming resolutions to become religious before they die; as well as in the agonizing, though there is too much reason to believe, fruitless, efforts, to become so in the hour of death. There are some on every side who are neglecting religion, and some, we doubt not, who would shrink from being suspected of ever turning their thoughts towards it as a serious concern. But we should hazard little in saying that there is not one in whose breast there does not live a resolution that he will become religious before he dies. And here is the evidence that he has, after all, a secret conviction that religion is the one thing needful, and that it is essential to the salvation of his soul. We will not predict, in respect to individuals, the fate of this resolution; whether it will go into effect, or whether it will prove only a staff for them to lean upon as they go down to hell. But we may speak of what *has* occurred; of what is occurring constantly in the world; of dying scenes in which there is bitter lamentation, and hard struggling, and piercing agony, because the soul feels that it is just going, and fears that it is going without religion. We knew a man who in health seemed utterly regardless of his salvation, and was nothing better than a scoffer. We met him in a solitary walk, and pressed him with the importance of religion, and tried to avail ourselves of every circumstance to bring him to reflection, but he resisted it all; and seemed by his whole manner to say that he had no fear for the future. Shortly after we heard that sickness had shut him up in his chamber; and that his friends were apprehensive that he was nigh unto death. We went to his dwelling, and into his chamber, anxious to know whether religion was the same unimportant thing in his estimation which it had been a little while before. On approaching his bedside, we saw that he must die, and felt that we were even then in the presence of the King of Terrors. He remembered the walk; he remembered the warning; he remembered his own indifference; and the recollection was a thorn in

his soul. "Religion"—said he,—“I feel that it is every thing. Oh I would give the world for it, if it were at my command! But here I am in the valley of death, a stranger to its consolations. I am dying without hope—I am dying to be miserable forever, because I neglected religion; because I heeded not the warning voice. I always intended to be religious, even when I made light of its obligations; but I have delayed too long: here I am in the act of dying, and what can I do?” He *was* in the act of dying; for when he had spoken these words, his spirit had fled. We looked upon him, and the eye had ceased to move, the bosom had ceased to heave, the pulse had ceased to beat—every thing told that he was a corpse. In his last hour and his last moments, he was stung by remorse, he was overwhelmed with terror, he was well nigh frantic with agony; but in every word, in every groan, in every look, he testified to the excellence of religion. He preached upon his death bed more impressively than ministers can ever do, the solemn truth that the world is nothing, that religion is every thing.

Wherefore then will any of our readers neglect religion? If even the wicked render an involuntary testimony to its excellence, if it is absolutely necessary to gild with comfort and hope your last hour, if in neglecting it, you throw your immortal soul away forever, we ask whether such neglect is not something worse than madness? Is there any apology for delaying that for an hour in which your interests for eternity are all bound up? Reason answers, there is none. Conscience answers, there is none. God grant that this may be your own practical decision; and may your future conduct evince that this has been the era of your becoming wise for eternity!

ART. VI.—*The Life of William Farel, prepared from Original Authorities, by Melchior Kirchhofer, Minister at Stein on the Rhine, in the Canton Schaffhausen, &c. Vol. II. Zurich: 1833, 8vo.\**

WE have already presented our readers with a copious analysis of the first volume of this work.† It was then expected that the sequel of the animating biography would appear in a few months; but more than two years elapsed before the second part was given to the public. This delay, as there is good reason to believe, was occasioned in no small degree by the politico-religious feuds which exist in Switzerland.

To those who are acquainted with the early history of this son of thunder, no apology need be made for occupying so large a portion of our work with the details of his life. As the forerunner and friend of Calvin, and the pioneer in Swiss reform, as well as the zealous and eloquent missionary and preacher, he cannot but be an object of high regard to the great body of our readers.

Our history, it will be recollected, was broken off just at the interesting moment when Farel and Calvin were driven out of Geneva by an ordinance of the government. Undecided as to their future course, and almost tempted to relinquish the burdens of the ministry, they journeyed as far as Basle. Viret earnestly tendered them an abode, but they were unwilling to make him obnoxious to the tempest which they had scarcely escaped. They bore their trial with the utmost patience, forgiving their enemies, and recommending them to God. All at once, a call was received by Farel. The people of Neuenburg (Neuchâtel) had received the Gospel from his lips; they sympathized with him in his affliction, and longed for his labours. A delegation from the Council sought him out at Basle, and pressed him with earnest entreaties to resume the care of their souls. After long hesitation, he reluctantly acquiesced, upon the condition that no obstacle should be laid in the way of his introducing a regular form of government; and after a seven weeks' retirement in Basle, he sorrowfully parted from his most beloved friend and younger brother, Calvin.

In Neuchâtel he found things considerably altered. A few villages had come under the power of the Reformation. The

\* *Dar Leben Wilhelm Farel's, aus den Quellen bearbeitet, von Melchior Kirchhofer, Pfarrer zu Stein am Rhein, Cantons Schaffhausen, Mitglied der Schweizerischen geschichtsforschenden Gesellschaft in Bern, und korrespondirendes Mitglied der Gesellschaft zur Beförderung der Geschichtskunde zu Freyburg im Breisgau.*

† See Bib. Rep. for Ap. 1833, p. 146.

popish clergy had receded, and a new form of church-order was in some degree established, upon the principle that every thing was to be rejected which is forbidden by Scripture. The Bible was circulated in the language of the country. Yet in their departures from Romish servility the people were in danger of failing to recognise even legitimate church rule. The first regular Synod was held in May 1535; at this, however, for prudential reasons, Farel had not been present. Among other ordinances, it was here determined that, without the consent of the brethren, no novel doctrines should be broached, nor any one admitted to the ministerial office, without having been regularly called. In general, the regulations of the churches at Berne were adopted. In difficult cases the Classis was to call in other churches to counsel.

Such was the condition in which Farel found ecclesiastical matters in Neufchatel. A good foundation had doubtless been laid, but there was wanting the hand of a wise master-builder, to carry up the edifice, and to thrust aside those who were officiously busied in building where they were not sent. The Governor had embraced the principles of Reformation, but still retained an ancient grudge against Farel. The latter, however, zealously pursued his labours, seeking the counsel and aid of all good men. Having gone to Lausanne to attend the marriage of Viret, he proceeded as far as Thonon, and there heard from some of the Genevese, sad accounts of the uproar and disorganization in their unhappy city. In Neufchatel he was grieved at the unworthiness of some pastors, and the sufferings of many brethren; and so much was he disheartened at the stumbling-blocks which remained, that his lamentations drew from Calvin a letter of friendly remonstrance.\*

In the midst of these discouragements, what was his astonishment to hear that Neufchatel was again visited by his former enemy and calumniator, Caroli! We have already related the apostacy of Caroli from Protestantism, his retreat to Rome, and his restoration to celibacy and popish orders. It remains to be told, that not finding what he sought in the bosom of Mother Church, he returned to Switzerland, to put himself under the wing of the evangelical community which he had so basely maligned. He was received with the distrust which was natural. Farel, however, determined to heap coals of fire upon his head, by frank cordiality, as soon as tokens of his restoration appeared. In a public conference, Caroli bewailed his fall; testified to the orthodoxy of Farel, Calvin, and Viret, whom he had charged

\* Oct. 1539.



with Arianism; abjured purgatory, and the invocation of saints, and declared the mass to be a denial of the only sacrifice of Christ. In a word, he recanted and lamented and entreated, in such wise, that the preachers who were present affectionately gave him the right hand of fellowship. The Classis then took the matter into consideration, and there was great diversity of sentiment. Farel himself was strongly disposed to receive the professed penitent, and to win him over by kindness. For this leniency he was afterwards reprimanded by Tossanus, who from the beginning had seen through the mask of the hypocrite. Caroli left Neufchatel without satisfaction. His subsequent attempts at Berne were equally fruitless. And when, after some time, Farel found him in some retired spot, the faithless man broke forth into renewed attacks upon the orthodoxy of the preachers. Up to the time of his departure for Strasburg, he received from Farel the most salutary counsels; but all in vain. The conduct of Farel towards this impostor was surprising to most of the community. No one had been so much injured by his slanderous tongue, and yet he continued to treat the wretched man as a friend. Calvin strongly disapproved these repeated intercessions in behalf of one so unworthy. From Switzerland Caroli passed into France, and became again a priest of the Sorbonne.

The expulsion of Calvin and Farel from Geneva, was productive of the worst consequences. All bonds were loosed, and instead of order, there arose hatred, strife, confusion, feuds, and even murder. The mass was re-established, and the Bible was laid under restrictions, and entirely withheld from the female sex. The Syndics, who had caused the exile of the two pastors, came to such an end as was thought to be a judgment of God. The people awoke from their enchantment, and began to sigh for their preachers. Before a year had elapsed after the banishment, the council was ready to seek their return. To the question, which was often put to Calvin, whether he could not be induced to return, he uniformly replied, that he had been ejected with Farel, and that he would not return without him. And when a formal call was presented to him, his first inquiry was, why they had not sent for Farel, whose presence was as needful as at the time of their Reformation. While Calvin was privately beseeching Farel to prevent the success of these overtures, the latter was as earnestly using all means to accomplish Calvin's return. With the most urgent eloquence he entreated him to yield to the desire of the people, declaring that the call was manifestly of God. "God calls you to return (said he;) He permitted your expulsion, that you might again exercise your function with greater effect." While Calvin hesitated, in doubt whether the people of Strasburg

would allow his return, Farel wrote imploringly to the Swiss churches, begging them to use all their influence to promote the restoration of this important leader. "I conjure you, brethren," said he, "as you are Christians, and as you would further the prosperity of the church, to bend all your endeavours, on every side, to bring about this great end, lest the wrath of God fall on us for our treachery to his church; for I hold it to be no less than high treason for any to hinder the return of a pastor so passionately longed for." The earnestness of Farel, as usual, prevailed, and a second time he gave Calvin to Geneva. In this we behold the providence of God. Had these entreaties proved unavailing, and had Calvin never returned, how different, in all probability, would have been the history of the Reformed churches. Yet it was not till he had received from the burning soul of Farel a number of mighty appeals that he finally re-entered the place of his future eminence.

The sufferings of the French Protestants about this time engaged much of the attention of Farel, and induced him to visit Worms, in order that he might consult with the princes and learned men there assembled, in 1540 and 1541, concerning the best means of affording relief. He was filled with joy at beholding the learning and piety which God had raised up for the restitution of his church, and which was so largely represented in that convocation. With these fathers and brethren he also conversed upon the affairs of the Swiss churches, especially those particulars of polity and discipline, in which they were still wanting. After this, he complied with a request of Viret, that he should visit Zurich, and sought in various ways to obtain aid for the persecuted Christians in France.

The leaven of malice and contention was meanwhile actively working in Neuchâtel. The zeal of Farel for purity of morals led him to mourn over the ungodly walk of many who were accustomed to partake of the communion. And so great was his sorrow, that he described himself as the most wretched of men. Nothing was wanting to produce an open eruption of the evil spirit, but some odious act of discipline on the part of the pastor; and it was not long before such an occasion was presented. A woman of some rank had become alienated from her husband, and abandoned his society. They were the parents of a rising family, and the life of the woman was far from being unblemished. Farel tried, by exhortation, to bring her back to the path of duty. The only result was that she forsook the Lord's table in a rage. He then applied to the lawful authorities, but without success. With his characteristic boldness he denounced the scandal from the pulpit; and a popular commotion instantly ensued.

Two parties were drawn up, but the majority decided that the faithful minister should depart at the end of two months. The storm beat against him violently, but he withstood it with rocky firmness. The greater part of the Council and the most respectable heads of families were in his favour; but the populace, supported by the Governor, his ancient foe, demanded his dismissal.

Not Neufchatel alone, but almost all evangelical Switzerland, felt the excitement of these events. The first who hastened to Farel's support was Calvin, who turned aside from his journey to Geneva, to still the disturbance. From Neufchatel he went to Berne, to make interest for the cause of truth and order. But the Bernese commissioners looked with some allowance upon the complaints of the disaffected, at least so far as to think it right that Farel should quietly recede from a charge where his labours were no longer valued. To such advice Farel would not lend an ear, even for an instant. His uniform language was, that having been called by the church, it was the church alone which should dismiss him; and that he could not, under such circumstances, abandon his flock, without being a traitor to his Master. The Classis also perceived that however mildly the exile might be effected, the precedent was such as would tend to unsettle all ecclesiastical relations. They therefore rejected the mediation of the Bernese. In the mean time, notwithstanding the vehement challenges of Farel, no man impeached his doctrine or his life.

When it was found that the secret influence of the commissioners from Berne was altogether against them, the Classis of Neufchatel sent deputies to a number of sister churches, in order to collect their opinions. The result was, that Geneva, Montbéliard, Biel, Morsee, and Thonon, sent letters which corroborated Farel in his inflexible purpose. Of these warm and pathetic communications, ample specimens are given by our biographer. Through all this hurricane of dissension the object of popular hatred was himself unruffled. He did not even desire an appeal to the churches. "Whether God hath decreed to retain me here, or not, is not any matter of anxiety to me; for I am prepared for any event." As the peril became more imminent, his steadfastness seemed only to increase. His preaching contained no allusion to his wrongs, and his pastoral labours were uninterrupted. Just at this juncture the plague burst out in Neufchatel, and afforded an occasion for him to appear in his true character, as a good shepherd. Day after day he was at the bedside of the sick and dying, making no distinction between his enemies and his friends. Even his bitter opposers could not withhold their respect. A general solemnity was observed, with reference to these judgments, and all partook of the Lord's Supper. Under faithful

preaching the eyes of the people were opened, and a general reconciliation appeared to be at hand. The churches of Basle, Constance, Strasburgh, and Zurich, sent such replies as strengthened the hands of Farel, and moderated the wrath of his enemies. And at the end of a few months, the pastor was reinstated in his ministerial office.

Then it was, for the first time since his dismissal, that Farel conceived it to be his duty to revisit Geneva. His astonishment was excited by beholding the speedy restitution of order which Calvin had effected. About the same time the Classis of Neuchâtel was labouring to draw more closely the bonds of church order. Elders and deacons were appointed, the instruction of children on the Sabbath was introduced, and methods were taken to improve the common schools. It was enjoined, that no one should lie sick three days, without a visit from some spiritual adviser; and the Governor threw open the prison cells for the same humane purpose. And various steps were taken to produce a state of ecclesiastical affairs, in which, under strict discipline, the churches should be faithfully subservient to the government in a civil point of view, but absolutely free in whatever regarded the things of God.

No sooner was this difficult enterprise in a state of forwardness, than Farel began to pant for an opportunity of making new inroads upon the kingdom of darkness. He turned his eyes to Metz, where the little flock of Christians was scarcely able to rise above the wave of persecution. With the advice of his friend Calvin, whose discretion never took the colour of fear, he determined to blow the silver trumpet in person, at Metz. He accordingly visited them in the autumn of 1542. His first sermon was in the church-yard of the Dominicans. In vain were all the bells set ringing to prevent his being heard; his voice of thunder rose above their noise. The next day he addressed three thousand hearers. These discourses and his public administration of baptism excited much wonder. Even his friends became alarmed. He was summoned before the Council, and asked by what authority he preached. "By the authority of Christ," replied he, "and at the desire of his members." The plague broke out fearfully in Metz, and Farel was incessant in his labours of mercy, though his visits were strictly prohibited. Such was the opposition of the rulers, that the gates were closed against a deputation of the Swiss churches, and some persecution began. It would be long to recount the fluctuation of feeling and the scenes of contention which took place. Similar details have been given in our former article. The upshot of all was, that Farel found it prudent, after beholding

some fruit of his labours, to retire to Gorze, a neighbouring place, under the patronage of William, Count Fürstenburg.

In Gorze, Farel was not idle. A characteristic anecdote is related. On a certain occasion, in his hearing, Fidelis, a Franciscan friar, was holding forth from the pulpit, and asserted the perpetual virginity of Mary. Farel instantly arose and denounced this as a falsehood. In a moment he was, as in former days, assaulted by the women, who dragged him to and fro by his hair and beard, and would have maltreated him still further if he had not been rescued by a certain Captain Frank. After keeping his chamber for some time, he resumed his labours, and preached indefatigably until Easter; finding time, however, to write a noble letter of exculpation to the Duke of Lorraine, in which the principles of the Reformation are stated with clearness and cogency.\*

The evangelical party in Metz sought to put themselves under the shadow of the Smalcald compact; but even Luther himself found his efforts in their behalf fruitless. After many intercessions of the Protestant princes, the utmost they could obtain was freedom of preaching. But as the evangelical rites were not yet tolerated, the brethren of Metz betook themselves to Gorze to celebrate the Lord's Supper. Farel administered to them, with many exhortations to penitence and gratitude. Scarcely had they partaken of the ordinance before they were filled with consternation by the sound of the war-trumpet. At the instigation of the Cardinal of Lorraine, his brother Claudius, Duke of Guise, with consent of the French king, fell upon these innocent sheep. A promiscuous slaughter ensued. Many were slain, and others drowned in the flight. Women were seized and injured. With the greatest difficulty Count William and Farel made their escape, the latter much wounded. For a long time his friends supposed him to be slain. He was finally brought in a litter to Strasburg.

To weaken the influence of Farel in Metz, the Duke of Orleans had no better expedient than to send against him his ungrateful acquaintance, Dr. Caroli, who was glad to have such an opportunity of wreaking his vengeance. He proceeded at once to denounce Farel, as a base heretic, and as the Augsburg Confession was the standard in Metz, he enlarged upon the sacramental question. But this was not enough; in the church of St. Vincent, he solemnly cited Farel to appear before the papal throne; or the Council of Trent, or the emperor and king of France, or the theologians of the French universities, or at Salamanca, in case he could not visit France; or finally, at Lyons or Padua. He demanded an answer in eight days, and declared that if it was not

\* Feb. 11, 1543.

received, he would post him throughout Europe as a coward. He afterwards challenged him to a conflict "of life or death;" and ridiculously proposed that for this purpose they should both be imprisoned, Caroli in Metz, and Farel in France. Farel's reply was full of Christian forbearance. He declared his readiness to defend the truth every where, and at all times. While he held the motion touching the prison to be laughable, he was prepared to hold a disputation in any suitable place. And he closed with stirring appeals to the conscience of his opposer.

Caroli continued his gasconade, but Farel was supported by the counsel and letters of his friends in all quarters. The meeting hence took place, and Caroli, deceived by his Romish flatterers, a few years after, poor, wretched, and forsaken, died in an hospital, and sunk into the nothing which Farel had predicted.

Farel had been a year absent from home. During this period his labours and sufferings had won him golden opinions from all good men. But his heart bled for the poor Christians of Metz, who received no relief, and whom he could not personally visit. His letters to them breathe a spirit of the most tender and fatherly affection; and even some years after this, we find him labouring with Viret for an alleviation of their ills. On his return to Neuchâtel, he found himself speedily involved in new difficulties. Part of these arose from the perverseness of Chaponneau, one of his colleagues, an aged and testy man, who seemed almost ready to set over again the part of Caroli, by impugning the orthodoxy of Farel and Calvin. Another source of difficulty was the maladministration of pecuniary affairs in the church; for the ecclesiastical funds were diverted from their original intention, and sometimes even hypothecated for individual debts. In the midst of these troubles, an attempt was made, in 1545, to recal Farel to Geneva. This had long been a favorite project of Calvin, who was convinced that his former colleague could be far more useful in Geneva, than any where else; and even the Classis of Neuchâtel were willing to make the sacrifice. But Farel would on no account leave his flock, without first providing a suitable successor, and as this was found impracticable, he remained.

While these transactions were in progress, Chaponneau died. He had been for some time reconciled, and on his death-bed assembled his brethren, retracted his slanders, asked their forgiveness, and sent messages of kindness to Calvin, whom he had greatly injured. The next event of general interest, is the attempt of Calvin and Viret to attract Farel once more to their vicinity. The Bernese had resolved to have a second chair of theology at Lausanne, and Viret desired a like-minded colleague. In Calvin's judgment, no man was so fit for the place as Farel. He was well

versed in the Scriptures, familiar with the Hebrew, and promised well as an interpreter. The government of Berne however frowned upon the proposal. This was no doubt in some degree owing to a jealous apprehension of the ecclesiastical influence which three such men would have, if their forces were thus united. For such was their inviolable friendship and unanimity, that whether separate or together, a single spirit seemed to actuate them all. The profound knowledge and penetrating intellect of Calvin, the zeal, resignation, and irresistible eloquence of Farel, and the innumerable captivating graces of Viret, formed, when combined, a power which was suspected. And the consequence was, that this second attempt to remove the pastor of Neufchatel, was as fruitless as the first.\* This is the less to be regretted, as the light of Theodore Beza began soon after to shine in Lausanne.

The attention of Farel was now very strongly invited to the subject of education, by a letter from the good people of Berne. Though he needed no solicitation of this kind, it seems to have hastened his endeavours. He clearly saw that darkness would again overspread the church, if young men were not trained up for the defence of the Gospel. He was therefore instant with the Council that they should educate some candidates for the ministry, and succeeded in engaging them to provide for four. Farel's chief anxiety was for the religious instruction of children, and the full qualification of such as were to be ministers. He endeavoured to erect new schools, and to improve those which were already existing. In a word, he went much in advance of his contemporaries in the promotion of intellectual culture.

The persecutions which were endured by French Christians awakened the sympathy of Farel, especially as his own brothers, Daniel and Gauthier, were in prison; the latter in peril of life. In company with Viret, he travelled to Berne and Basle, to gain some assistance for them. The next year they went also to Basle and Strasburg, in behalf of the persecuted Waldenses. At the same time there were distressing circumstances within his own more immediate bounds. The writings of the Anabaptists were circulated, and produced injury. Farel urged upon Calvin the duty of confuting these licentious fanatics. The latter, in return, sought the advice of his friend with regard to the evils wrought by the same contentious people in Geneva. Farel again went with Viret to Geneva. With touching eloquence he pleaded the cause of Calvin before those who were disaffected. He reminded

\* *Suspiciantur itaque protinus aliquam inter nos esse conspirationem; et nos aliquid magnum moliri. Seis enim quam male jampridem audiat. Triumviratus, cui accedat Classis, paulo post Conventus. Calvin Vireto 15 May 1548. V. etiam Calvini Comment. in Titum. Ep. dedicat. ad Farel et Viret. 3 Kal Dec. 1549.*

them of his former services, and the preeminence of his labours against Antichrist. And whereas, they were offended with the poignant rebukes of their pastor, Farel reminded them that Calvin had, in a manner equally unsparing, animadverted upon no less men than Luther, Melancthon and their associates.

In 1545 Farel published a small book of devotions, which are characterized by Christian tenderness and unction. He wrote many letters of advice and comfort to churches and individuals. From time to time, he perused the successive works of Calvin, with great delight; and once, in a time of sorrow, found his work on the Council of Trent so cheering, that he spent the whole night in reading it.

The debates concerning the Sacrament were becoming fierce and injurious, and this was especially the case in Berne, where some who were disposed to be zealots, went so far as to denounce Viret for his opinions on this subject. Farel and Calvin acted the part of mediators, and succeeded to a certain extent in assuaging the unholy excitement. Their maxim was thus expressed by the latter: "By moderation and love, we shall conquer." The *interim* with its accompanying evils, filled the mind of Farel with apprehension, and he spake and wrote upon the subject with even unwonted animation. It was under these feelings that he penned his, "Letter to all the lords and societies to whom the Lord hath given me access, and who have aided me in the work of the Lord."

Still more was he alarmed, in common with all good men, at the progress made by the *Libertines*, a disorganizing and licentious swarm of Antinomians, regularly descended from the Anabaptists of Munster. They aimed their blows at the very basis of religion. Their specious addresses, fraught with earnestness and suavity, and flattering to the carnal heart, misled multitudes, especially of the female sex. Their books and sermons were inflated by the ravings of a sickened imagination. As a lure to the friends of the Reformation, they used the Evangelical language, but only to turn the grace of God into lasciviousness. Thus a certain Franciscan imitated Calvin, and taught predestination; but he made it an apology for sin. Against this man, Farel wrote his *Sword of the Veritable Word of God*.\* These men held that God had made men wicked in order to be a contrast to his own loveliness, and that sin is merely an accomplishment of the Divine will. They maintained the pantheistical notion that the soul, at dissolution, is merged in the Divine essence, thus annulling all the moral influence of the doctrine of immortality.

\* Geneva 1550, pp. 488.



Farel defended the mysteries of grace against these horrible perversions. The whole was subjected to the revision of his two faithful friends, before it was made public. They found nothing to censure but the style, which was all his own. He was neither easy nor correct, and the ardency of his feelings obscured his conceptions, and sometimes enveloped his meaning in a mist of figurative diction. In addition to these tokens of friendship, we may remind the reader that Calvin dedicated his commentary on Titus, to Viret and Farel.

In 1550 a new Synod was convened, at the instance of Farel. Calvin, Viret, and Haller were invited. The first two were present; the last sent a friendly letter, excusing himself for being absent, on the ground that he could not appear without special permission from the Council. The presence of Calvin made a great impression. The Synod was employed chiefly upon questions relating to marriage, and ecclesiastical and consistorial regulations. Twenty-eight articles were agreed to, with much concord and fraternal unity.

In the autumn of the same year we find Farel at Geneva, where much contention was beginning upon the predestinarian controversy, in consequence of an attack made upon Calvin, by Jerome Bolsec, a quondam Carmelite. It happened on a certain occasion that Farel was one of his audience, when a certain preacher said, that all who were not born of water and of the Spirit were contrary to God, inasmuch as obedience was God's special gift to the elect. Bolsec started up and contradicted this. Calvin, who had come in unobserved, made an immediate reply, in a discourse of an hour's length. He was followed by Farel, who commended with zeal and eloquence what they had heard from his friend. Bolsec was chagrined and disconcerted. This occurrence embittered the latter very much against his two respondents.

The perils of the church cast upon Farel an increasing weight of care, and a burdensome correspondence. For it became his duty to direct the doubtful and confirm the weak, throughout the Reformed churches. Tossanus, in his difficulties, applied to him; and his old friend Bucer made him the depository of his griefs. The latter wrote to him frequently from England, and derived encouragement from his replies. When Bucer, soon after, died, Farel wrote to Calvin in language of the sincerest affection. But nothing so heavily pressed upon his spirit as the difficulty of enforcing discipline in communities where people were so prone to oscillate from the extreme of servility to that of fanatical insubordination. The contempt also in which he saw that true learning was held by many, grieved him sorely. To this was

added an humble sense of his own insufficiency and unworthiness, which is by no means the least admirable trait in this good man's character. To his friend Ambrosius Blaarer, of Biel, he writes (1552), as he had previously done to Calvin: "I conjure you, remind me frankly of what you see amiss, and make me the subject of your prayers. Thus shall you help both me and the church, more than by your commendations, which spring from an immoderate love." Burdened himself, he sought to relieve the burdens of others. His eye glanced with sympathy towards France, and Magdeburg, where the friends of truth were enduring persecution.

Farel had now passed his grand climacteric. In labours he had been abundant, and no less abundant in griefs; it is not therefore surprising that he should have been a valetudinarian. In 1553 he was more violently seized with disease, and a pleurisy laid him on a bed of pain, from which his physician Sarazin entertained no hope of his ever rising. Under these distressing circumstances he received a visit from the famous French jurist, Charles Du Moulin, who was anxious to become acquainted with so eminent a champion of evangelical reform. During his stay, Farel made his last will. It was characteristic. He first thanked God for the mercy which he had shown him, notwithstanding all his ill desert; especially that by the death of his Son he had redeemed him from the curse; that he had rescued him from the darkness of Popery, and made him a minister of the truth. He then committed his soul to the mercy of God through Jesus Christ, and yielded his body up till the day of resurrection. He avowed his conviction of the truth he had preached, and prayed for the steadfastness of all who had received it from his lips. The little worldly property which he possessed, he left to his brothers, Gauthier and Claudius. He bequeathed the fourth part of his books to the library of the Classis, and the residue to the sons of Gauthier Farel, and a nephew. A third part of his ready money and personal estate was to be given to the poor, under the direction of the Classis. The name of John Calvin is subscribed as the first witness. Farel was ready to depart, but the wish of Calvin, that his friend might survive him, was accomplished.

The synod convened about the time of his recovery. As the former governor was no more, an important obstruction was now removed. The synod passed many grave ecclesiastical acts, concerning the Lord's Supper, baptism, the religious education of children, the further removal of Popish ceremonies; also against divers scandals and immoralities; against lasciviousness, revelling, dancing, and superstition. Some difference existed with regard to the question whether public penance should be connected with

excommunication, and Farel was led to some temporary estrangement from his young brother Fabri. With the latter also there arose a difference upon a nice question respecting baptism. A child was offered for baptism by a pious grandmother, while its parents were Papists. Farel hesitated to administer the rite, as the father and mother did not belong to the church of the faithful, and were therefore without God's covenant. Fabri was in favour of baptizing the child, because the grandmother was its sponsor, and promised to bring it up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. The Classis was divided. Some were against denying baptism in any case. Haller and Musculus declined giving any answer, and referred the case to Calvin; who held it to be absurd to baptize such as one could not reckon among the members of his church.\*

The situation of Calvin, with respect to his own city, was such, about this time, as to fill his friends with solicitude. The delicacy of his friendship led him to conceal the extent of his troubles from his bosom friend. But Farel, of his own accord, hastened to Lausanne, to counsel with Viret for the relief of their brother. He also wrote to Calvin, in such terms as these: "The origin and aim of our friendship is Christ and the edification of the church. Riches, honour, power, worldly pleasure, are not what we seek, but only how we may serve our Master." He conjures him also, by the love of Christ—"If you believe it to be for the glory of Christ, constrain me, command me, beseech me to come." But Calvin was unwilling to introduce his aged friend into the labyrinth.

While the Libertines were bringing disorder into the church, Michael Servetus arrived at Geneva. One of his own scholars accused him, and after a few days the *Procureur général* instituted further process. The proceeding was generally acceptable.† The doctrine of Servetus (we are here giving a faithful summary of the biographer's statements) was a medley of extravagancies and impieties, which excited universal horror. He had borrowed from the Libertines, and from the Anabaptists, but had originated most himself. An impartial investigation took place. Among those present were some of Calvin's deadly enemies. Supported by these, Servetus rejected all instruction, and was seduced to bring capital charges against Calvin himself, which no other had ever ventured to do. On both sides there was high excitement of passion; and Calvin lamented the loss of public confidence. He believed the church, the truth, and himself to be in jeopardy. There were many who regarded Servetus more as a blasphemer

\* Ep. Farello, 16 Cal. Aug. 1553.

† Magno assensu piorum. Beza ad Bull. 27 Aug. 1553.

than a heretic, and blasphemy was then, as it has been long since, a capital crime. Against Servetus were united the law, the general opinion, the vote of the leaders in the Swiss churches, the severe letter of the council of Berne, the voice of Calvin, who was no less a jurist than a divine, and most of all, the outrageous deportment of the accused himself. He was without opposition condemned.

Farel voluntarily offered to accompany the wretched man to execution. In company with other ministers, he exhorted him to consider his errors, but found him incorrigible. Farel then said to him: "Since such is your demeanour, I must leave you to the judgment of God; I can go with you no farther, though it was my determination to stand by you, and not forsake you until your last breath." Farel had endeavoured to procure for him an easier mode of execution, but this was denied by the Council.

Trouble was not yet at an end in Geneva. The syndic Perrin admitted to the communion one Philibert Berthelier, who had been excommunicated; the consistory stood upon their rights. For the support of his friends, Farel came anew to Geneva, where he used his influence with the friends of order, and in his characteristic way, animadverted upon the Libertines from the pulpit. These were not present, but the report of the discourse so inflamed their choler, that soon after his departure a criminal prosecution was instituted against him, as having attacked the honour of the whole community. Summoned to answer for himself, he repaired to Geneva on foot, and during inclement weather. Calvin was forbidden to let him preach; and on his arrival, his enemies threatened to cast him into the Rhone. He found however a body-guard of stout young friends, who would not see any insult offered to Father Farel. And so triumphant was the eloquence of his defence, that even his accusers gave him the hand.

When he returned to Neufchatel, he was involved in some perplexity by the necessity he was under of defending himself against the slanders of Pierre, the pastor of Cressier, who declared that Farel was "a savage man, a perverter of the truth, and possessed with two devils." After a public trial, Pierre was convicted of slander, and ordered to beg pardon of Farel, the governor, and the inhabitants. In the great majority of instances, however, Farel pursued the wiser course of leaving calumnies to refute themselves. He even declared that he chose to be the butt of the malicious Bolsec, rather than that Christian doctrine should be assailed by him in the person of Calvin. Against the latter the storm still raged, at Geneva, and also at Berne, where he was stigmatized as a heretic. "I must be made of wood and stone," writes Farel, "if I do not cling to thee with the most tender

love." And his whole language to his persecuted friend was in a tone of sympathy and encouragement.

In the midst of these drawbacks, he gloried in seeing that the truth advanced. And very soon, even in Geneva, he was witness to the power of light and love, in surmounting obstacles. "I was lately in Geneva (so he writes in 1557 to Blaarer) and never have I been so much delighted: scarcely could I tear myself away. Not that I wished indeed to teach a church so great and so desirous of the word, but rather to be a hearer and learner, as one of the humblest in the flock. Very different is my feeling from that of the man who said he would rather be first in the mountains than the second in Rome: for my part, I would rather be the least in Geneva, than the first any where else. And if I were not withheld by the Lord and by love of my flock, nothing should restrain me from dwelling in person among that people, with whom I have ever been united in spirit." A bitter drop mingled in his cup of satisfaction was the alienation of certain friends at Montbelliard, and especially his former partner in labours, Tossanus.

For more than thirty years the contention between the Lutherans and the Reformed upon the sacramental question, had afflicted the heart of Farel. The forbearance of good men on both sides postponed the crisis; but at length the flame was caused to break forth anew by the intemperate attack made upon Calvin by Joachim Westphal, of Hamburg. The polemic attitude into which the two churches were thus thrown, showed Farel that immediate union was not to be hoped for. Much of the twenty-third chapter is taken up with interesting details of the differences between the Lutherans, the Zuinglians, and the Calvinists; which however cannot be condensed. We also read of new persecutions to which the Waldenses were subjected, and from which they had some escape through the active mediation of Farel and Beza, who travelled extensively in Switzerland and Germany.

We next find Farel engaged, as during his youthful days, in a missionary expedition. His new attack was upon the bishopric of Basle. In St. Leonard, Serrieres, and Pruntrut, he preached the word, in defiance of threats, and with happy consequences. Neither the bishop of Basle nor the archbishop of Besançon could deter him. For the Gospel, he declared that he was willing at any time to lay down his hoary head. All Burgundy seemed to be struck with alarm, as he advanced. The archbishop and council of Besançon, the parliament of Dole, and the baron of Vergy, sent messengers to forbid the introduction of these dangerous itinerants. The care of many churches at the same time came upon the aged minister daily; the rather as he had survived

so many brethren. And when he heard of the death of Pellican, the images of his departed friends, Œcolampadius, Bucer, Gryndeus, Capito, and Zwingle passed before his mind. The gentle, peaceful temper of Pellican especially delighted him. "O that all (said he) who are endowed with eminent talents, were even so minded, as was this godly man, till his last hour."\*

At the age of sixty-nine, Farel married, and several years after his only son was born, (June 22, 1564,) but survived his father only three years. This step was much condemned, but he desired a help-mate in his old age; and, like many other reformers, he wished to show his belief that a state of celibacy is neither meritorious nor satisfactory, as the church of Rome asserts. Soon after we read of new storms raised in Lausanne and Payerne, by the question of excommunication; whether it is an essential part of the ministerial office.

The zeal of Farel for the propagation of the Gospel was known far and near, and his services were often demanded. In order to assist his friends at Metz he made a visit to Strasburg. The juncture was hopeful; for never had so great a number of the evangelical party united to pray for liberty of worship, and never had they received so favourable an audience. He hoped that Viret would yield to the general desire, and go to Metz as a preacher. The necessities of the Waldenses led him to revisit Neustadt, Biel, Basel, and Muellhausen. On his return, he received letters from France, informing him that the Gospel had free course, and that many hundreds of congregations, having abandoned the Mass, were sighing for pastors. Messengers from Gap (his native place) and Vienne, came to Neufchatel, praying that he and Fabri would repair thither to aid in the good work.

Remembering their ministerial oath, by which they were bound to offer up substance, body, and life for the Gospel, they could not hesitate to obey the summons. In his native region, Farel preached with the eloquence excited by the occasion. Notwithstanding the threats of the municipal authorities, he addressed immense audiences without interruption. He left Fabri when he returned to Neufchatel. The latter soon experienced dreadful persecution.

- Calvin was now approaching his end. He wrote to Farel (May 2, 1564): "Fare thee well, my best and dearest brother! As it is the will of God that you should survive me, be mindful of our friendship, which as it has been serviceable to the church of God, will bring forth fruit for us in heaven. I am painfully awaiting every moment my last breath. My consolation is, to live and to

\* *Unice delector ingeniis promtis ad pacem.* Ad. Bull. 27 May, 1556.

die unto Christ, who in life and in death bestows gain upon his people. Farewell, once more to you and all the brethren!" Farel hastened to see him, but left him still alive. "Oh, that I could die in his stead!" cried he, "and God grant that we also may end our career even as he has done."

The Reformation still made progress in Lorraine, and Farel determined to revisit Metz, in company with Jonas Favargier, one of his colleagues. He was received with the greatest consideration by the presbyters and the whole church. On the day after his arrival, he preached with so much power, that all were revived and comforted. He was himself edified at the sight of a church so well ordered. But the exertion did him harm, and he retired to his lodgings greatly exhausted. He was soon confined to his bed. During his illness people of every rank visited him, and each of these he exhorted, according to their respective stations, to maintain the truth, and labour for the propagation of evangelical reform. With all the dignity of a veteran soldier of Christ, he counselled his fellow-labourers to live answerably to their high vocation. His submission and patience were wonderful to all who saw him; and his courage and animation appeared as great as in his years of strength. The bystanders said to one another with admiration: "See, he is the same man, in every situation. Never was he discomposed by danger, and when we were cast down and gave up all for lost, his trust in God was unshaken, and his heroic soul led the way." He witnessed a good confession of the truth he had so long preached, and after lingering some weeks, sweetly slept in Jesus, on the thirteenth of September, 1565, just fifteen months and fourteen days after the decease of Calvin, and at the age of seventy-six years. He was succeeded in the pastoral office by Christopher Libertel Fabri, of Lyons; Viret having been previously called without effect.

The character of Wilhelm Farel is best illustrated by the history of his life. During his labours, and for years afterwards, he was justly regarded as the principal Swiss reformer. Without him, Calvin might have been a far less important man. He was distinguished by the more masculine traits of character. Yet bold, independent, and even tempestuous as he was, he possessed, like Luther, a heart which throbbed in unison with every tender palpitation of humanity. It was his glory to be a preacher of the word; and his contemporaries truly said, that he rather thundered than spoke. His confidence in the preached Gospel was extraordinary, and he was constantly repeating the divine promise, *I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay nor resist.* He was a man of prayer, and often besought the prayers of the brethren for himself.

Such was his transparency of character, that Ecolampadius wrote to Luther, "You will thoroughly know him in an hour."

Farel was made for action, and though not unlearned, he was less disciplined than his coadjutors. This he felt, and was the more urgent in beseeching and adjuring Calvin to write commentary after commentary. With this great reformer he enjoyed a friendship like that of David and Jonathan. But though passionate in his attachments, he was frank and unsparing in his rebukes, and could not suffer sin upon his brother. His faults were the faults of daring, candour, and indignant zeal. If he did not always weigh his words, or take counsel of timid prudence, he was among the first to weep over his rashness.

We close this protracted review, with a feeling of gratitude to the biographer for a work so admirable in every respect, and with the earnest wish that it may be given to the public in an English dress.

ART. VII.—*A Brief Account of the Chaldee Targums. From the Latin of Leusden.*

PREFATORY REMARKS.

THE Jewish Targums are so often mentioned in all works upon scriptural interpretation, that we have thought a brief and popular sketch of their history and contents might not be out of place in our miscellany. For this purpose we have found nothing more appropriate than the following treatise of the celebrated Leusden. The article is substantially a version of his Latin chapters upon this subject, divested of the scholastic divisions in which the original abounds, and in other respects, rendered more conformable to the supposed taste of our readers. Those who look for ampler details, may be gratified even to satiety by the elaborate productions of Buxtorf, Bartolocci, Wolff, and Eichhorn.

THE Chaldee Paraphrases are regarded by the Jews as having great authority, and almost as an ultimate rule of faith. We shall treat of them in a brief manner, with reference only to the more important branches of the subject.

The Jewish name for these versions is TARGUM, from the verb **תרגם** *interpretatus est, explicuit*. The word means, in general, any translation of the Scriptures into another language; but



as there was no version among the Hebrews at the time of their liberation from captivity, but the Chaldee, the latter was by way of pre-eminence denominated the Targum, and has retained to this day the same appellation. Wherever, therefore, we find the Targum mentioned in Rabbinical writings, we are to understand the Chaldee translation or paraphrase.

The version owes its origin to the popular ignorance. Until the time of the Babylonian exile, the Jews used the Hebrew as their vernacular language; but during their long residence in Babylonia, among the Chaldeans, they fell into the use of the Chaldee tongue, and in a great measure lost their own. In process of time the sacred language became more and more obliterated, while, according to the divine precept, they were still bound to read the sacred Scriptures. Hence there were certain persons who thought it necessary to transfer the Old Testament into Chaldee, in order that by this means the illiterate multitude might peruse the word of God, and regulate their lives by its precepts. When the Israelites dwelt in Egypt, in the time of Moses, they did not change their language, but held it fast, and returned with it to the land of Canaan; and they are accustomed to attribute their liberation to their merit in certain things during bondage; as for instance, the retention of their garb, names, and language. But in Babylonia, though their residence was for a much shorter time, they altered their language without difficulty; perhaps in consequence of the close affinity between their own dialect and the Chaldee, while in Egypt this could not so easily take place, by reason of the difference between the tongues. It is true that the most learned of the Jews did not forget their own language while they lived in Babylonia: indeed, after the captivity, some of the prophets wrote with facility and purity in the diction of their predecessors. But the untaught populace, daily hearing the Chaldee language, forgot their own, and therefore, in compliance with the necessities of the rude multitude, the Scriptures were translated into Chaldee.

If the question should be asked, whether the paraphrases now extant are the same which were composed immediately after the exile, we must reply in the negative. Those ancient works have long since perished. The authors of the paraphrases which are now in our hands, lived, at farthest, about the time of Christ, as will appear when we come to enumerate the works. The Jews had, some centuries before, lost the Hebrew as a vernacular tongue, and it was in consequence of this that the paraphrases were composed; so that the later paraphrases are different productions. Those which we now have, are undoubtedly ancient, but the precise date of each cannot now be determined. Some are of earlier,

some of later origin. The common opinion is that the paraphrase of Onkelos upon the Pentateuch, and that of Jonathan upon all the prophets, were written about the time of Christ. Another paraphrase upon the Pentateuch, which is commonly, but without reason, attributed to Jonathan, was composed some centuries later, and published about a hundred years since. When the others were framed, cannot certainly be determined. However these things may be, there were undoubtedly some paraphrases at the time of Christ and the apostles; although we are unable to determine whether any of those which we now possess were then in existence. The supposition has probability in its favour. Our argument has been deduced from the fact, that when our Lord cited from the twenty-second Psalm the words, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" he substituted for the Hebrew word, the Chaldee *sabachtani*, which is now found in the extant paraphrase of Jonathan. (Matt. xxvii. 46.)

It may perhaps, be objected, that in the times of the Fathers, as for instance of Jerome and Origen, there were no Chaldee paraphrases; as none of the Fathers mention them, nor even use the word Targum; and as we cannot but think that they would, if extant, have been adduced by Jerome, who was involved in so many controversies respecting his version. But this negative argument is inconclusive. There are other things which the Fathers never mention, such as the Keri and Cetib. Must we therefore suppose that the marginal notes which are so denominated were not then in existence? It must be remembered, that before the invention of printing, copies of the Chaldee paraphrases were very rare. It is possible that neither Jerome nor Origen ever possessed or even beheld such a copy. The time has been, as we are informed, when all Germany could furnish but a single copy of the Greek Testament. The paraphrases might, to say the least, have been equally scarce; especially as, in consequence of the want of grammars and lexicons, the knowledge of the Oriental tongues, and of the Chaldee in particular, was very uncommon. It may be supposed, moreover, that the paramount authority of the Greek version may have prevented any allusion by Jerome or Origen to the paraphrases. Augustin testifies that the Greek was even preferred to the Hebrew text. *Ep.* 10. There was therefore no inducement to cite the Chaldee. To this we may add, in direct proof, that paraphrases existed at the time of Christ, the passage, Luke iv. 17, 18, where our Lord is said to have read from the prophecy of Isaiah, chap. lxi. 1, 2. The words there cited are accordant neither with the Hebrew text nor with the Greek version, whence it is probable that Christ at that time rehearsed them from some paraphrase. The Hebrew Jews

do not appear to have used any version but the Chaldee in their synagogues; for all understood the Chaldee language, while the Greek, and even the Hebrew, were known by few. That our extant paraphrases were not all composed at the same time and by the same authors, admits of proof from the difference of style, and from their various characters as it regards prolixity and conciseness. One paraphrase renders word for word; another substitutes ten or more words for a single phrase.

All the books of the Old Testament have been paraphrased, except those of Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles; of which the first two books are written partly in Chaldee. Some books likewise have a double, and even a triple paraphrase. The book of Esther has a double paraphrase, and the Pentateuch has no less than three; namely, that of Onkelos, that of the so called Jonathan, and the Jerusalem paraphrase. A number of these paraphrases may be found in the folio Bibles of Buxtorf; the Chaldee paraphrase being put in a separate column opposite to the Hebrew text; and the Jerusalem paraphrase on the Pentateuch at the end of the Bible, after the books of Chronicles. The other two, namely, that of Jonathan on the Pentateuch, and the second on Esther, may be found in a work published at Hanover; in which, besides the Hebrew text and the commentaries of Shelomo Jarchi, the three paraphrases on the Pentateuch may be seen at a glance; the two paraphrases on Esther are similarly printed towards the close of the book. It is thought that there is no paraphrase upon the book of Nehemiah. A paraphrase on the Chronicles is said to exist in England, but we have looked in vain for its discovery. In the year 1680, Theophilus Goebelius published at Augsburg a Chaldee paraphrase upon the first book of Chronicles, which, though much desired, had never been published before. It was printed from an ancient manuscript in the library of the Ministerium of Erfurt, and was given to the public by the care of Dr. Matthias Frederic Beekius, who added in another column a Latin version, and accompanied it with learned notes. But upon Nehemiah, Daniel, Ezra, and second Chronicles, no paraphrases have as yet been printed.\*

The estimation in which the paraphrases are held is various. The Jews set the highest value on those of Onkelos and Jonathan. These they regard as authoritative, and we may therefore use them with advantage in the Jewish controversy. This estimation is owing both to the eminence of their authors, and to the miracles which are reported to have occurred at the times when the paraphrasts were engaged in their work. The origin of the para-

\* Megilla, cap. 1. p. 3. facie a. lin. 6.

phrases is referred to the prophets themselves. Jonathan is said to have received his paraphrastic exposition from Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi; Onkelos in like manner from R. Elieser, and R. Jehoshua. For thus we read in the Talmud; "The Targum on the Law was spoken by Onkelos the proselyte, from the mouth of R. Elieser, and R. Jehoshua. The Targum on the Prophets was spoken by Jonathan, the son of Uziel, from the mouth of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi."\*

The Jews also value these works very highly on account of the miracles, which happened while the Targumists were at work. Thus, (1) the land of Israel is reported to have been shaken by an earthquake throughout an extent of four hundred *leucæ*. (2) A voice was heard from heaven, which said, "Who is he, who hath revealed my mysteries to the sons of men?" In the abovementioned place of the Talmud, these words immediately follow: "And the land of Israel was shaken for four hundred *leucæ*, and for a distance of four hundred *leucæ* proceeded the Bath Kol, (daughter of the voice) saying, who is he that hath revealed my mysteries to the sons of men?" Then stood up Jonathan, the son of Uziel, upon his feet, and said, "I am he who has manifested thy secrets to the sons of men. It is manifest and known unto thee, that I have done it, not for my honour, nor the honour of my father, but for thy honour, and lest disputes should be multiplied in Israel." (3) That Jonathan might be free from hinderance of any kind in this work, all impediments are said to have been removed. If a fly, or any other insect, settled on the body or the paper of the said Jonathan, it was instantly burnt up, without any injury to the writer or his paper. This is affirmed in the Talmud: "They say of this Jonathan, the son of Uziel, that whenever he sat and studied in the law, every bird which flew over him was burnt up."† (4) They relate, that angels descended from heaven, to listen, when Jonathan was busied in forming his paraphrase. (5) And finally, when the same Jonathan had formed the intention of translating the Hagiographa, he was divinely forbidden, lest he should reveal all mysteries. The text of the Talmud just cited proceeds to say: "And he yet sought to reveal the Targum of the Hagiographa. Then the daughter of the voice went forth and said to him, It is enough for thee. For what cause? Because in it is the end of Messiah." This is doubtless to be understood of the cutting off of the Messiah, predicted in Daniel.‡ These are the tales of the frivolous Jews, yet they serve to evince the value which is set upon the paraphrases, and therefore it is lawful for us to deduce arguments hence against their errors.

\* Megilla, cap. 1. p. 3. facie a. lin. 6.

† Baba Bathra, c. 8. p. 134.

‡ See Schickard in Bechin happeruschim.

To those Christians who propose to institute any controversy with the Jews, an acquaintance with these paraphrases is highly useful and even necessary. The reason is evident. They are the authorities of the Jews, from which they may be refuted. For the three sources of argument against the Jews, are the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, the Talmud, and the Chaldee Paraphrases. No one therefore who is unacquainted with these last, can expect to reason legitimately or conclusively with them. For the faith of the Jews, and their absurd exceptions, are often more triumphantly refuted out of these paraphrases, than by the Hebrew text itself. A single example will here answer for many. In Genesis xlix. 10. Jacob says: *The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a law-giver from between his feet, until Shiloh come.* From this text we prove that the Messiah promised in the Old Testament has long since come; because the sceptre has long since been removed from Judah. But many Jews, wishing to break the force of this argument, maintain that the word translated sceptre, should be rendered *rod* or *stroke*; and therefore suppose that Messiah has not yet come, because they are still under the rod, and still in exile, subject to a foreign yoke. They may be refuted out of all the three paraphrases upon this verse, which agree in expounding the Hebrew text as we do. Jonathan explains the words thus: *Kings and Rulers shall not cease.* The Jerusalem paraphrase has it: *Kings shall not cease.* And Onkelos explains it: *He that hath the principality shall not depart from the house of Judah.* Moreover, in the same text occurs the word *Shiloh*, which we interpret a Messiah. Here again the Jews deny; but are again refuted by the same three paraphrases; of which the first renders the word by *Messiah*, and the last two by *King Messiah*. From this instance we see that the Jews may sometimes be convinced more clearly and effectively by the paraphrases, than by the Hebrew text itself. Such persons therefore as have to dispute with the Jews concerning articles of faith, as is often the case with pastors or learned men living among these people, should in some way possess some knowledge of the paraphrases.

It is to be lamented, however, that there are so few Christians who enterprise any thing against the Jews, that is, with a view to their conversion, although it is the sentiment of most theologians that they must be converted to Christ before the end of the world. Many Christians, alas! assail and persecute one another, with exceeding virulence, to the great injury and scandal of the church, scarcely thinking of the conversion of the Jews. In regard to this, Papists exercise a laudable zeal.

It is true that Maimonides once expressly says: *Onkelos here*

*recedes from the true and genuine interpretation.\** But we are not to conclude hence that they are of no use in reasoning with the Jews. Sometimes, indeed, but very rarely, the Jews depart from the Chaldee paraphrases. But this takes place because they think they have been corrupted in those places during the lapse of ages. This is said by Maimonides, where he speaks of the paraphrase of Onkelos: "Beyond question, this interpretation is corrupted and depraved in our copies."† It is therefore only when such error is suspected, that they recede from the paraphrases, in certain cases.

It is by no means probable that the Jews have ever intentionally corrupted the text of the Targums. This would be prevented by their superstition respecting the Scripture. Rather would they die a hundred deaths than change a tittle of the sacred volume; and since they recognise these paraphrases as the Word of God, it cannot be thought that they would venture to alter them in the slightest particular. Besides, if they had ever wished to corrupt them, it would doubtless have been in those passages which oppose their present faith, and confirm that of the Christians. We have given an instance above, in Gen. xlix. 10. If they had been willing to alter any thing, they would surely have felt the need of doing so here: inasmuch as all three of the paraphrases on it evince that Messiah has already come. There are many other places, which though adverse to Judaism, are still incorrupt.

But while we acquit the Jews of any intentional alteration, we shall state some reasons for thinking that many passages have suffered injury from the hand of time. As no books, with the exception of the sacred Scriptures, have come down to us in their original purity, after so many conflagrations of libraries, and downfall of empires, it is reasonable to suppose that the same lot has befallen the Chaldee paraphrases; especially as the Jews have so often been expelled from their country, and consequently unable to preserve their manuscripts unblemished. This is rendered more probable by what Galatinus says, namely, that in an ancient paraphrase on the sixth of Isaiah, he had found the words, *Holy Father, Holy Son, and Holy Spirit*. (Galat. ii. 1.) These words are not now found in the paraphrase of Jonathan. It must be acknowledged that Galatinus sometimes supports his doctrines by falsehoods, and sometimes alleges works which are supposed to have never existed. The corruption of the paraphrases would seem also to be established by the frequent diversity of reading in the various editions even of the same Targums. The Royal edition often differs from the Venetian, and that of Basil

\* More Nevochim, P. 1. c. 66.

† 1 cap. 28 p.

from both. This variety of reading is to be attributed to the want of a Masora. Thus Elias says: "If the Masorets had not come, the law would long since have been as it were two laws, nor would there have been any two accordant copies, as it has happened to other works, and even to the Targum of Onkelos."\* Hence we see, from the confession of Elias himself, that the Targums have suffered corruption in certain places. And if that of Onkelos was thus impaired, much more might the same evil have been incurred by the others, which were not so repeatedly perused. The same thing might be inferred from the numerous citations of places from the paraphrases which are no longer found in them. Some paraphrases were lost before Christ, and in the ages immediately succeeding, but since the invention of printing the danger of this has been greatly diminished.

The paraphrases were all originally written without vowels and accents. This is evident from the presence of the *matres lectionis*, or letters Aleph, Vau, and Jodh, which are every where inserted in the Chaldee paraphrases. If they had been at first furnished with vowels, the *matres lectionis* would not have been added; for these letters denote the absent vowels. This is confirmed by Elias, in *præf. Methurg*. "The Targumists undoubtedly wrote their paraphrases without the vowels." In later times indeed they were furnished with vowels, but not according to the genuine punctuation used in Daniel and Ezra. They also retained all the *matres lectionis*, which in connexion with the vowels are superfluous. But Buxtorf has rejected most of the *matres lectionis* from the Basil edition, and has added points according to the method of punctuation which prevails in Daniel and Ezra. All the paraphrases indeed are supplied with some punctuation, good or bad, but not all alike with accents; except that of Onkelos alone, in which the accents are every where inserted. It is probable that they were here added, to render more easy and agreeable the perusal of this paraphrase, in which the Jews are obliged to read some section of the law every week.

The paraphrasts have not followed an uniform method in their interpretation. The ancient paraphrasts have followed the Hebrew text more strictly than those of later times. The latter seem in some cases to have composed a just commentary rather than a version; they have sometimes three or four Hebrew, by thirty or more Chaldee words; and have sometimes indulged too much in Talmudical legends. The Hebrews say of the Targumists, that they often *follow the sense, and not the words*. Yet they are not on this account to be undervalued, for where the Hebrews

\* In Masor.

have said any thing well concerning the text, none can be better; where ill, none can be worse. Very often the paraphrasts, (especially Jonathan on the Prophets), expound very abstruse subjects in an excellent and even Christian manner; and so clearly give the sense, that the Talmudists with reason break forth into the exclamation: "Unless there were a Targum on this text, we should not know what the text says," or we should be ignorant of the true sense. Hence, as the paraphrasts frequently give excellent interpretations of the text, their expositions may with advantage be consulted on difficult places, by Christians. Buxtorf has done this in his Hebrew lexicon, where he has explained and illustrated difficult words by the aid of the Targums. This has likewise often been done by Hebrew commentators, who frequently confirm their explications by quoting the very words of the paraphrases; as may be seen throughout the commentaries of R. David Kimchi.\*

There are in all, six paraphrases, of which no one extends to the entire Old Testament. The first is of *Onkelos* upon the Pentateuch. The second is called *Targum Jerushalmi*, also upon the Pentateuch. The third is on the Pentateuch, and is commonly ascribed to *Jonathan*. The fourth is of *Jonathan*, upon the former and latter Prophets. The fifth is upon the five smaller books, viz. Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes and Esther. The sixth is upon the Psalms, Proverbs and Job. Of these we shall speak more particularly, in the order just stated.

#### I. THE TARGUM OF ONKELOS.

Concerning the author of this Targum there are four opinions, of which the first is derived from a nominal resemblance, and is maintained by such as suppose Onkelos to be the same with *Aquila Ponticus*. But this opinion is rejected, for the following reasons. The difference is great between the two names. The celebrity of Aquila is entirely owing to a Greek, and not a Chaldee version. Aquila was called a Christian; but our Onkelos was more ancient than this appellation, for he flourished before the time of Christ. Onkelos lived at Jerusalem before the Christian era; under Hillel; Aquila flourished under the Emperors Adrian and Antoninus Pius.

The second opinion is that of those who confound Onkelos with *Akilas*. This man indeed was a proselyte, and wrote a certain Targum which is frequently cited in *Bereshit Rabba*, but which has perished. But he is not to be confounded with Onkelos. The names are different both as written and pronounced. The

\* See Rosenmueller's Scholia, *passim*.



writings of the Rabbins contain distinct mention of both. Akilas interpreted the Prophets and Hagiographa, as appears from the passages cited, Isaiah iii. and Proverbs xii. The work of Onkelos, on the other hand, is upon the Pentateuch.

The third opinion, which is commonly embraced by the Jews, is that Onkelos was the son of the sister of Titus Vespasian, who after the fall of Jerusalem, renounced Gentilism, and became a Jewish proselyte. This opinion was long since chosen by Elias Levita, who says (in præf. Methurgeman): "Onkelos was the son of the sister of Titus, who demolished the house." But this opinion is no less unsatisfactory on account of the anachronism. The Onkelos of whom we speak was made a proselyte under Hyrcanus, about forty years before Christ, whereas the nephew of Titus, who may have had the same name, lived after the destruction of the temple, and was then made a proselyte. And it can be in no way supposed that Onkelos, however great we may imagine his longevity, survived until the destruction of the city and temple. Onkelos therefore is no one of these three.

The fourth opinion is that of Schickard, who supposes the author of the Targum to have been born before Christ, but to have been contemporary with him, and to have been the person who performed the funeral obsequies of Rabban Gamaliel the Elder (at whose feet Paul sat), who died eighteen years before the burning of the temple, by burning seventy pounds of frankincense on his tomb. It is to be observed that throughout the Talmud, Onkelos is called a proselyte.

He seems to have written only upon the Pentateuch, and no other exposition is ascribed to him. Galatinus says indeed: "*Hic Ankelos [for Onkelos] totam Bibliam [a blunder for tota Biblia] in Chaldæum vertit atque exposuit.*" B. 1. c. 3. But we should be slow in yielding credit to Galatinus, a man always too credulous, and fond of stating many things without testimony. This paraphrase alone is furnished with accents, and these are generally the same which are used in the Hebrew Bible, so that it may be cantillated with the same modulation as the authentic text; except that in certain instances a number of words of the liberal paraphrase, united by Maccaph, must be uttered with a greater extent of melody, with variations on the same chord, as Schickard expresses it.

This is one of the most ancient Targums, as well as one of the most excellent: and except in a few passages, such as Gen. xlix., it follows the original very closely, and seldom adds more words than are contained in the Hebrew text: as may be observed by consulting the Basil, Venetian, Hanoverian and English Bibles, in which it is placed in parallel columns with the Hebrew text.

In the royal copies, however, it is placed below. This paraphrase excels also in this respect, that Onkelos was very cautious in his exposition of such passages as attribute human accidents to God, which are of frequent occurrence, and give occasion to gross errors. It is also very clear, and well adapted to the understanding of the people, because it follows the text in a literal manner. The several editions differ in many points from one another; that is most facile which has been furnished with vowels by Buxtorf, according to the punctuation in Ezra and Daniel. None of the paraphrases was more read among the Jews, as none has been oftener published. Elias Levita says: "Before the invention of printing, there were extant no paraphrases on the Prophets and Hagiographa, except perhaps a single copy in a province, or two in a whole region. Therefore there was no one who gave any attention to them. But the Targum of Onkelos was found abundantly. And for this reason, that we are obliged to read two sections every week; once in the text, and once in the Targum." (*præf. in Methurg.*) (2.)

## II. THE JERUSALEM TARGUM.

The Jerusalem Targum is so called, either from the city in which it was constructed, or from the language or dialect in which it was written. There is a Jerusalem Talmud in the same dialect. For although all the paraphrases are in Chaldee, yet the writers employed a variety of idioms, according to the times and countries in which they flourished. There were three dialects of the ancient Chaldee. The first was the *Babyloniun*, which was most pure while the kingdom of Babylon was prosperous. It is this which is used by Daniel, by Ezra, and by Jeremiah, in a single verse, *chap. x. v. 11*. The same, in a less pure form, was employed by Onkelos, Jonathan, and the author or authors of the Talmud of Babylon. The second dialect is that of *Jerusalem*, which was vernacular among the Jews in and about that city, and the adjacent country. It is used by the authors of the Targum commonly ascribed to Jonathan Ben Uziel, the Jerusalem on the law, and Jonathan on the Hagiographa; and it prevails in the Jerusalem Talmud, the book *Zahar*, and certain Medrashim. The third dialect is the *Syra Comagena*, or *Antiochena*, which was propagated from the region of Antioch into other parts of Syria. In this dialect the Syriac New Testament is written.\*

The author of this Targum is entirely unknown, as is acknowledged even by the Jews. Thus Elias (as above cited) says, "we

\* See Hoffman's Gram. Syriac, and Wahl's Gesch. d. Morg. Sprach.

do not know who this interpreter of the law was." Some suppose this Targum to have been the work of a single hand ; Schickard thinks there was a plurality of authors, but a single collector. The date of its composition is equally unknown. That it was written some ages after Onkelos and Jonathan, is conjectured from the very impure style in which it is composed. There is a mixture of many foreign words, Greek, Latin, and even Persian. "There is a great difference (says Elias Levita,) between the Jerusalem and the Babylon Targum; the former abounds in Babylonian, Greek, Latin, and Persian words." And we hence conclude that it is more recent, for the dialect of Chaldee, which the Jews used after their liberation, was purer, but in later times, when the Jews became conversant with the Romans and other Gentiles, they adopted many foreign words from the languages of these people; and this adulteration becomes greater and greater as we advance from the time above mentioned. The comparative recency of this Targum is moreover inferred from the mention of events which occurred since the Christian era. Thus upon Leviticus xxvi. 29. it alludes to the famine at Jerusalem, when the Jews ate the flesh of their own children; an event which took place in the noted siege, about A. D. 64, in which eleven hundred thousand perished by the famine or the sword. Elias supposes this Targum to have been written a little before, or a little after the Talmud.

The Jerusalem Targum is not composed, like the rest, in regular series, but in an interrupted method. It sometimes passes over many verses without any translation, and sometimes dwells at great length upon particular passages. Hence some suppose that many parts have perished, and that those which we possess are only fragments from the wreck. Others think that it is a compilation by a single hand from the works of various authors. However this may be, it is certainly interrupted in a very remarkable manner; after beginning or ending in the middle of a sentence, and thus leaving the sense incomplete. A latin version of this Targum appeared at London, in 1649. (3).

### III. THE THIRD TARGUM UPON THE PENTATEUCH.

This paraphrase is commonly ascribed to Jonathan, the son of Uziel, who composed the paraphrases upon the Prophets. Hence it is called by the Jews, *Targum Jonathan Ben Uziel*; yet it will appear that they are here in error. Scarcely any one doubts that Jonathan Ben Uziel wrote a paraphrase on the Pentateuch; for this seems to be plainly indicated by the Talmudists in

a passage already cited,\* and where he is said to have heard a voice dissuading him from proceeding to interpret the Hagiographa, it seems to be implied that he had previously interpreted the Pentateuch: for the latter is much more highly valued than the former, so that the Jews are obliged to read every week some portion of the Pentateuch. But this by no means proves that the paraphrase circulated in our days under this specious title, is the one which Jonathan composed.

There is a manifest difference between the style of the Targum on the Prophets, which is on all hands acknowledged to be Jonathan's, and that of this paraphrase. The Targum on the Prophets is succinct and closely adapted to the original terms; the latter is prolix, and written with the diffuseness of a proper commentary. The Jews indeed allege, that we need not be surprised that more should be added in a paraphrase on the Law, than in one on the Prophets, since the Pentateuch contains histories and precepts, to which additions can very easily be made, whereas the Prophets utter predictions of future events, the uncertainty of which precludes such additions. But we reply that the earlier Prophets, such as the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings, are merely historical books; yet in these the style of paraphrase is not so diffuse as in the Law. While the prophecy of Jacob concerning his sons has many additions. Now why should Jonathan be more diffuse upon this very obscure prediction, than in his commentary upon the latter Prophets?

We argue further that this paraphrase was not written by Jonathan, from its containing fables which savour of the Jewish superstition, such as we cannot attribute to so wise a man, always so celebrated among the Israelites. Thus in Genesis i. 16, occurs a fable concerning the sun and moon, which are said to have been equal for twenty-one years; but the moon was diminished, because it was impossible that two kings of equal dignity could reign together. The words of the Targum are: "And Jehovah made two great lights, and they were equal in excellence, twenty and one years;—but afterwards the moon was lessened," &c. See a full account of this story in the seventeenth chapter of Buxtorf's *Synagoga*. Again, this Targum mentions events which happened long after the time of Jonathan. For instance, on Exodus xxvi. 9., it speaks of the six parts into which the Mishna is divided; now it is certain that the Mishna was not collected by R. Jehuda until about the year 150 of our era; whereas, Jonathan the paraphrast lived before, or, at the latest, about the time of Christ. On Numbers xxiv. 19, the same paraphrase names Con-

\* Tract. Bava batra. p. 134.

stantinople, thus: "And there shall arise a prince of the house of David, and shall destroy and exterminate the remains of Constantinople; the city being renewed, he shall also lay waste and destroy the rebellious citadel, and the strong Cæsarea, the cities of the people." These things appear to have happened long after the time of Jonathan Ben Uziel. Schickard indeed excepts to the former of these arguments, that the Talmudical traditions are more ancient than this Jonathan, and are even sometimes reprehended by our Saviour, and that we therefore need not be surprised that Jonathan sometimes mentions them. But the paraphrast does not simply mention the traditions which are contained in the Mishna or the Gemara, but of those portions into which the Mishna was divided, a century and a half after Christ.

This Targum affords great help in contending with the Jewish commentators, whom it often contradicts expressly; justly applying to Christ certain prophecies which the Jews wrest, so as to apply them to David, Solomon, or other mortals. It was always rare, and almost unknown to the ancients. Elias Levita, though a most inquisitive antiquary, had no knowledge of it further than that he had somewhere seen it mentioned. Fagius and Mercerus are silent with respect to it, except that the latter upon Genesis iii. 21. repeats a notice of this Targum from R. Menahem Recanathensis, at the same time declaring it to be no longer extant. Galatinus (*lib. 1. cap. 3.*) mentions it, and cites its introductory words; but says that it was very rare, and that he had never seen it. Yet Galatinus lived in the last century.

When and by whom it was written we know not. The examples we have given prove that it was not from the pen of Jonathan Ben Uziel, nor of the highest antiquity. The crudity of the diction alone is sufficient to evince this. For an instance of this, the reader may consult Genesis xxxv. 8., in Hottinger, *lib. 1. c. 3. §. 1.* And though it was written some centuries ago, it was not until about the beginning of the sixteenth century that it was first printed, at Venice, from a manuscript copy; then at Basil; and finally at Hanover, in 1614. In this very year (1682) it is in the press at Amsterdam, in connexion with the Targum of Onkelos, the Jerusalem Targum, and the commentaries of Rabbi S. Jarchi. (4)

#### IV. THE TARGUM OF JONATHAN BEN UZIEL UPON THE FORMER AND THE LATTER PROPHETS.

The author of the Targum on the Prophets is called Jonathan Ben Uziel. He is frequently mentioned in the Talmud, as has been hinted above. He was one of the disciples of the great and

famous Hillel, as is said by the Talmudists. "The tradition of our masters is that the elder Hillel had eighty disciples. Of these, thirty were worthy that the Holy Spirit should abide upon them as upon Moses our teacher (on whom is peace!) And thirty were worthy that the sun should stand still for them, as for Joshua the son of Nun. Twenty were intermediate. The greatest of them all was Jonathan the son of Uziel. The least of them all was Rabban Jochanan the son of Zaccai."\* We may hence judge of the estimation in which he is held by the Jews. The Zaccai, with whom he is compared, was a man profoundly learned. The Jews with one voice, declare that it was he who interpreted the Prophets. This is corroborated by Elias Levita, who says: "Jonathan, the son of Uziel, interpreted the eight Prophets—he was of the disciples of Hillel; who flourished a hundred years before the destruction of the Temple." According to this, Jonathan lived before Christ, and his forerunner John the Baptist. Some have erroneously confounded him with Theodotion, the Greek translator, simply from the coincidence of the names; for Jonathan and Theodotion have the same meaning.

This is unquestionably one of the most valuable Targums; for it interprets many places which speak obscurely of the Messiah, in a Christian and perspicuous manner. The Jews themselves acknowledge it as an excellent paraphrase, on account of the excellent evidence of its author, and the miracles wrought while he was at work, and because they believe that he derived his expositions from the Prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. (5)

V. THE TARGUM UPON THE FIVE SMALLER BOOKS, VIZ. CANTICLES, RUTH, LAMENTATIONS, ECCLESIASTES AND ESTHER.

This paraphrase on the smaller books, is by an unknown author, and in many places is rather a commentary; sometimes putting twenty or thirty Chaldee words, where there are only three or four in the Hebrew. It is written in the Jerusalem dialect, or that which the Jews of Judea employed. It contains some Talmudical fables. Thus in Esther ii. 9. it is said, that seven maids were given to Esther, to minister to her. Upon this, the first paraphrase on this book relates that Esther, living among the Gentiles who did not observe the Sabbath, found it difficult to distinguish the Sabbath from other days, and therefore had seven virgins, whom she denoted by certain names to aid her memory. These waited on Esther, each upon the day after which she was named, so that by the name of her attendant she could always discover the day of the week.†

\* Tract. Bava batra. cap. 8. p. 134. † See Buxt. Lex. Talm.

There is also another Targum on Esther, which begins thus: "And it came to pass in the days of Ahasuerus; this Ahasuerus was one of ten kings who reigned, and were rich in the world. And these are those ten kings. The first kingdom is that of the King of kings, and Lord of Hosts, whose kingdom shall speedily be magnified," &c. This last paraphrase is almost twice as large as the foregoing, and thrice as large, at the least, as the Hebrew text; so that it is more strictly a commentary than a version. By whom or at what time it was composed, we know not. Francis Taylor, an Englishman, published a Latin version of both the Targums upon Esther, at London, in 1655.

#### VI. THE TARGUM UPON THE PSALMS, PROVERBS, AND JOB.

This is commonly called the *Targum Rab Jose*; and its author is said to have been blind, or at any rate deprived of one eye. Some, it is true, ascribe it to Jonathan, but in contradiction to the Talmudists, who relate, as we have said above, that he intended to translate the Hagiographa, but was forbidden by the "Daughter of the Voice." Some also say that the "Targum on the Hagiographa which is now extant is by an author unknown."\* Whatever may be the truth respecting its author, it is certainly dissimilar to the other paraphrases; for it is written in an unequal style, with an intermixture of many Syriac, Greek, and Latin words. Hence it is so difficult that even the most learned Jews, if ignorant of these languages, cannot rightly understand it. Elias Levita complains that there were some words, which, being Syriac, he did not understand. This Targum is of less value than those of Jonathan and Onkelos. (6) For further particulars the reader may consult Schickard in *Bechinat Happerushim*, and Hottinger's *Thesaurus Philologicus*, and the preface to the second dissertation prefixed to Leusden's *Jona Illustratus*. (7.)

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#### NOTES.

(1.) The origin of the Targums, as stated by the Jews, has been variously received among Christian writers. *Hottinger* (*Thesaurus Philologicus* lib. 1. c. 3. p. 279.) accedes to the representation that the Chaldee version became needful immediately

\* In *Moor. En.* p. 148.

after the captivity. So also *Walton* (in Prolegomeno iii.) *Thomas Smith*, (de Paraphras, Chaldaic, p. 12. sq.) *P. Allix*, (Testimony Jewish Church.) *J. Pearson*, (Ex. Ap. Creed.) *H. Wharton*. *H. Prideaux*. *R. Bellarmine*, (De verbo Dei, lib. ii. c. 15.) *Sixtus Senensis*, (Bibl. Sancta. lib. iv. p. 393.) *R. Simon*, (Hist. Crit. v. I. lib. ii. c. i. p. i.) *W. Schickard*, (in Bechinath Happerushim, p. 19. And *J. Reuchlin*, goes so far as to make the Chaldee versions coeval with Isaiah, (lib. iii. de Verbo Mirifico, c. 13.) On the other hand, there are many learned men who think it by no means probable that the vernacular tongue of the Hebrews could have been lost in a seventy years' exile. *Wolfius* cites in favour of this, *Pfeifer Bart. Mayer*, (Philol. Sac. p. 137.) *S. Morinus*, (de ling. primaev. p. 77.) *J. Alting*, (Heptad. Tom. V. p. 198.) *Wolfius* (Bibliothec, ii. p. 1141.) supposes that they were gradually framed, from glosses in the margin, which grew into scholia, and from scholia into paraphrases.

It is worthy of note that the word *DROGEMAN* or *DRAGOMAN*, *Interpreter*, so much used in the Levant, is derived from the same root with *Targum*. The opinion that all the extant Targums were written since the Christian era, is advocated by *Morinus*, (Exercitt. bibl. p. 321.) *Havemann*, (Wegeleuchte wider die judische Finsterniss. append., p. 595.)

(2.) A full discussion of the questions respecting Onkelos, copious citations of authorities, and catalogues of editions may be found in the elaborate treatises of *Wolfius*. *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, vol. iii., and we here once for all, observe, that this ponderous work continues to be a treasury from which later writers have drawn their stores. *Bauer* and *Eichhorn*, give but a meager syllabus of what their great predecessor has poured forth. *Eichhorn* has hazarded the conjecture, that Onkelos was a Babylonian; because the Babylon Talmud mentions his Targum only; because its diction is not the Chaldee of Palestine, but approaches the pure idiom of Daniel and Ezra, and because it is exempt from the frivolities which might have been expected from an inhabitant of Judea. (*Bauer*. Crit. Sac. vol. iii. p. 294., Lips. 1755.) An account of all the editions may be found in *Eichhorn's* Einleitung vol. ii. §. 224. See also *Winer*, (de Onkeloso, Lips. 1820.)

*Eichhorn* observes that the Samaritan dialect coincides with the Chaldee, in so many respects, that we have reason to think the Samaritans made great use of it, in the construction of their Pentateuch. Even in the printed edition of the Samaritan Pentateuch this is observable, but still more strikingly in the Triglott of Barberini.



(3.) Eichhorn considers this a mere patch-work of different textures. It would seem to be mutilated, as Kimchi cites passages which are no longer contained in it. And the strong probability is, that it owes its origin to mere marginal Scholia. (3 Eichhorn, 95.) *Dr. Owen* describes it as a mere "wagon of lies," a "liber stercoreus;" a judgment which *Wolfius* regards as much too harsh. *Owen*, Theologumena, p. 407. 3 *Wolf*. 1170.

(4.) Besides the cogent reasons which *Leusden* gives for considering the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan, as of later origin than even the sixth century, we may add the following from Eichhorn. Upon Deut. xxiv. 24, mention is made of *Lombardy*, whereas the Lombards invaded Italy first in 570. Upon Gen. x. 2, the Targumist makes a remark about the Turks, who were not known until a much later time. Of the fables which are intermixed, the reader will find some amusing specimens in Eichhorn's Introduction, vol. ii. §. 232, 233.

(5.) The judgment of Eichhorn upon the Targum of Jonathan Ben Uziel, must commend itself to the judicious student. After reciting the opinion which we have given in the text, he adds: "But it is certain that he lived at a later period. So far as we can judge from the style, his translation is the work of a Palestine Jew, and the Jerusalem Gemara is quite as silent about it as Origen or Jerome. How could it have escaped the notice of the Gemarits, if, as is alleged it was then extant? Moreover, it is full of such fables as first became rife in later times in Palestine. And finally, it attempts to explain away the Messiah from those passages which are applied to him by Christians, such as Isa. liii. and lxiii. an evident proof that the translator flourished at a time when Polemics were waged with the Christians—not to mention that at so early a date, Chaldee versions were not used in the Synagogues." §. 226. Eichhorn and Bauer represent the dialect as inferior in purity to that of Onkelos, but preferable to all the rest: and the former writer perceives manifest traces of a plurality of authors in the work.

(6.) It becomes necessary for us to supply from other sources the account of the Targum upon Chronicles, which is mentioned by *Leusden* in the text, but which had not in his day fully come to light. See the Bibliotheca of *Wolf*, iii. 1179. *Bauer*, Crit. Sacr. • §. 81. *Eichhorn*, Einleit. ii. §. 244. From the last of these, we adopt the following account. "The Targum upon the books of Chronicles remained so long unknown, that it began at

length to be doubted whether any such work could have been furnished. In 1680, a learned preacher, Matthias Frederick Beck, published one, (as stated in the text,) from an Erfurt Manuscript. The mere perusal is sufficient to make one feel that Jonathan could not be the author, and Beck has evinced the same from some characteristics of the style. Beck, and the second editor, Wilkins, refer it rather to Joseph the Blind, inasmuch as tradition ascribes to him the other Hagiographa. But even supposing that he translated Job, the Psalms, and the Proverbs, it is impossible that he who flourished in the beginning of the fourth century could have written the Targum on the Chronicles which we now have printed. It has marks of a more modern origin. In 1 Chron. v. 10, the name of Hungary occurs, which was first known in the fourth century. In 1 Chron. v. 26, there is a reference to the later Jewish fall concerning *the mountains of darkness*. In a word, the paraphrase is modern. Besides the above mentioned traces, there are marks of the use which has been made of the paraphrases of pseudo-Jonathan, and Jerusalem, which are both unquestionably modern. These are followed closely in the Genealogies.

"It has moreover the faults which prevail in other Targums, and where it undertakes comment instead of translation, it offends against the truth of the history. It was first printed with very learned annotations, from an Erfurt manuscript, which however had some chasms: the title was *Paraphrasis Chaldaica libri Chronicorum*—cura *Matthaei Friderici Beckii*. T. i. Augustæ Vindelic, 1680, T. ii., 1683, quarto. After this Wilkins gave the public an edition from a Cambridge manuscript, of which the text was more pure and more complete: *Paraphrasis Chaldaica in librum priorem et posteriorem Chronicorum*, ed. David Wilkins. Amstelodami, 1715. quarto. The critic should unite both these editions, the former for the value of its learned notes, and the latter for its full and accurate text."

(7.) In addition to the information given above, we would refer the reader to the following works: *Wolff's Bibliotheca Hebraea*, four volumes, quarto.

*G. B. Winer*, Chald. Lesebuch. Leipz. 1825, 8vo.

*Riggs' Manual of the Chaldee Language*, Andover, 1832.

*G. L. Bauer*. Chrestomathia e Paraphrasibus Chaldaicis et Talmude. Nürimberg, 1782.

*De Wette*. Lehrbuch der histor. kritisch. Einleitung in A. T. Berlin, 1833.

ART. VIII.—*The Sinner's Ability to obey God, if he will.*—*Two Sermons by Rev. Mr. Perkins, Montreal, Canada. National Preacher, September, 1833: J. & J. Harper, New York.*

THE apology is sometimes made for the Reformers and those that followed in the same school, that while their *theology* was right, their *philosophy* was wrong. This indeed appears to be a favourite topic with the author of the Introductory Essay to the late edition of the Analogy. "We feel," says he, "that their *philosophy* was often wrong, while the doctrines which they attempted to defend by it were still correct. Had modern ways of thinking been applied to their works; had the results of a deeper investigation into the laws of the mind and the principles of biblical criticism, been in their possession," &c. Again: speaking of the Calvinistic theologians that lived in Butler's time, or perhaps a little before it, he says: "Hence they took the rough-cast system, wielded in its defence the ponderous weapons which Augustine, and even the Jansenists had furnished them, and prevailed in the conflict; not, however, by the force of their philosophy, but of those decisive declarations of the Word of God with which unhappily, that philosophy had become identified."

Now, what there was in the philosophy of these men of 'the olden time' that could be called remarkable, we know not,—but we have always supposed that their system, if they had any, was in its leading features, agreeable at least to the dictates of common sense. A more important inquiry has suggested itself to our minds, Whether the doctrines which they taught are in accordance with the oracles of God? The affirmative of this question is what (with very few exceptions, and those not connected with philosophy) we have ever been accustomed to believe. Thus, when they say that mankind are condemned on account of the sin of Adam; that they have in their lapsed state no power to originate holy exercises; no power, in the proper sense of that word, to obey the law of God; when they teach that Christ died for his people, and that the special benefits of the atonement were intended for them alone; when they make these and similar statements, we see nothing in such language that savours of philosophy of *any* kind: on the contrary, it appears to be only an expression, in the most simple form, of some of the most obvious truths of the Bible.

We should really be glad to know what are some of the results of the "modern ways of thinking," and of the "deeper investigation into the laws of the mind," referred to by the author of the Introductory Essay. If it be granted that the Aristotelian metaphysics are not as much in vogue as they were in the days of Thomas Aquinas, does it therefore follow that the things which the church has always held as truths are no longer truths, but falsehoods? Some four or five years ago, indeed, we heard from our brethren of New-Haven, that a new era was to be expected in the theological world; that the old notion of "passivity," in particular, was to be identified with the dogmas of the dark ages, and that a mode of exhibiting truth was to be adopted that should be more in accordance with the Scriptures and the nature of moral agents. We have heard the same sentiments from various other quarters—have seen them acted out in different sections of the country, and have yet to learn wherein theology has been really improved. The theories that have been started in order, as one expresses it, "to build bridges over the bogs of Calvinism," although they may have been sufficiently the product of 'modern ways of thinking,' are, in our view, equally at variance with the doctrines of the Geneva reformer and with those of Paul: they appear rather to savour of a philosophy 'falsely so called,' than to have a foundation either in the nature of things or in the declarations of the Word of God.

By some who claim to be not a little in advance of the age, it seems to be taken for granted that every thing in the Scriptures must of course be explained; an impression that is based upon the necessity which one is supposed to be under, of answering every cavil that may be raised by "wicked and unreasonable men." And it is worthy of remark, that in regard perhaps to no one point in theology have the attempts at explanation been more numerous, and we are constrained to add, more unfortunate, than in regard to human ability. Here is the spot where the new philosophy, while it exults at the recollection of errors exploded, and wonders that men could have been duped so long, does in fact appear to fail the most. "*Hic labor, hoc opus est.*" We had hoped indeed that the advocates of the new scheme would at length have been satisfied with enjoying their opinions among themselves, especially as their opponents may have appeared to be growing more and more untractable,—but in this we have, as it seems, judged somewhat prematurely.

In the two discourses which we have placed at the head of this article, and which are founded on Isaiah xxx. 10, the preacher has thought it necessary to answer the objection which the sinner is supposed to urge against the doctrine of future punishment, on

the ground of his alleged inability to obey the commands of God: "Thus it is," he remarks in the introduction, "that the smooth and easy doctrine that there is no *eternal punishment*, rests on the other smooth doctrine that *man is unable to do his duty*, and therefore cannot deserve eternal punishment." "And to my own mind," he adds, "this objection appears perfectly unanswerable, if you allow it to be true that men *cannot* obey God." While we propose to examine the author's positions somewhat in detail, it may be proper, in the first place, to make a remark or two upon the discourses *as such*.

Our first remark is, that according to the author's own plan (to say nothing of the principles of rhetoric) the sermons are somewhat deficient in unity. It would have been decidedly better, in our opinion, had the *two* been blended into *one*. The first and third arguments appear to be identified,—at least, they run so essentially into each other, that the latter, though expressed in somewhat different words, is little else than a mere repetition of the former. The same may be said of some of the *objections*;—not to mention under this head the general course of remark in the applications, nor the apparent episode of the disobedient child on the fifth page of the first discourse.

Another remark is, that the discourses appear to us to abound too much in interrogatives, and especially in what some have called the *objurgatory* manner. And the writer will not, we would hope, consider it unkind—for we are not conscious that it is so—when we suggest, that the use of the first person singular is more frequent than we could wish to see it in any discourse from the pulpit. The preacher says too much about himself. We know indeed, that the *magisterial* mode of addressing the impenitent has of late been adopted by not a few, but we have never been convinced either that such a mode is agreeable to that of the primitive preachers of the Gospel, or that it is likely to be productive of any permanent good. Men are not to be *scolded* into religion; and whatever may be thought in certain circumstances to be gained in this way, will be more than lost when those circumstances change. While the sinner is thrown off, as it were, from his balance, his mouth may indeed be shut; but the re-action that ensues not only leaves him as hardened as he was before, but it also begets dislikes and prejudices that have not a little influence in preventing his conversion altogether. The evil in the present case appears the greater from the fact, that although the sermons are sufficiently short, the preacher occupies some three pages in the way of direct application.

Our third remark is, that as these discourses—although they certainly possess some excellencies, of which their perspicuity

and directness are evidently not among the least—do not, at the same time, exhibit any thing *particularly* interesting or new, we should have hardly thought it necessary to notice them in the way of a review, were it not for the medium through which they have been presented to the public. And here we must be allowed to express our surprise, that sermons like the one of which we are speaking, and the one also that appeared some months ago on what might be called the *philosophy of regeneration*, should be published in a *National Preacher*. It had always been our impression—and we have heard the same sentiment from several individuals—that the original design of this periodical was, not to discuss controverted points in mental philosophy, nor to enter into the metaphysical subtleties of the schools, but to exhibit the great truths of the Bible in a manner that should be intelligible to the mass of the people; and for ourselves we sincerely deprecate the introduction into its pages of topics, whose legitimate tendency must be either to “gender strifes,” or to bewilder those who ought to be instructed. The influence of this valuable work will, we would hope, be employed rather in checking than even *remotely* increasing the propensity to speculation at present so characteristic of many of the readers and hearers of sermons; a propensity which threatens, if we may judge from the mournful history of the past, to bring evils upon the church that shall be felt to distant generations.

We come now briefly to examine some of Mr. Perkins’ statements in regard to doctrine. The proposition, the truth of which he proposes to establish is, “That man is able to obey God, if he will;” and the inference is, that “he therefore deserves the penalty God has threatened against transgression.” In order however to prevent misapprehension, he remarks that “the terms *can* and *cannot*, *able* and *unable*, are used in two senses, entirely diverse from one another.”

“These two senses may be illustrated thus:—I come to a sick man and ask him to rise and take a walk with me: he says, ‘I cannot.’ I then perhaps come to you, indolently reposing on your couch, and ask you to rise and walk with me; but you also reply, ‘I cannot.’ Now in these two cases the reply in words is the same: each says, I cannot. But I know, without the least doubt whatever, that the *meaning* is entirely different. When the sick man says he cannot walk with me, he means that he is physically unable to do it; that let him desire to do it ever so much, it is utterly impossible. But when the indolent man says, I cannot, he means that he does not choose to do it,” &c. p. 2.

The distinction of ability into natural and moral, was made by English theologians as early at least as the time of William Twisse, the prolocutor of the Westminster Assembly; it was

also used by Mr. Howe, and many years afterwards by Dr. Watts.\* In respect to writers of our own country, the distinction was recognised by Dr. Witherspoon, and it holds a prominent place in the works of Drs. Bellamy, Hopkins, Smalley, Strong and Dwight, and especially in those of President Edwards,† who has, as one justly remarks, “done more to give complexion to the theological system of Calvinists in America, than all other persons together.” Now whatever may be thought as to the propriety of the terms “natural and moral ability and inability,” the *idea* which those terms are intended to convey is sufficiently plain,—for the distinction implied is not only recognised in courts of justice and in the ordinary affairs of life; but it is understood even by children. There is a wide difference between the inability of one to travel who has no limbs, and the unwillingness of one who has—between the inability of a person to fly, and the unwillingness of a servant to perform his daily labour,—although both might say, according to the ordinary use of language, that they *could not* do what was required. Still, we think it better to call things by their proper names. It may perhaps be attributed to an incurable dulness on our part, or to what is not much better, our being behind the spirit of the age, but we really cannot see the analogy which some appear to have discovered between cases like those just mentioned and that of the impenitent sinner. It is, in our opinion, this proneness to seek analogies where none are to be found, this confounding of things that ought ever to be kept separate, that has done more to prevent the discovery of truth, and in particular to bring discredit upon theological discussions, than almost all causes combined. Here is the enchanted ground on which our friends at New-Haven have fallen—the ground, we suspect, on which Pelagius and others of heretical memory fell before them. Man, it is said, has *natural ability* to obey the commands of God; which means, we are told, that he has all the requisite *natural faculties*, such as understanding, will, affections, &c. But is this saying any thing more than that man is a complete moral agent; in other words, that *man is man*, and not an irrational animal? a truism which none, we suppose, not even the most extravagantly orthodox, ever pretended to call in question. We recollect, indeed, the far-famed theory of the lapsed powers; but we doubt whether even Dr. Clarke, in all his vagaries, ever really supposed that the fall metamorphosed our race into such inferior beings as apes and idiots, although some supposition of the kind may have been

\* See Biblical Repertory for July 1831.

† See particularly his Inquiry into the Freedom of the Will. Part 1. Section 4.

necessary in order to establish the doctrines of common grace,—one of the strongest figments, by the way, in the “frame-work” of the Arminian system. What then, we must be permitted to ask, (with due deference to those whom we shall ever venerate) what is gained by asserting that man has *natural ability* to do his duty—what but the using of words which either have no meaning, or which if they have, are calculated rather to bewilder and mislead, than to edify? Is it a new discovery that men are moral agents, and that the Bible addresses them *as men*, and not as brutes; and is it necessary that those who claim the honour, if not of making this discovery, yet certainly of acting upon it, should set themselves up as the reformers of the age? Who ever doubted whether those who hear the Gospel are the very beings to whom it is proper that it should be addressed, whatever the faculties might be called by which they should be supposed to differ from beings either of a higher or a lower order? The question is not, whether men have the faculties necessary to constitute them moral agents, whether they have understanding, will, &c., for this nobody pretends to doubt,—but whether they have power to obey the commands of God. Should one still be disposed to contend about words, and to say that they have *natural power*—a kind of logomachy which carries with it, in the view of some, a peculiar charm—we would make the question still more definite: Have they *the kind of power* and *all* the power that is requisite? for the mere fact that they are moral agents, (which is all that is supposed to be intended by natural power), does not by any means meet the real difficulty of the case. If the negative of this question be true—and that it is, we shall presently attempt to show—why, in the name of all that is consistent, should that be called *power*, which not only in fact, but even as we have seen in theory, is no power at all?

Mr. Perkins' proposition, though sufficiently imposing, appears to us both ambiguous and sophistical. When he asserts that man is able to obey God if he will, does he mean—what would be expressed more intelligibly in other words—that man is able to obey God *if he is able*? If this be his meaning, he certainly has no controversy with us, or with the readers of the National Preacher, or even, we suspect, with the most troublesome cavillers that may form a part of the American Presbyterian congregation at Montreal. We marvel, however, that such a proposition should be brought forward as particularly striking; much more, that some twelve or fifteen pages should be occupied by way of illustration and proof. We know not how the position, that a certain individual is able to walk fifty miles in a day if he is able to travel that distance, could be rendered plainer or more



credible by multiplying arguments and illustrations even to an indefinite extent. Should the author demur at this mode of interpreting his proposition, we would suggest another : 'Man is able to do his duty if he is really so inclined, if he has the disposition;' in which latter word we would include a right state, both of the understanding and the affections. But this too is what nobody ever thought of calling in question; it being just as plain as that men are moral agents, or that they are the beings to whom it was proper that commands, invitations and threatenings should be addressed. The inquiry still occurs, why it should be necessary formally to *prove* a statement of this kind, a statement whose truth is recognised on the very face of the Bible, and admitted by the common sense of the world? If, however, Mr. Perkins should insist on having his proposition remain in its original form, we do not see that any thing is gained; for either the truism will be repeated, that man can do his duty if he has the disposition, as stated above, or the assertion will be made that he can do it simply by *putting forth a volition* to that effect, if indeed it be proper to speak of volition in this manner. The phraseology employed, not only in the proposition and title, but throughout the discourses generally, would convey the impression to the minds probably of nine-tenths of his readers, that the latter is intended; for he speaks abundantly of the sinner's "going on in sin *with full purpose of heart*;" of his "*being determined* in his course;" of a "*deliberateness, wilfulness, determination* in his guilt, for which no vengeance could be too great;" not to mention that his illustrations seem to have reference particularly to volition. Does Mr. Perkins then wish to revive the old dogma of the self-determining power, and is it a part of his system that the sinner can, merely by *willing* it, change a heart that is "fully set in him to do evil?" That he can, merely by *willing* it, arrest the whole current of his feelings and affections, and cause them to flow in a different channel? And if not, why should he employ language which is not only calculated to deceive, but which does in fact deceive those who may not be able at once to distinguish between the announcement of an important truth, and a mere play upon words? Mr. Perkins, and those who adopt the expressions of which he appears so fond—expressions which, in their view, cut as if by magic the gordian-knot of every cavil, and wrest from his hands the weapons of the stoutest transgressor—happen, most unfortunately for their logic and their cause, to confound mental operations with the movements, &c. of the body. Here is the rock on which Dr. Griffin has split in the tenth of his Park-street Lectures. "You tell the drunkard," he remarks, "that he *can* abandon his cups;

and if he denies, you have only to drop a little poison into his glass, and it may stand by him untouched for half a century." True; but what has this case to do with that of the impenitent sinner? Because the intemperate person may be prevailed upon to abandon his glass, merely through the influence of motives, merely through moral suasion, (and we doubt not that numerous instances of the kind have occurred), does it *therefore* follow that the same principle will apply to the conversion of men from sin to holiness? In order that the cases should be parallel, we must suppose an immediate change, not only in the drunkard's outward conduct, which is in fact merely mechanical, but also in his *appetite*; and the question will then occur, if indeed it be necessary to ask such a question, whether the drunkard can, through the influence of any motives, or through the exertion of any power short of that which is miraculous, *immediately* annihilate his desire for strong drink? The case of the obstinate child proposed by Mr. Perkins, is equally irrelevant, since the act specified is, as in the other instance, merely mechanical. A supposition more in point would be that of a child who had conceived a *dislike* for a parent—a dislike which, however unreasonable, has at length from various causes and long continuance, increased into a deeply settled hatred. Would it be possible for this child, even if a kingdom were proposed as a motive, *at once* to change his feelings, and to *love* the parent whom he had hitherto so bitterly hated? He might indeed be induced to perform a particular act of obedience which he had previously refused to perform, and to which his feelings were even then opposed—an act of course that would be merely external,—but could he immediately change his disposition? And what is gained by speaking of the sinner's being *willing* to love God, while his character is the object of aversion? We can indeed, and we certainly should distinguish between *mere volition* and *will* or *desire*, in the more general acceptation of these terms,—since it is not only a supposable case, but one perhaps not of unfrequent occurrence, for an individual to *will* a thing to which his heart is opposed. Such a case is presented in the history of many awakened sinners. Still, it cannot be said that a person really wills or desires a thing, in the proper sense of those words, when he does not desire it; and of how little avail mere volition is, not only such instances as that of the drunkard and the child just referred to—instances, possibly that might never occur—but especially, the facts connected with revivals of religion, serve abundantly to show. When told that he must either love God or perish forever, the sinner may, from a lively apprehension of future punishment, make an effort to withdraw his affections from the world

and fasten them on his Maker; and if he has mistaken the process for a merely mechanical one—a thing which is at least supposable—or if he has been taught to believe that the effect will certainly follow, (a point to which we shall refer hereafter), he may flatter himself that the work is accomplished: but if he looks at the matter as it really is, he will find that his efforts, though repeated day after day, and week after week, and though sometimes so violent as even to convulse his frame, are utterly unavailing; and he will at length abandon the struggle with the conviction, that whatever power others may possess, *he* might as well attempt to calm the heaving ocean, or to arrest the course of nature by a word, as to soften into love a hard and rebellious heart.

It is remarkable that even the author of the Park-street Lectures, after a laboured attempt to establish the doctrine of the sinner's *natural ability*, informs us in a note, that the term "ability when applied to this subject, expresses only that capacity which is the basis of obligation." He then adds: "To raise the question whether men can change their own hearts, meaning, not whether they have capacity to *exercise*, but whether they have ability to *originate* right affections, (A WORK WHICH BELONGS TO GOD EVEN IN THE HEARTS OF THE HOLY ANGELS), is only turning away," &c. And President Edwards speaks abundantly to the same purpose. When examining some assertions in Dr. Whitby's Discourse on the Five Points, and when showing this writer's inconsistency, he remarks: "And yet the same Dr. Whitby asserts that fallen man is not able to perform perfect obedience." Again: "But if we have not power to continue innocent and without sin, then sin is consistent with necessity," &c. And again: "If we have it not in our power to perform perfect obedience to all the commands of God, then we are under a necessity of breaking some commands in some degree; having no power to perform so much as is commanded."\* That these conclusions, though derived from admissions made by his opponent, are in fact, (as far as they extend) Edwards' own sentiments, his distinction of ability into natural and moral notwithstanding, is plain not only from this and the following section, but from declarations in his works too numerous to be specified. Now this is precisely our doctrine. We believe with Dr. Griffin, that men have no power to change their own hearts, no power to originate holy affections; but that 'this work belongs to God, even in the hearts of the holy angels.' We believe, that until the Holy Spirit renews the soul, it is just as impossible for

\* Treatise on the Will. Part 3, sect. 3.

the sinner to love his Maker, as it would be to create a world. What men want is not moral agency, for they are moral agents already—but a *disposition* to do their duty. This disposition they cannot have merely by willing it, and of course they have no power in the proper sense of that word, to do what is required; for all the power that is wanted is a right state of heart, or a disposition. So that Mr. Perkins' position will at length return to the precise form in which we stated it at the outset, viz. That man is able to his duty if he has the disposition. But the disposition is, as we have seen, all the power he wants: therefore he is able to do his duty **IF HE IS ABLE**—a wonderful result, surely, of "the deeper investigation into the laws of the mind!"

The three arguments by which Mr. Perkins attempts to establish his proposition are—'its perfect harmony with the Scriptures, man's own consciousness,—and the *plain declaration of Scripture*'. If the proposition mean what has just been stated, no arguments are *necessary* to show its truth, for it is already self-evident: if it mean any thing different; if it mean that man can do his duty simply by willing it, then the writer has failed to accomplish what he appears so complacently to have supposed. In the latter case the *second* argument would exist only in his own imagination; for as we have seen it is *not* true that man is conscious of his ability to obey God if he will: on the contrary, the history of every anxious sinner who has not been misled by sophistical teaching and a heart that is 'deceitful above all things',—the history certainly of every believer, is but a confirmation of the sentiment uttered by one who well understood this subject, "It is not of him that WILLETH, nor of him that RUNNETH, but of God that sheweth mercy." And yet Mr. Perkins tells us that 'every one from simple self-inspection knows, without any other proof, that he can do, if he will, what God commands him to do!' The first and third arguments, which might well, as has been remarked, have been blended into one, (since they present, when standing in juxtaposition, a tautology that is sufficiently strange), appear to be equally unfortunate with the second; that is, they are directly contrary to matter of fact. It is *not* in 'harmony' either with the Scriptures generally or with any declarations in particular, that man can do his duty simply by willing it; it is *not* a doctrine of the Bible that he can, without any other power than his own, "make to himself a new heart:" on the other hand, the whole scope of the inspired volume teaches a sentiment directly the opposite. To adduce texts would be to transcribe almost all the doctrinal portions of the Old and New Testaments;—for in a great majority of these, man's entire inability is either expressly asserted or necessarily implied. The Scriptures every where ascribe the great

moral change of which believers have been the subjects, to the immediate power of God; while they speak of the change itself as an 'enlightening of the mind,' as the giving of 'a new heart,' as 'a new birth,' 'a new creation,' 'a resurrection from the dead,' &c. "For God who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts," &c. "A new heart will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you." "Except a man be born of—the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." "The wind bloweth where it listeth, so is every one that is born of the Spirit." "We are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works." "As the Father raiseth up the dead, and quickeneth them, even so the Son quickeneth whom he will." To the same purpose is Ezekiel's vision. "Again he said unto me, prophesy upon these bones and say unto them, O ye dry bones, hear the word of the Lord. Thus saith the Lord God unto these bones, Behold I will cause breath to enter into you, and ye shall live." "The natural man," says the apostle, "receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God—neither CAN he know them, because they are spiritually discerned:" that is, *so long* as he is a natural man, the apprehension referred to is absolutely impossible. So in the passage, "The carnal mind—is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed CAN be." And to refer to only two passages more; the Saviour said to the Jews, "No man CAN come to me except the Father draw him,"—repeating the sentiment in the same chapter—"No man CAN come unto me *except it were given him of my Father.*"\* Should it be said of the two latter passages that they are explained by another, 'Ye *will* not come to me that ye might have life,' we reply, that we have no objection to this interpretation provided the expression '*will not*,' be understood to signify what in fact it does signify, a want of *disposition*, for this is the doctrine to which we have all along subscribed. We would only remark that an attempt to make the expression mean any thing else, *mere volition*, for instance, would betray a lamentable ignorance of the most obvious principles of exegesis, but especially a strange forgetfulness of the sentiment uttered by Paul, and referred to above, "It is *not* of him that *willeth*, nor of him that *runneth*." Thus we see that Mr. Perkins' arguments have no foundation either in men's consciousness or in the Bible, but that they are diametrically opposed to both. We had expected that he would cite some passages in which the truth of his proposition might be supposed to be proved; but in this we have been disappointed. He does indeed inform us that God has given his creatures certain com-

\*Ezek. xxxvi, 26. xxxvii, 4. 5. John iii, 5, 8. v. 21, vi. 44, 65. 2. Cor. iv. 6. Eph. ii. 1, 4, 5, 10.

*mands*, and he *supposes* it necessary to the 'harmony' of the Scriptures that men should be able, with no other power than their own, to *obey* these commands; but he does not, unfortunately, attempt to prove his doctrine from the Scriptures themselves. Would it not have been more candid if he had, instead of expatiating so largely upon the imaginary fitness of things, instead of seeking for 'wheels' to suit a machinery of man's invention, yielded his own judgment to the simple declarations of the oracles of God? But on this part of the subject we shall speak more particularly hereafter.

Mr. Perkins has thought it necessary to answer the objection which some might be supposed to urge against his proposition, that it is inconsistent with the doctrine of original sin. But this surely was gratuitous; for if it be true that sinners have power to change their own hearts, it matters not how they became sinners, whether by their own act, or by the act of another, or both. All that Mr. Perkins had to do was, to establish the simple point of their ability, and then, any objections that might be proposed would lie, not against his proposition, but against the Scriptures themselves. His account of original sin, is indeed sufficiently remarkable, and it may for this reason require a cursory examination. Whether he intended to make any distinction between original sin and total depravity, is not very clear; for although the latter is referred to a separate objection, yet the course of remark is in both cases essentially the same. The "true doctrine" in regard to this subject is, as Mr. Perkins has been pleased to inform us, "*that men become sinners in consequence of Adam's sin*: not that God creates sin in them as a punishment of Adam's sin, but that while they do *voluntarily* become sinners, it is in consequence of Adam's sin that they become such." Now why the sin of which the writer speaks should be called *original* sin, we, who have no particular sympathy with the 'modern ways of thinking,' and who are supposed by some to be orthodox even to a fault, are wholly unable to conceive. It would be a strange account surely, of an *original* fondness for intoxicating liquors, if one could imagine such a thing, to say that a certain individual had, in consequence of having an intemperate father, become a drunkard *by his own voluntary act!* What Mr. Perkins means by the expression, 'in consequence of Adam's sin;,' whether 'a constitution of things,' or 'a mysterious dispensation in the Divine government,' we are not informed: on the other hand, so far as his mere statement is concerned, there would seem to be as little connexion between our sin and that of Adam, (except the bare fact that one is subsequent to the other), as there is between the former and the occurrence some

six thousand years ago of an earthquake or an eclipse. But in whatever obscurity he may have left the connexion between our first parent and his posterity, one thing is sufficiently plain, that he restricts all sin to that which consists in the voluntary exercises of the heart; a view of the subject to which we feel constrained to object, not merely because the sentiment involved was broached, and as we believe refuted, some fourteen hundred years ago, but because we conceive it to be really and utterly at variance with the Scriptures. Mr. Perkins will not, we would hope, now that we have noticed his definition of original sin, set it to the account of the *argumentum ad invidiam* if we transcribe the definition proposed by Turretine. '*Peccatum originale modo latius sumitur, prout complectitur peccatum imputatum et inhaerens, quibus tanquam duabus partibus absolvi dicitur.... modo strictius, ut solum inhaerens connotet,—non exclusæ, sed supposito imputato, tanquam causa et fundamento....et hoc sensus hic a nobis nunc usurpatur.*' This definition does not indeed accord with the dialectics of the new philosophy, but it is, in our view, no less in its favour that it agrees with the language of prophets and apostles; and it is on the latter account that we decidedly prefer it to the one proposed by Mr. Perkins. The doctrine of *inherent* sin, or that which is *anterior to action*, is, as we believe, taught in numerous passages of Scripture, particularly in Gen. v. 3. viii. 21. Job, xiv. 4, xv. 14; xxv. 4. Psalm li. 5. John, iii. 6. Eph. ii. 3. The passage in Psalm li., is so unequivocal that even a German neologist, confessedly, by the way, one of the most eminent critics of the age, has been as it were compelled, in spite of his principles, (a thing by no means uncommon with this class of men), to interpret it as teaching the very doctrine for which we contend. The *inference* which he draws from the psalmist's declaration is indeed singular enough, but he does not attempt, with all his skill at neutralizing, to pervert the declaration itself.\* 'But,' perhaps Mr. Perkins may ask, 'do you believe that God creates sin in the soul?' No, respected sir, we believe no such thing; nor do we believe that all men are born with the same complexion;—and yet we do, notwithstanding, believe that beings may be 'conceived in sin and shapen in iniquity' anterior to any act of their own.

\* 'En, ego cum iniquitate genitus sum' . . . hæret in naturâ totâ meâ, jam inde ab ortu meo, est innata mihi pravitas . . . Dicit itaque vates, se tunc etiam quum a matre conciperetur, uteroque gestaretur, peccato fuisse infectum; hinc autem æquum esse ut non summo jure sed clementer, secum Deus iudex agat, iniquitatemque suam non tam admissi sceleris, quam infirmitatis innatae habitâ ratione, relaxet.—E. F. C. Rosenmüller in loc.——Somewhat to the same purpose speaks De Wette: 'Der Dichter konnte nicht anders als suneligen, da er aus sundigem Samen gezeugt ist. . . Alle Menschen sind Sünder; ich stamme von einer Sünderin.

But unfortunate as Mr. Perkins is in his definitions, in his exercises he happens, if possible, to be still more so. After stating what he calls the "true doctrine" of original sin, that is, of original sin which consists in 'voluntary acts,' and after informing us that this doctrine is taught in Romans v. 12, he remarks upon this passage as follows: "Wherefore as by one man," etc. 'that is, he committed the first sin, and of course it was then and in that manner that sin entered into the world;'—"and death by sin" i. e. 'death was the consequence of sin'; and so death passed upon all men"—that is, as we are told, 'men are the authors of their own sin;' or, 'death passed upon all for this explicit and sufficient reason—all have sinned' [personally]. Now Mr. Perkins will bear with us when we say, that we hardly know whether to attribute this interpretation, or rather as we are constrained to call it, perversion of the words of the apostle, to ignorance, or to a desperate adherence to a system which has, in our opinion, almost as little to do with the Scriptures, as the latter have with the koran; a system as one justly remarks, which is both "false in theology and shallow in philosophy." Mr. Perkins should be informed, that in the verse which he has quoted the apostle is not treating of our *personal sins*, but of the representative character of Adam. He does not say that sin began with Adam, and that as he died for his sin, so his posterity die for theirs; but that, *on account of Adam's sin mankind are regarded and treated as sinners*. Having spoken in the foregoing verses of the manner in which believers are reconciled to God, he proceeds from the twelfth verse, and onward, to show the analogy between this, and the way in which men came under condemnation; or rather, he proceeds to illustrate the former by the latter. The one was effected by Adam; the other by Christ. The verses from the twelfth to the eighteenth, or if it be preferred, to the fifteenth, are evidently a parenthesis,—for in verse the eighteenth the apostle states particularly what he had begun to state in verse twelfth; that is, he shows wherein the main point of the analogy between the two cases consists. 'Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world',—as, on account of the disobedience of Adam men became sinners, that is, are regarded as such;—"and death by sin",—as a consequence; 'and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned',—and as men are subject to death or to the penalty of the law (death temporal and eternal) because they have sinned, that is, because they are, *on Adam's account regarded and treated as sinners*; (v. 12,) 'even so by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men', (upon all believers) 'to justification of life',—so on account of



the obedience of Christ, are all [believers] regarded and treated as righteous, (v. 18). Or, to express the sentiment more briefly; 'As by the offence of Adam all are condemned, so by the obedience of Christ are all who are united to him justified and saved.' In verses 13, and 14, the apostle *proves* the assertion made in verse 12. 'All are treated as sinners—which is evident from the fact, that all die. Men have without exception been subject to death in all ages, even before the giving of the Mosaic law.' The interpretation which makes the expression, 'all have sinned,' refer to *personal* offences, not only does the utmost violence to the whole scope of the apostle's reasoning, and to every particular declaration from the twelfth verse to the nineteenth, but it is abandoned even by those who seem determined, at all hazards, to adhere to it—by Professor Stuart in his late commentary, for instance.\*

But as our limits do not permit us to go into a formal exegesis of the passage, we proceed to another part of our subject.

The principal design of the discourse under consideration is, as has already been remarked, to vindicate the justice of God in the condemnation of the sinner. 'Men can obey God if they will, and therefore they deserve eternal punishment if they do not obey.' Until 'this matter is cleared up,' until 'the smooth and easy doctrine' of inability is completely 'nullified,' 'the mouth of the preacher is,' according to Mr. Perkins, 'effectually stopped : ' nothing can be done either with the hardened caviller or with 'lazy and inconsistent Christians.' Let us present motives and urge to repentance as much as we choose, the former will ever meet us with the plea that he *cannot* do his duty; while the latter (strange *Christians* to be sure!) 'will live in the actual indulgence of sin, and yet keep their hopes firm and bright, and think they are in the path to heaven.' It was therefore Mr. Perkins' object, as he tells, us 'to throw himself at once into the strong hold of sin; to demolish, if possible, this refuge of the sin-

\* It is worthy of notice that the view which refers, Rom. v. 12, to personal transgression, is rejected not only by most Arminian commentators, but even by the German critics themselves. It is true indeed that Koppe expresses himself in regard to this passage with some degree of hesitation; but he admits, plainly enough, that it teaches, what it has always been supposed to teach, the doctrine of imputation. Not satisfied with the interpretation, 'omnes peccant, peccatis sunt obnoxii,' (the one, if we mistake not, which is adopted by the author of these discourses), he says, 'omnes peccarunt,'—without deciding whether it was '*ipso actu quo peccavit Adamus*', or, '*propter imputatum aliâ forte de causâ, ipsis Adami peccatum.*' He quotes Chrysostom and Cyril as teaching the same doctrine. And even Rosenmüller, when translating verse 16, (which, it is acknowledged, merely carries out the sentiment suggested in verse 12), remarks, '*Sententia judicis PROPTER unum peccatum in omnes lata est*'—'the sentence of the judge was pronounced upon all on account of one sin.'

ner ; to clear away from the character of God the foul imputation of commanding impossibilities ; and, to show sinners of every kind' (he includes 'the lazy Christians,' of course), 'that they had [have] no such excuse, that here is no such smooth doctrine for them ; that each act and feeling of sin is their own guilty, voluntary choice,' &c. Mr. Perkins might have informed us that his design was, in other words, according to the genuine spirit of the new philosophy, to explain things that never have been explained, and to bring down one of the high mysteries of revelation to a level with the understanding of mortals. So it is—

'Men rush in where angels fear to tread.'

How totally unsuccessful such an attempt would prove, one might well conjecture without formally showing that the doctrine of ability is a mere figment of the imagination, having no existence either in the Scriptures or in the experience of mankind.

'But if sinners have no ability, of themselves, to do what is required, they cannot *deserve* eternal punishment.' Precisely in the same manner speaks Dr. Whitby. 'Who,' says he, 'can blame a person for doing what he could not help?' Again ; 'It being sensibly unjust to punish any man for doing that which it was never in his power to avoid.' Again, to confirm his opinion, he cites one of the Fathers, as saying, 'Why doth God command, if man hath not free will and power to obey?' Is Mr. Perkins aware that these very statements were examined nearly a century ago by the author of the Inquiry into the Freedom of the Will?\* Mr. P. speaks of *eternal* punishment : but this was hardly necessary,—since the principle which his doctrine involves is, that if men are really unable to do their duty, they would in fact deserve no punishment at all. If it is unjust, in the case supposed, to inflict *endless* punishment upon the sinner, it would for the same reason be unjust to punish him a single hour ; so that whatever force there might be in the objection of the Universalist on the ground of inability, that objection would relate, in the present case, not to the *duration* of punishment, but to the justice of punishment itself. We refer to this circumstance, not because it is particularly important, but merely to show how vaguely an individual may write without being sensible of it. As to the sentiment itself, that ability must always be co-extensive with obligation, we admit that this is true in respect to acts which are consequent on volition ; but not in relation to our dispositions, and affections. We utterly deny, 'that in order to the sinner's being to blame for hating God, he should be able to change his hatred into love.' Nor has Mr. Perkins given us the least par-

ticle of proof in regard to this subject, unless indeed, that can be called proof which consists in plausible speculations upon *a priori* principles of justice and the imaginary fitness of things; a method of reasoning which, while it is always of doubtful propriety, is in discussions of this nature altogether inadmissible. Mr. Perkins should be reminded that it is this kind of logic which has been resorted to by almost every errorist from the days of Pelagius down to the present time. It is by the *a priori* argument that the Universalist proves, not that sinners ought not to be punished for failing to perform impossibilities, as Mr. Perkins has gratuitously supposed, but that setting the point of ability wholly aside, they ought not to be punished at all: it is by the same argument that the neologist resolves the mosaic account of the creation into a *μυθος*, that he shuts out Jesus Christ from the Old Testament, and identifies the truths of revelation with the maxims of Seneca and Confucius. Who that has ever heard of Tholuck does not know, that it was on this very ground that he stood for whole years,—hesitating whether to reject a part of the Bible as containing sentiments abhorrent to the ‘first principles of justice,’—or, to believe with the apostle that ‘*all* scripture is given by inspiration of God?’ Instead of laying down propositions in order to harmonize the divine attributes, instead of attempting, as it appears to us, to be ‘wise above what is written,’ why did not Mr. Perkins confine himself to plain matter of fact? Was it necessary, in order to prove that God is just, to occupy two whole sermons in discussing a theory to which this truth should be appended as an inference—a theory which is so entirely the result of man’s invention that not a single text of Scripture can be urged in its support? Where does Mr. P. find it stated in the Bible, that because God has given his creatures certain commands, they are *therefore* able of themselves to obey them? or that, if they have no proper power to do what is required, they would be unjustly punished for their disobedience? The question is one of fact, not of speculation. That men have of themselves *no ability* to do their duty, we have already proved: we might also prove not only that they will be punished for not doing it, but that their punishment will be infinitely just. ‘Is God unrighteous who taketh vengeance?’ and yet, the same lips that said, ‘Except ye repent ye shall all likewise perish,’ said also, ‘Without me ye can do nothing;’ and, ‘No man can come to me except the Father draw him.’ If there are two doctrines in the word of God which stand out with peculiar prominence, they are the *utter inability* and the *guilt* of the sinner. Should one still be disposed to ring changes upon the injustice of commanding men to perform impossibilities, we

would refer them to matter of fact; we would appeal from plausible assertion to the unequivocal declarations of Scripture. If it be taught in the Bible that men are commanded to do that which they have of themselves no power to perform, as we have seen that it is, we would meet the individual who either denies or attempts to explain away this truth with the question proposed eighteen hundred years ago, 'Who art thou, O man, that repliest against God?' It ought to be remarked or rather repeated, that the inability under which the sinner labours, though a real inability, is so far from exonerating him from blame, that it constitutes in fact the very essence of his crime. No one would say in the case of the child who hates his parent, that because he might be unable at once to change his hatred into love, he would therefore be excusable; on the contrary, the common feeling of mankind would be, the more he hates, the more he is to blame—**THE GREATER THE INABILITY, THE GREATER THE GUILT.** Just so in the case of impenitent sinners: if they hate their Maker so much that they *cannot* love him, the more inexcusable they are. For their inability they feel condemned even in this world; and at the judgment they will be so far from offering it as an apology for their conduct, that every mouth will be stopped under the deep conviction, that those whose hatred to God and to holiness was so great that no power short of Omnipotence itself could subdue it, deserve if any beings in the universe can deserve, wrath to the very utmost. To use one more topic of illustration; is Satan excusable? and yet who would say that this fallen angel has any more ability to exercise right affections, than he has to burst his chains of darkness, or even to annihilate his being?

Mr. Perkins then, in advancing or rather advocating a theory which is at variance with matter of fact, has utterly failed of accomplishing the object proposed. So it happened with Arminius and Whitby, and so it has always been with those who have left the Bible, and 'taught for doctrines the commands of men.' After all the author's attempts at explanation, and after the strange account which he has given us of a part of the 5th chapter of the epistle to the Romans, (a portion of Scripture which, as it does not relate to inherent depravity, much less, to 'original sin which consists in voluntary acts,' has no immediate connexion with the subject), the character of God and the total, though guilty inability of the sinner remain precisely where they were before. We would now suggest a few thoughts in regard to the practical bearing of the subject.

Did statements like those contained in these discourses end merely in speculation, they might indeed be left to take their

own course; this is however so far from being the case, that their effects are deplorable in the extreme. When men are told in seasons of religious excitement that they can obey God if they will, a part, perhaps the larger part, always suspect the preacher of some mental reservation, or some latent quibble; and the immediate consequence is, that whatever they may think of his piety, their confidence in his candour is, to say the least, greatly diminished. They feel conscious that they do not possess the ability which is ascribed to them. They may in some instances have made an effort to subject the affections to the dictates of the will; but if they have not—which is perhaps with persons of this class more usually the fact,—it is because they have had evidence we might almost say, the very strongest possible, that such an effort would be utterly fruitless. Another class, including the more superficial and careless portion of the congregation, as they receive the impression that the work of conversion is so easy a matter, conclude that it can be performed at any time, and therefore they think it unnecessary to give themselves any particular anxiety in regard to the subject. We once heard a remark that was made by a worldling at the close of a sermon in which the speaker attempted to show how easy it was to come to Christ, that ‘he was better pleased with such preaching than with any he had ever heard before; it rendered every thing so easy and so plain.’ A third class, ignorant of the true nature of the work to be done, and ignorant most of all, of themselves, are given up to the delusion, that because they have *willed* its performance, the effect has certainly followed. Thus they indulge false hopes, and thus our churches are filled with self-conceited, noisy, and unsanctified professors. We wish to speak with due regard to the feelings of Christian brethren, but we cannot refrain from expressing it as our decided opinion, that, such language as that employed by the author of these discourses, however well intended, has done more to produce spurious conversions, and thus to destroy the souls of men, than almost all other causes combined. But would you tell sinners that they can do nothing, and that therefore they must sit still until God is pleased to convert them? We answer; it does not follow because some may embrace one error, that we should therefore teach another. Our object would be, setting aside human inventions, to pursue in regard to this whole subject the course prescribed in the word of God. So far from encouraging the impenitent to remain as they are, we would exhort them by all that is binding in the commands of their Maker, by all that is moving in the compassion of a dying Saviour, by all that is valuable in an immortal soul—by all these motives we would exhort them to the imme-

diate exercise of repentance of sin and faith in Christ. We would tell them at the same time, what we believe the Bible tells them, not only that they have, of themselves, no power to perform these duties, but that their inability is, as has been said, **THE VERY ESSENCE OF THEIR GUILT.** We would tell them, that their hearts are so wicked that none but God himself can change them, and that they are therefore cast wholly dependent on his sovereign will. We would add, that whatever hope we might have of success should be grounded not upon any appeals that *we* might make, but upon the efficiency of Him who is 'exalted to GIVE repentance unto Israel and forgiveness of sins.' The truth is, God never sends forth his servants with the expectation that **THEY** can convert their hearers. It is their duty to go, and like Ezekiel, to prophesy over the slain; to cause their 'bones to live,' is the office of the same Spirit that created the world. O! if ministers acted more upon the sentiment, 'Neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase;' if, feeling their own weakness, they would gird themselves, by prayer, and faith, and holy living, in the strength of their Master, how would he honour their instrumentality in the salvation of souls! Then would the gospel become what it was in apostolic days; then would this rebellious world soon bow in holy allegiance to Israel's Redeemer and Israel's King.

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#### ART. IX.—*Lachmann's New Testament.*

**AFTER** the discovery of the art of printing, almost the first efforts of the press were devoted to sacred subjects. The most extended and uniform demand in the Christian Church, was naturally for the Word of God. As the Scriptures existed, at this period, only in manuscript copies, and as these manuscripts, as was unavoidable, were more or less inaccurate, it became a matter of great interest and responsibility to know which MSS. were to be followed, or how the mistakes of one might be corrected from the better readings of the others. When any one reflects on the great difficulty of transcribing accurately a book so large as the New Testament, he must be sensible that, without a constant miracle, every new transcript must be attended with more or less blunders. And as the mistakes of the MS. copied would be included in the transcript in addition to its own, it is easy to see

that, in the course of ages, the departures from the original text must become both numerous and serious. As, however, the number of independent transcriptions in all parts of the church, would not be marred by the same errors, it is clear that, by an extensive comparison of different copies, a much nearer approach to the true text might be attained, than by following exclusively any one copy. And it must be further apparent, that just in proportion to the number of these independent transcripts, no matter how great their individual errors, is the chance of the true original reading being preserved, and the opportunity of clearly identifying it. Accordingly, the text of the New Testament is much more certainly fixed than that of the great majority of the Greek and Latin classics, as the number of MSS. still extant of the former, is much greater than of those of the latter. And precisely those portions of the Scriptures, which were the least frequently transcribed, are those about the true reading of which there is the greatest doubt. Thus, for example, the Apocalypse exists now in fewer MS. copies, than any other portion of the New Testament, and it is of all others the most incorrect and doubtful. So far, therefore, from being alarmed for the certainty of the Scriptures, when informed that the number of various readings, or discrepancies between the copies, amount to upwards of a hundred thousand, we may be sure that as this great number implies the great extent of the independent sources of information as to the true text, the opportunity of ascertaining that text is proportionably increased. When we find the best MSS. of the western, eastern and southern sections of the church—the ancient versions of these several divisions—and the ancient fathers all conspiring to represent a passage in the same words, there can be no doubt as to its correctness, no matter how variously it may be presented in later or inferior copies. That it is, however, a work of great labour, great difficulty, and great responsibility, to ascertain and weigh all the evidence for and against any particular reading, and to decide finally what must be received as the true Word of God, is sufficiently evident from what has been said. There are few subjects, therefore, of greater interest, although few are so little regarded, as the history of the labours of critics and editors in fixing the text of the New Testament. No man knows on what ground he stands, until he knows on what evidence the reading which he finds in his Greek Testament, is regarded as part of the genuine Scriptures. It becomes every student therefore to look at this subject; to ascertain how the various editors have proceeded in the formation of the text which they exhibit; what materials they used, on what critical principles, and with what accuracy, skill and integrity, they employed

them. These are matters of grave import, when the Word of God is concerned.

The first, and on some accounts, one of the most important editions of the New Testament, was that contained in the Complutensian Polyglott, published under the auspices of Cardinal Ximenes. It was commenced in 1502, and finished 1514—but not actually published until 1522. Unfortunately, with regard both to the materials employed for this edition, and the manner in which they were used, there is much uncertainty, and of course much diversity of opinion. As to the first point, we have nothing but the assertion of the editors, and the internal character of the text from which to form an opinion. The editors assert that their MSS. were *vetustissima simul et emenditissima*, but as they have been since destroyed, this point cannot be ascertained from actual inspection. From the fact that the Complutensian text agrees generally with the modern MSS. and rarely has readings characteristic of the more ancient ones, many critics disregard the assertion of the editors, and maintain that the text is founded exclusively on MSS. of recent date. There is the same doubt as to the skill and fidelity of the editors. From the fact of their being Catholics, and from the manner in which they speak of the Latin Vulgate, Wetstein accuses them of having formed their text rather on the authority of that version, than of the Greek MSS. Of this charge, however, Bishop Marsh, who on other grounds depreciates this edition, acquits them. And, on inspection, the Complutensian text is found to differ too frequently from the Latin Vulgate, to justify the assertion of its editors being unduly influenced by its authority. As this edition is one of the principal grounds on which rest the claims of some important passages in the New Testament to be considered genuine, it is one of great interest. Mill expresses his regret, that subsequent editors did not content themselves with marking their corrections in the margin, and adopting this text as their standard, as he thinks no other, on the whole, so good. And Wetstein, its great impugner, pays it the silent, though effective tribute, of scarcely ever approving a reading which has not the testimony of the Complutensian text in its favour.\*

The edition of Erasmus, though not completed until after that of the Cardinal Ximenes, was published before it, owing to the delay which waiting for the Pope's permission occasioned in the publication of the latter. The qualifications of Erasmus, as a

\* As the Complutensian Polyglott is very scarce and costly, some of our readers may be glad to know that the Greek Text of that edition, with the Latin Vulgate of the edition of Clement VIII., has been published separately in 2 vols. 8vo.



critical editor, were of the highest order; but his materials were very scanty, and his attention was so much distracted, that it was impossible for him to do justice to the importance of the work. He was engaged by a bookseller at Basle, and was obliged to furnish a sheet for the press daily—while he had on hand several other literary enterprises, any one of which was sufficient to occupy his whole time. He had five MSS. those numbered 1, 2, 3, 61 and 69, in Wetstein's catalogue. Three of these made one complete copy—the fourth contained the whole of the New Testament except the book of Revelation. Besides these MSS. he used the works of Theophylact, containing the text of the New Testament, and the commentary of that father, and the Latin Vulgate. Such were the materials which Erasmus possessed for his first edition, published in 1515. His second was published in 1519—differing in upwards of four hundred places from the former. In 1522 he published his third edition, in which, for the first time, he inserted the controverted passage, 1 John, v, 7. The fourth appeared in 1527, and the fifth in 1535, both still farther corrected and improved by a comparison with the Complutensian, published 1522.

During the interval between the publication of the first and fifth editions of Erasmus, several others were printed; but these were in general merely reprints of one or other of those of Erasmus. That of Colinæus, 1534, was indeed of a different character, but it had little influence on the formation of the received text. The next editions therefore of importance, in the history of that text, were those of Robert Stephens. Of these there were four; the most important was the third, 1550, in folio; one of the most elegant specimens of typography which that age produced. The materials employed by Robert Stephens were—1st, the several editions which had preceded his own; and 2d, fifteen MSS. eight of which were from the Royal Library at Paris. Of the age or value of these MSS. little can now be certainly ascertained, as it is doubtful whether they are now extant—Travis and many others maintaining they were lost with the library of Beza—while others suppose that those belonging to the Royal Library were returned, and are now preserved in that collection. Those which critics think they can identify as the same used by Robert Stephens, are comparatively modern. As to the skill and fidelity exercised in the use of these materials, although Griesbach brings many complaints against the editor, there seems to be no ground for suspecting any thing more than what may be readily admitted, viz. that the criticism of the New Testament was not then in the advanced state at which it arrived two or three centuries afterwards.

The apparatus employed by Theodore Beza, was more extensive than that of any of his predecessors. He had not only the materials collected by Robert Stephens, but also the results of a more extensive collation of MSS. made by Henry Stephens, and on the Gospels, the Codex Bezae, the oldest MS. extant, and on the Epistles, the Codex Claromontanus, with the Syriac version. As to the use which he made of these materials, there is a difference of opinion. Mill says he employed them rather for the purpose of interpretation than to fix the text; and Wetstein, with his characteristic bitterness, accuses him of negligence, levity, and fraud. His main ground of complaint, however, seems to have been that he wrote in favour of the punishment of heretics. Beza's piety, learning, and sense of responsibility to God, are pledges that there was no ground for this charge of unfaithfulness. The result of his labours was the formation of a text which differed in sixty places from that of Robert Stephens. One hundred and fifty other readings he indicates in his notes as preferable to those which he retained in the text; and nearly six hundred others as of equal authority. This work was completed in 1598.

The next edition was the *Textus Receptus*. The Elzevirs, learned and successful printers of Holland, were the publishers of this edition, but its editors are unknown. Their object was merely to form a text by a comparison of the previous editions. Hence it bears the title, "*Novum Testamentum ex Regiis aliisque optimis Editionibus cum cura expressum.*" It was not therefore, on account of any peculiar confidence reposed in its editors, nor on account of the value of the critical materials employed in its formation, that this text attained to such general acceptance and authority; but simply because of its beauty and typographical accuracy. By innumerable reprints it was widely disseminated, and came into common use; and thus obtained an ascendancy which it has never lost. This edition was printed in 1624. On examination, it is found that the unknown editors followed principally the third edition of Robert Stephens and that of Beza. It differs, in fact, only in twelve places from the former. This edition of Robert Stephens, into which the received text resolves itself, rests on the Complutensian as its basis, on the fifth of Erasmus, which it very frequently follows, and the editor's sixteen MSS.

It appears from this brief statement, that it would be little less than miraculous, if an edition resting on the authority of comparatively few MSS. of whose age or value no certainty can now be attained, should in every point be found correct. There was cause, therefore, for the extended and laborious efforts of subsequent editors, that by the comparison and just appreciation of

the hundreds of MSS. of the New Testament still extant, of the various ancient versions, and the quotations of the ancient writers, the sacred text might be more firmly settled, and more nearly assimilated to that of the sacred penman. The three most important critical editions, subsequent to the formation of the received text, are those of Mill, Wetstein, and Griesbach. There is nothing peculiar in the critical principles of either of the two former. Their effort seems to have been, merely to examine more extensively all the various sources of knowledge of the ancient text, and to form a more critical estimate of their relative value. With regard to Griesbach, however, the case was different. He first undertook to construct a text, not on the testimony of MSS., fathers, and versions, considered as separate and independent witnesses; but having arranged these witnesses into distinct classes and families, on the testimony of these classes, as such. Having divided all the MSS. into the Western, Alexandrian, and Byzantine classes, should any two of these concur, (no matter how few the separate MSS. included under each,) in favour of a particular reading, he would adopt it as genuine. Hence to two or three MSS. belonging to one class, was often assigned the same weight as to a hundred belonging to another. The principle on which this classification is founded is evidently just and natural, because it is plain, if one particular MS. had been transcribed a hundred times, each transcript could not be entitled to a separate voice in deciding on the genuine text. We might as well take the testimony of every copy of a printed edition. But as in this latter case, the Complutensian, the Erasmusian, the Stephanian editions, can alone be considered independent witnesses, and not the several copies of each, so, if it were possible to divide and arrange the MS. authorities into really distinct classes, a great point would be gained. But here is the difficulty, and it seems nearly insurmountable. Griesbach admits he did not know whether to make three classes, or five, or seven. Michaelis is for making four; other critics two. Should this difficulty be gotten over, then comes another equally great, viz. to decide to which class each particular MS. belongs. Griesbach says: "In some cases, a MS. follows one class in the Gospels, and another in the Epistles; and in others, the readings are so mixed up, it is impossible to tell to which the reading is to be referred." Whatever may be the theoretical correctness of this system, it is plain that it has not been so carried out as to afford a safe basis for the formation of the text of the sacred volume. Griesbach's edition on this, and other accounts, has lost all authority even among the German critics. The recent edition of Scholze, though the result of long and laborious preparation, is con-

sidered in a great measure a failure. The only work which is regarded as making a real advance since the time of Griesbach, is that of Lachmann, which, we are informed, has won almost all suffrages, and is becoming an authority. As his edition is not attended by any Prolegomena, he refers his readers for an account of his critical principles, to an article published by himself in the "*Studien und Kritiken*," for 1830. From this source we propose to give a brief statement of his plan, that our readers may know what to expect in this new attempt to fix the sacred text.

1. The first position assumed by Lachmann is that his object should not be merely to correct the text of Griesbach. Without evincing any disposition to question the merits of that distinguished critic, he felt from the beginning that he was not to be regarded as a leader. The principal ground of objection to his system is that he assumed the received text as the basis of his edition; feeling called upon only to justify himself when he altered that text without reflecting that he was as much responsible for what he allowed to remain, as for what he changed. Instead of inquiring, in the first instance, what readings were to be regarded as resting on historical evidence, he, and all the critics of that period, with the solitary exception of Bentley, assumed that all they met with were of this character, and began at once on internal grounds, to decide upon their respective claims. Griesbach, indeed, paid great attention to the sources of these readings, and in this respect greatly excelled the majority of contemporary philologists, but still he was led only to investigate what, from internal evidence, or his critical rules, he thought himself able to decide upon; other matters he generally passed over. But to a critic it matters nothing whether a reading be important or not.

Lachmann, therefore, thought it best at once to reject the text which for three hundred years the church has generally received, in favour of that which is at least fourteen hundred old; and to assume the responsibility of what he allows to remain unchanged as well as what he alters. In answer to the obvious question, Why aim at re-establishing the text of the fourth century, and not that of the apostolic age itself? he says, his principles would of course lead him to endeavour to ascertain the apostolic text, but of this he despairs. That text can only be made out by availing ourselves at times of internal evidence, where external fails; and especially by a careful observance of the peculiar *usus loquendi* of the several sacred writers. This means, though acknowledged to be excellent, he thinks ought only to be applied after we have a text formed on the exclusive basis of historical tradition or external evidence. To form such text is the object of his labours.

This is a mere historical problem, and one which may be finally solved and settled; whereas the formation of a text on critical principles which appeal to other than historical evidence, is an endless work; because the means constantly increase as our knowledge increases. That there is nothing either popish or merely mechanical in this historical method of proceeding, he thinks is evident enough, from its being the method adopted by Richard Bentley, whom he pronounces the greatest critic of modern times. A more plausible objection is, that this method must lead at times to the adoption of readings less intelligible than others, and even certainly false—contrary to what we have been long accustomed to, and offensive perhaps to pious persons. All these things are of little concern to him, as his office and object are not to form a text which can offend no one, but to state what was the reading at a given time.

2. The second point is presented by the question, How is the oldest text to be ascertained? It is clear that some limit must be fixed, when we speak of the oldest text. It is, however, not necessary to adopt any reading in a more modern state than that in which it existed in the fourth century, and as authenticated by the Latin version corrected by Jerome. As far at least as the original text of Jerome can be ascertained, and the Greek can be inferred from the Latin, we may be certain that we have either the readings of good Latin MSS., or that of the Greek copies from which Jerome's corrections were made. It is true, as he admits, that, through the slothfulness of the Vatican critics, the text of Jerome has not been restored: yet it is not lost, and if we look at the MSS. written before the tenth century, we shall find them much more coincident with the ancient Greek MSS. than with those modern ones on which the received text is founded. This, as he remarks, was also Bentley's plan, who wished to form his text mainly on the agreement of the ancient MSS. with the Vulgate. It would seem to be an obvious objection to this feature of Lachmann's plan, that there is quite as much difficulty in restoring the true text of the Vulgate, as that of the Greek, and that before the Vulgate can be made a basis on which to rest the formation of the Greek text, this restoration should be effected. He states in a note that he proposes publishing a critical edition of the Vulgate with various readings &c., as an essay towards this restoration. Considering the great and universally acknowledged importance of the Latin version, as a critical authority, he expresses great surprise that the recent catholic editor of the New Testament, Dr. Scholz, did not form his text mainly on the Vulgate, by which he would, at once, have approached nearer to the reading approved by his own church, and to the ancient text, than

by his mere correction of Griesbach. But he adopted the strange idea that the oldest MSS. and fathers do not exhibit so old a text as that contained in the more common modern manuscripts.

Lachmann, however, does not propose to rest satisfied with the Vulgate, and he thinks Bentley, had he prosecuted his labours, would have looked beyond it also. Indeed, Jerome himself marks out a free, and more correct course, as is clear from the excellent critical principles which he lays down. His object was to exhibit the Latin *codicum Graecorum emendata conlatione sed veterum*. He rejected readings supported by only a few MSS., relying on the testimony of the versions where the MSS. differed.

There is another principle of importance to be here noticed, viz. that a reading should not only be old, but widely extended. On this account it will not do to rely exclusively on the Vulgate, for Jerome, though he deferred to the authority of the Greek MSS., yet says expressly that he departed as little as possible from the common Latin readings. Instead therefore, of trusting to the testimony of one individual, the editor urges the propriety of endeavouring to ascertain the most widely diffused readings from the coincidence of the Greek MSS., the versions and the ecclesiastical writers.

3. Another critical principle which Lachmann adopts, is the division of the MSS. into two distinct families. The pervading characteristic difference between these families, he is persuaded, could not have escaped the sagacity of Bentley, had he continued his critical labours. He would doubtless, as he supposes, have anticipated Griesbach's results, and prevented his errors. This diversity manifests itself between Irenaeus and Origen, and is the more important, because it is continued; the versions before Jerome agreeing with the western fathers; while with the eastern, we find the most ancient Greek MSS. and a Coptic Greek MS. coinciding. The pointing out clearly of these facts is a great part of the merit of Griesbach. As both of these families necessarily rest upon a common original text, it is only from a great number of readings any one can determine to which any particular witness (MS. or version) is to be referred. And when a reading decidedly western is found in the oldest copies of the eastern or Alexandrian class, it is to be considered thereby as doubly guaranteed. When Origen presents in any passage two readings, one of which is western, it is to be supposed that he has availed himself of a MS. true to the original text, and not of one derived from the west, or corrected from western authorities; since either of these suppositions has little plausibility. Any reading therefore common to both classes is to be considered as widely spread and ancient; and therefore worthy of a place in the text. The authority

of one class is with this editor no greater than the other. All readings which have only a part of either family in their favour he rejects—even though from internal or other grounds he is persuaded they are correct. For his object is not to give the true text, but that which can be historically shown to be the oldest and the most disseminated.

Another statement of the editor, with regard to his plan, is, that his object is to give only the oriental text. He says, he found that within the limits prescribed, he could not exhibit fully the characteristic varieties of both classes of MSS. The western readings are in fact but imperfectly known, and in part they are extant only in a Latin form. He would therefore either have to mix the Latin with the Greek under the text, or to translate the former into the latter. On this account he determines to confine himself to the exhibition of the text of the oriental class. Diversities, therefore, confined to the western class, he passes unnoticed; but when there was a difference among the MSS. of the oriental class themselves, the western class would fix his choice. A word or sentence which was in every part of Christendom, at once read and not read, stands between brackets as uncertain; what every where seems to have been variously read, is given, one reading in the text, the other in the lower margin, and when necessary, with the sign of equality before it.

With regard to those matters which do not depend on the authority of MSS. but on the interpretation of the text, he of course follows his own judgment. To this class belong interpunction, the *iota subscriptum*, the division of words and the accents. As the transcribers generally neglected those differences in orthography which made no difference in the pronunciation of the words, the editor with regard to such points, does not follow his MSS. but the rules of grammar. With respect however to other orthographical diversities, he pursues the opposite course, and writes as he finds written.

4. As the text of this edition is founded exclusively on historical authorities, it becomes peculiarly interesting to know on what sources the editor has mainly relied. He informs us that in respect to the Greek MSS. he has conformed to Bentley's plan, and confined himself to those written in uncial or capital letters, because of these only can the antiquity be confidently relied upon. Of the Oriental class of these MSS., the Alexandrian Codex (A.), of which a fac simile has been printed, is the first and the most available. The Vatican Codex (B) though it has been twice or even more frequently collated, is far less accurately known, and therefore can be but imperfectly used in the formation of the text.

The Codex Ephraemi (C) (one of the rescripti) was twice examined by Wetstein, but not in a satisfactory manner. The fragments of Paul's Epistles in the Codex Coislinianus 202 (H) printed by Montfaucon, are convenient for use, but of little value. The Rescripti of the Gospels among the Wolfenbüttel MSS. (PQ) are much more important. Besides these there are the fragments of the Gospel of John (T) printed by Borgia and a copperplate of the Dublin MS. of Matthew marked Z by Schulz and Scholz in their lists.

It will be observed that these MSS. enable the editor, in the greater part of the New Testament at least, to compare A and B, but not in all parts. In a considerable portion of Matthew, and 2. Corinthians iv. 13, xii. 6, his only oriental authority is B; and from Heb. ix. 14, through the Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse, his only witness is A., except the few places in which the testimony of C is available. Of course, in these portions the diversity of readings prevalent in the east, cannot be exhibited fully. Some help indeed is to be obtained from the quotations of the fathers; but, for reasons which he assigns, Lachmann has confined himself to the testimony of Origen. The careful examination of the genuine works of Athanasius, should, he thinks, be one of the first objects of attention to his successor in his department of critical labour. Aid also, to some extent, he obtained from the version of Jerome, where it differs from the western reading, for then it gives that of the Greek MSS. In some cases, he says, when the vulgate failed him, he has gone counter to a single oriental manuscript, on the authority of the more modern and common copies. As this however, is a departure from his principles and plan, it occurs but seldom.

As regards the western class of authorities, he remarks, that as far as Paul's epistles are concerned, the best witnesses are the Codex Claromontanus (Δ), and the Codex Boernerianus (G).<sup>\*</sup> Matthai's printed edition of the latter, he says, is invaluable. The Latin versions which he considers pure, are for the Gospels, those in the MSS. of Vercelli (a) and Verona (b), to which he adds the Colbertian, by Sebatier, (c). The one at Cambridge (d) is trustworthy as to the Acts of the Apostles. For Paul's Epistles nothing better can be wished than that of Clermont, (f) which Sabatier has completed by the one from St. Germain (ff) and the Boernerian. In the Revelations, Primasius, he says, is of some use, though the translation is free and inaccurate. Of the western fathers, Irenaeus, Cyprian, and Hilary, are particularly

<sup>\*</sup> The Greek MSS. which this editor uses, he makes A. B. C. D. E. Δ G. H. P. Q. T. Z., the Latin a b c d e f f g h.



important. Of the version of Ulfilas, and the Syriac, he makes no use. Of those sources or authorities which are of a mixed character, the only one, besides the vulgate, from which he derived much advantage, is the famous Cambridge MS. (D). Little attention he thinks, is requisite to discover that this is a transcript of a western manuscript, in various ways and from various causes altered and corrupted. When this codex coincides with the pure oriental authorities, and the pure western are silent, or deficient, he considers the coincidence as decisive.

It seems then, that in the epistles of Paul, and in a great measure also, in the gospels, the western authorities are complete. But in the Acts and Revelations we have only one western witness, and even this fails towards the close of the Acts; consequently where the testimony of some father is not of avail, the diversity of the west must be unknown. In the last sections of Acts where the western witnesses fail, and the fathers are silent, the editor finds himself confined to A, and B, often C, and the vulgate.

In this exhibition of the principles and sources of his work, Lachmann has not failed to point out its weaknesses—which at least proves his sincerity and honesty. He does not hesitate to admit, that his edition has incorrect readings, in common with the received text, which might without difficulty be corrected. He even allows that his text has errors where the common text is correct. Cases of this kind he points out himself. His determination to exclude from his present work the western readings, he admits has in certain instances injured his text, but not often; for although the two classes are in a multitude of cases of equal authority, yet the cases are few, that a reading peculiar to the west is the true one; and there is even a preference due, when internal evidence is taken into view, to the eastern authorities, on the principle of Jerome: *multo purior fontis unda quam rivi*.

He apprehends that his text will give the least satisfaction in those places, where instead of its reading, others, though having but little external authority in their favour, are obviously genuine. But, true to his principle to give only the historically supported, and the widely disseminated, he adopts the erroneous, in preference to the true reading. First, because, he says, very frequently mere external authority has little to do with the evident truth of a reading: and secondly, because at times mere conjecture (which no one would allow to influence the text) outweighs all external evidence.

He thinks there is no doubt, the shorter form of the Lord's prayer in Luke, as it is given by Origen, Jerome, and the Vatican Codex, is the genuine reading, yet he is obliged, from the co-

incidence of A C P, with all the western authorities, to adopt the longer. Thus in Luke. xxiv. 36, he adopts, without even marking as doubtful the words, "*and he said to them, Peace be with you*"—though he believes them spurious. The latter part of Mark, he thinks, on internal grounds, evidently unworthy of a place in the text, and yet as all his authorities, except B, have the passage, it is retained. The passage in Mark, xv. 28, "*and the Scripture was fulfilled, which said, and he was counted with transgressors,*" is without doubt spurious, though here the external authorities are more divided. The west is unanimously in its favour; the east is divided, Eusebius is for, P for, A B C against: of the mixed authorities, D is against, the Vulgate for. According to his principle the passage must be adopted.

This edition viewed then not as an attempt to restore the true text, but to exhibit that which was prevalent in the east, at as early a period as the author's authorities would allow, is one of great interest. Though we have much abridged the account the author gives of his plan, we believe we have omitted none of its essential features.



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REVIEW.

ART. I.—*The Case of the Dissenters, in a Letter addressed to the Lord Chancellor.* Fifth edition, London.

At present, no subject excites a deeper interest in Great Britain, than that of church-reform. The success which attended the late effort to promote a civil reform in the constitution of the empire, has not satisfied the friends of liberty and equal rights, but has rather stimulated and encouraged them, to render their work perfect, by extending the reform to the ecclesiastical establishment of the nation. It is a singular, and we believe, an anomalous fact, in the history of the world, that three different forms of Christianity should be established by law in the same empire; so that he who in England enjoys the privileges of a member of the established church, in Scotland is subjected to all the privations and inconveniences of a Dissenter; and, *vice versa*, the legitimate member of the Scotch establishment is a Dissenter as soon as he crosses the Tweed. But in Canada, Roman Catholics, who are barely tolerated in Great Britain, enjoy the patronage and favour of the Government.

As the bulk of American readers have a very imperfect knowledge of the history and present condition of that large body of British subjects, who conscientiously dissent from some things in the established church of England; and as the merits of the important question which is now agitated in that country, has not, to our knowledge, been exhibited in any publication, on this side the Atlantic, we judge it to be expedient, to lay before our readers, "*THE CASE OF THE DISSENTERS*" entire; or if any thing be omitted, it will be something which can have no bearing on the general argument. The writer of this sensible and decorous pamphlet, is now in this country; and as far as an opportunity has been afforded to become acquainted with him, has conciliated the high regard of the good and intelligent. He is certainly a writer of no mean abilities, and it will be difficult for any one to find a flaw in the arguments by which he ingeniously and strongly sustains the high claims of the Dissenters. The only doubt which can be entertained in this country, is, whether it would be safe to make at once so great a change, as would be the effect of obtaining all that they ask for, and to which, abstractly, they have an undoubted right.

Previously to our laying "the case" before our readers, we propose to furnish them with a rapid sketch of the history, and present condition of the English Dissenters.

It is known to all, that the English Reformers did not proceed so far in throwing off the yoke of Popish ceremonies, as other branches of the Protestant church. And it is also well known to our readers, that a large body of the most pious and conscientious persons in the kingdom, were scrupulous about many things contained in the liturgy and book of common prayer; and that this dissatisfaction continued to increase and spread, until a majority of the nation became ripe for a reform. The persons, who entertained these opinions, were called Puritans, or Nonconformists.

During the bloody reign of Queen Mary, many of the most distinguished leaders of the English Reformation took refuge in Germany, Geneva, and Switzerland. Here they had the opportunity of observing the simplicity and purity of that form of worship and discipline, which had been introduced into the Reformed churches on the continent of Europe, by the celebrated Calvin. But while some of the British theologians became the zealous admirers of the simplicity of the worship of these churches, others were of opinion that by them the principles of the Reformation were pushed too far; and they still adhered with pertinacity, to the liturgy of the English church, as it had been established in the reign of Edward VI. Hence arose an

unhappy dispute among the exiles, which on both sides was conducted with an unbecoming warmth and asperity; and which eventuated in the separation of the parties. The principal seat of this controversy was Frankfort, where a large number of these persecuted men had found a hospitable asylum. Upon the decease of Mary, when Elizabeth ascended the throne, these exiles had the opportunity of returning, and the parties who had contended so furiously when in a foreign country, were not likely to cease from contention when they came home. Accordingly, both aimed at getting their own views received and established by the supreme power of the nation. Elizabeth was altogether inclined to favour those who wished to retain the ceremonies which had been permitted to remain in the time of Edward, her brother; and Parker, who was her prime counsellor in ecclesiastical affairs, was a zealous patron of ceremony and pomp, in the worship of God. No indulgence, therefore, was shown to those who could not be reconciled to Popish dresses, and superstitious ceremonies. Thus, a large number of the most pious and learned of the British Reformers were excluded from the church by the establishment of rules and forms, to which they could not conscientiously conform. These, after a while, began to meet in separate assemblies, and to conduct divine worship agreeably to their own views. At first there seems to have been little controversy about church government; the difference between presbyters and bishops was not considered, even by most of the dignitaries of the English church, as of divine appointment, but was defended as an expedient ecclesiastical arrangement, calculated to preserve peace and promote unity; and in this view the Puritans, for some time, were willing to submit to Episcopal government, if those parts of the liturgy which were objectionable should be removed. But it was not long before the Brownists arose, from whom proceeded the Independents. Their distinguishing tenet was, that every distinct church possessed in itself all the powers of self-government, independently of all other churches; although they did not deny, that sister churches should cultivate friendly intercourse, and might counsel and advise one another.

As soon as the Brownists had, under the guidance of their leader, organized a visible society upon their own plan, they became the objects of persecution in that intolerant age; and entertaining no prospect of enjoying peace and liberty in their native country, the whole congregation manifested the sincerity of their religious principles, by emigrating in a body to Holland. Here, however, unhappy dissensions arose in the congregation of Brown; several of the leading men, and some of the most

learned, separated from their brethren, and formed another church, according to their own plan. But the most extraordinary fact in the history of the Brownists is, that their founder and leader, Robert Brown, forsook them, returned to England, and lived the remainder of his life in the communion of the established church. But the new sect found a much more excellent leader in Mr. Robinson, who formed an Independent congregation at Leyden, and adopting more liberal views than were first entertained by the society, has been commonly considered as the founder of the Independents, as distinguished from the Brownists; but it does not appear that he made any material alteration in the system. Mr. Robinson finding that his congregation was in danger of becoming amalgamated with the natives of the country, by frequent intermarriages, formed the bold enterprise of removing with his people to the wilds of North America. He himself, it is true, never reached this country; for remaining behind to settle some matters of importance, his valuable life was cut short; but the congregation arrived at Plymouth in Massachusetts, in the year 1620, where they formed the germ of the Puritan colonies in America.

It is not to be understood, however, that all the Independents emigrated to Holland. A church was formed in London as early as 1592, in Nicholas-lane, and they increased so rapidly throughout the kingdom, that in the 35th year of Elizabeth, Sir Walter Raleigh said in parliament, "that there are now twenty thousand of these men." They were, however, harassed by unceasing persecutions, and while many of them were cast into prison, a few sealed their testimony with their blood.

Before the rise of the Independents in England, the Puritans, as we have seen, had adopted the ideas of Calvin about church discipline and public worship; but hoping for a change in the established church, they did not immediately form separate congregations. The first church on Presbyterian principles was formed at Wandsworth 1572, by a Mr. Field, minister of the place. Soon, however, churches of this description were multiplied in most parts of England; so that before the close of Elizabeth's reign, the Presbyterians are said to have amounted to a hundred thousand persons. Many of these also, were driven from their native land by the intolerance of government. They followed the Independents across the Atlantic, but settled for the most part in the middle and southern colonies. These emigrants were the founders of the Presbyterian church in the United States, which has now grown to be so large a body, that it embraces more than a hundred Presbyteries. It may be remarked, in this place, that the Presbyterian theory of church

government has never been carried fully into practice in England, although the system now in force in Scotland and America, was composed and perfected by the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and adopted by the parliament. In the earlier stages of their existence, the Presbyterians were so oppressed, and so scattered through the kingdom, that they had not the opportunity of holding regular Synods; and the restoration of Charles II. put an end to the power given them by the parliament, before there was time to establish the system to any considerable extent. It is a remarkable fact, however, that the Westminster Assembly, although the whole of the English members had received ordination from the hands of bishops, and had been educated in the established church, yet with a few exceptions, concurred in the adoption of a Presbyterian system of church government. We will not attempt in this place, to give the character of this venerable assembly; although we may be permitted in passing, to say, that in our opinion, no more venerable and learned an assembly has met, in any country, since the days of the apostles.

Here is the proper place to remark, that during the disorders of the civil wars, while the king and parliament were contending by force of arms for the supremacy, a multitude of sects arose in England, characterized for the most part, by a wild spirit of enthusiasm; but as many of these were ephemeral, and have left no vestige of their existence, except on the page of history, we shall pass them by without further notice. But during this period, two sects arose, which are still conspicuous among the Dissenters of England. The first was the denomination of Baptists; the other the Quakers. There were indeed some Anabaptists in England during the reign of Edward VI. who had fled from Germany on account of the rustic war. These, however, were persecuted with unrelenting rigour; and in the reign of Elizabeth, they were, by proclamation of the government, banished. They then fled to Holland. But the respectable denomination of English Baptists, though holding some tenets in common with the Anabaptists of Germany, ought not to be confounded with them. The first regular Baptist church formed in England, was made by a division of the church of Mr. Jacob, and was constituted under the pastoral care of Mr. John Spilsbury, according to Crosby, their historian. Since that time they have advanced rapidly, and now form a very respectable part of the body of Dissenters.

The Quakers were at first characterized by a wild, fanatical zeal; but they soon settled down into an orderly and well governed society. Their increase at first was rapid; but for the



last half century their numbers in England have rather diminished than increased. It must be remembered, however, that a very large portion of the sect emigrated to Pennsylvania, under the auspices of William Penn; and this cis-atlantic part of the society has flourished exceedingly, and continued a united and harmonious body, until the late division, which has severed the society into nearly two equal parts.

As the restoration of Charles II. was brought about mainly through the influence of the Presbyterians, into whose hands the power of the government had fallen, they fully expected that such a plan of the church would be adopted, as would comprehend them, without a violation of their consciences. But in this expectation they were sadly disappointed, and the unprincipled monarch added to all his other crimes, that of the basest ingratitude towards the men who had exerted themselves most effectively in bringing him back to his throne and kingdom. In a short time after the restoration, such rigid principles of high-churchism, and such intolerant principles towards all who refused a complete conformity, were adopted, that in one day, about two thousand of the most learned, and most pious ministers in England, were ejected from their places; and these men, who had spent their lives in the faithful preaching of the Gospel, were now forbidden even to meet for worship with a few of their neighbours, and were prosecuted often, for having a few friends collected in their own houses in time of family worship. And not only so, but they were prohibited upon the severest penalties, from approaching within five miles of any incorporated town. Never, perhaps, was any persecution more wanton, and characterized by more impiety than this; for while these learned and pious men were driven out to starve, and prohibited from instructing the people, there were no competent teachers to supply their places. Such men, as Baxter, Owen, Manton, Flavel, Henry, and a host of others, of like character, were pursued as if they had been thieves or robbers, dragged to the unrighteous courts as criminals, and subjected to imprisonment and heavy mulcts, while the means of comfortable subsistence were taken away. Their only opportunity of exercising the ministry which they had received, was commonly in the dead hour of the night, or in some retired spot; where, however, they were often interrupted and dispersed by the unceremonious intrusion of constables and bailiffs.

The only relief which the non-conformists obtained, in the reign of James II. was owing to a cause which they could not approve. This monarch being a devoted and avowed Papist, sought to have the laws against Popish recusants relaxed, intend-

ing, as soon as it could be done, to overthrow the Protestant establishment, and to re-establish the supreme dominion of the Pope in England. While prosecuting this object, without a grain of affection for the Dissenters, he found it convenient, for the sake of appearances, to extend indulgence to these sufferers also. It is to their honour, that they preferred to remain in a state of oppression, rather than that the Papists should again be restored to power; and during this critical period of the church, the Dissenters came forward, in conjunction with the divines of the establishment, in opposition to Popery. But this danger was soon over. The revolution of 1688, which drove the family of Stuart from the English throne, and brought in William III., relieved the Dissenters from the most oppressive of their burdens. The act of toleration was passed, by which the severe laws against Dissenters were—not repealed—but suspended, on certain conditions, with which they were required to comply; and by a subscription to the doctrinal articles of the church, they were permitted to exercise their ministry in houses duly licensed. But by the test-act, they were still excluded from all offices, civil and military, and were also excluded from the Universities, in order to be admitted to which, such oaths and subscriptions were required, as no Dissenter could conscientiously submit to. They were also still subjected to the same necessity of paying tithes and church rates, as though they attended the established churches.

Although the Dissenters were still left under many civil disabilities, they were glad to obtain toleration upon any terms which did not commit their consciences. They, therefore, were grateful for the privileges conferred on them by the act of toleration, and did not complain of the injustice which, as British subjects, they still suffered, on account of the deprivation of their rights. Their principal controversial writings, in relation to this subject, were purely in self-defence, intended to show that they had sufficient reasons for dissent from many things required by the established church. But for a long time, they made no effort to obtain an improvement of their condition; but seemed to be well satisfied as long as they should be permitted to enjoy the toleration which had been granted. The prejudices against the Dissenters, which had been virulent while the house of Stuart held the reins of government, were greatly diminished under the house of Hanover. Instead of being considered as the enemies of the government, they now began to be regarded among its firmest friends. In consequence of their improved condition, their numbers and congregations increased rapidly. But from the year 1730 until 1760 a great declension

took place among the Dissenters, as appears from pamphlets published by Gough, Orton, and Dr. Doddridge. The principal cause of this declension is said to have been the introduction and prevalence of Arminian and Arian errors. About this time also, many of the younger preachers of the Dissenters went over to the established church: as many as thirty names are given of ministers who pursued this course. These declensions and errors were principally confined to the Presbyterian branch of the dissenting body; but this cannot be ascribed in any degree to the nature of Presbyterian government. The truth is, that genuine Presbyterianism has not existed among the Dissenters called by that name in England. If the discipline of Presbyterianism had been in force, it would have been a barrier in the way of error; but there, as in this country, a spurious liberality prevailed, and communion was freely held with ministers who rejected some of the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel. It is difficult, however, to assign a satisfactory reason for the remarkable difference between the Independent and Presbyterian congregations, in regard to orthodoxy. It cannot be accounted for by a reference to their ecclesiastical polity; for in this country the very contrary has been the fact; for while Unitarianism has prevailed among the Congregationalists, it has scarcely found an entrance into any branch of the Presbyterian church in America.

But it is time that we should notice some sects of Dissenters, that arose long after those already mentioned: The chief of these is the large and increasing body to which the name of Methodists has been given. The origin and history of this powerful society is so recent, that it will be unnecessary to enter into much detail. Those denominated Calvinistic Methodists do not properly come into the account, as they have never been completely separated from the established church; and as long as Mr. John Wesley lived, the numerous societies under his authority received the sacraments from ordained ministers of the church of England; but since his decease, the Wesleyan Methodists, and those who have separated from them, have effected a complete separation from the establishment, and are now, to all intents and purposes, Dissenters. The separation between the Calvinistic and Arminian Methodists took place, A. D. 1741, when a difference arose between the two great founders of Methodism, respecting certain points of doctrine; but in the year 1750, this breach was in some measure healed; but except Lady Huntington's connexion, the Calvinistic Methodists never formed any thing like a regular sect. Whitefield always set himself in opposition to sectarian measures. They had, however,

many distinct places of worship, which were frequented by numerous audiences, and as far as we know, this is still the fact, in London and some other places.

The Wesleyan Methodists, when their connexion with the church of England was completely dissolved, fell into difficulty in regard to toleration; for their ministers could not conscientiously make the declaration required of Dissenters by the act of toleration; that is, they were not conscientiously scrupulous about those rites and practices to which the Dissenters objected; and some who were inimical to the society, actually began to put in force against them the old laws which had been long obsolete by the operation of the act of toleration. This led the society, now grown large and respectable, to apply to ministers for a special act to protect their members from persecution. This law was carried through parliament by Mr. Percival, when prime minister, and secures for the Methodist society privileges fully as ample as those enjoyed by other Dissenters; and, indeed, by this act all Dissenters are placed, in some respects, in a more favourable situation than by the act of toleration.

The Moravians, or "the Unity of Evangelical Brethren," are also Dissenters, and have several congregations in England, but their number is too small to require any further notice; but in one respect they stand in a relation to the established church which other denominations of Dissenters do not. Their bishops are acknowledged to be apostolical bishops, and consequently their ordinations are not repeated, as is the case when other dissenting ministers join the church of England.

We have not spoken of the Unitarians as a distinct body, because for a long time they were identified with those called Presbyterians; but of late, the latter name seems to have fallen much into desuetude, and the former to be commonly adopted by both Arians and Socinians.

There are also several small sects, such as the Sandemanians, Swedenborgians, &c. whose numbers and influence are too inconsiderable to render it proper to notice them in this brief historical sketch.

We do not find, that after the revolution, when the Dissenters obtained toleration, any effort was made for an improvement of their condition, until the year 1772; at which time a bill was introduced into the House of Commons, the object of which was to release the Dissenters from the obligation of subscribing the doctrinal articles of the church of England, which was required by the act of toleration. This bill, after passing the lower house by a considerable majority, was contemptuously thrown out by the House of Lords, not more than thirty of the peers voting in its

favour; and the next year it met with the same fate; for after passing almost unanimously in the House of Commons, it was again rejected by the Lords. But in the year 1779, the same bill as to its essential provisions, passed through both Houses with very inconsiderable opposition. In the place of subscription to doctrinal articles, this law required dissenting ministers to make a declaration that they were Christians and Protestants, and received the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as the revealed will of God, and as the rule of their doctrine and practice.

As the reasons for making such a change applied only to such dissenting ministers, as had departed from the doctrines of the Reformation, many conscientious, orthodox men judged it to be wrong, to join in the application to parliament for this relief; but the majority were of opinion that all men ought to enjoy liberty of conscience; and others maintained, that any subscription to articles of faith exacted by the Government was unlawful, even if believed to be true. Many pamphlets were published while this subject was under discussion, in which much variety of sentiment appears.

The Dissenters, encouraged by their success in obtaining a release from subscription in 1779, were emboldened in the year 1787, to apply to parliament, for the repeal of the corporation and test acts; but in this they were unsuccessful; a majority appearing against them, even in the House of Commons. Not discouraged, however, they had the proposal again brought forward in 1789, when Mr. Fox advocated their cause in a powerful speech; but Lord North and Mr. Pitt opposed it in every stage. Much greater efforts were now made by the Dissenters than on any former occasion. Pamphlets, almost innumerable, were printed and circulated, and public meetings were held, and resolutions passed; but these proceedings stirred up a spirit of opposition, and a powerful re-action took place; the result was, that the motion was lost. Among the speakers against the repeal of these acts, besides Pitt and Lord North, Burke, and Wilberforce exerted themselves with effect.

The Dissenters were much disappointed and chagrined at the result of this application to parliament; but the spirit of liberty was more increasingly diffused through their congregations, and they would not desist from their efforts to obtain the repeal of oppressive laws; therefore, in 1789, an attempt was made in the house of Lords to obtain the repeal of those statutes which inflict penalties on persons who absent themselves from the service of the church of England, or who speak in derogation of the Book of Common Prayer; but this motion, introduced by Lord Stanhope,

failed of success; for the bishops considered it to be a direct attack on the church, and calculated to open wide a door for irreligion.

Again in 1792, an attempt was made to obtain a repeal of those penal statutes, which still hung over the heads of those who impugned the doctrine of the Trinity. Mr. Fox, ever the friend of religious liberty, again appeared, as the advocate of Dissenters; and again, Mr. Pitt exerted his mighty influence in opposition to the motion; grounding his arguments on the unsuitableness of the time, as the public mind was exceedingly disturbed by the extraordinary political events which were taking place on the continent. The motion of Mr. Fox was lost by a considerable majority. No other effort was made by the Dissenters to better their condition for a number of years, but an attempt was made in parliament, during this period, to have some alterations made in the act of toleration, the effect of which would have been to abridge the privileges of Dissenters; but it did not succeed. The object was to restrict the liberty of preaching the Gospel, and seems to have been intended to prevent Methodists and Dissenters from preaching in the fields and villages.

Within a few years past, however, the Dissenters made a combined and successful effort to obtain relief from the oppression of the odious test-act; the worst feature in which was the profanation of the holy sacrament of the eucharist, by requiring all persons who took office, civil or military, to partake of this holy ordinance, as a prerequisite qualification. Thus, infidel statesmen, and profane and licentious officers in the army, were tempted to bow with hypocritical devotion at the sacred altar of the Most High. It is, indeed, wonderful, that a law so unrighteous, and leading to such profanation of holy things, should have so long stood its ground, while the light of religious liberty was so generally diffused among the people. But to the honour of the British legislature, the act for its repeal now passed both Houses by large majorities.

When men of intelligence and religion came to understand their rights, nothing but the hand of hard necessity will induce them to be contented under their deprivation: and success in the achievement of one victory over the unrighteous principles of oppression, only serves to encourage them to make new efforts for the recovery of such as may be withheld. It might, perhaps, have been expected by the Government, and the friends of the established church, that the Dissenters would have remained quiet and contented, after obtaining an exemption from the operation of penal laws, the repeal of which they had long

sought in vain. But if such expectations were entertained by any part of the community, they have not been realized. Instead of acquiescence under the civil disabilities which still remain, they have come forward with a zeal and firm determination, never equalled at any former period; and have demanded from the Government, not exemption from this and that burden, but a full participation of the privileges and immunities of British subjects. They have put in their claim to an equal freedom of access to the universities, as other citizens. They have also demanded that the right of burial in the parish cemeteries should no longer be withheld, and that their marriages, celebrated by their own clergymen, should be admitted to registration in the same manner as marriages solemnized by clergymen of the church of England. But they have at length ventured boldly to occupy ground never taken by the Dissenters before; and which, until lately, as a body, they were never disposed to take. They now, with reason and justice on their side, but whether with prudence and sound policy remains to be proved, complain "*That they are compelled to contribute towards a church from which they have withdrawn, and from which they derive no benefit.*" And not only have they proceeded thus far, but they now boldly demand, that one denomination of religionists should not by the State be preferred to another. In short, the present aim of the Dissenters is to have the union between church and state dissolved, and religion left free from state interference or control, as in this country. Their object is, in short, that all laws by which a particular religion is patronized and established, be repealed.

In regard to these demands, the existing ministry have lent a favourable ear to some of them; and already the universities are thrown open to Dissenters: but they appear determined to oppose their higher claims. Already the Lord Chancellor, hitherto the fearless advocate of the rights of Dissenters, has protested in the strongest terms against the project of overthrowing the establishment; and unless the Dissenters have actually become a majority of the nation, there is no hope of their success at present. But undoubtedly the struggle will be violent, and the agitation great.

That our readers may be able to form some judgment of the strength of the Dissenters in England, we will now give a summary of the number of their congregations, taken from the last volume of "*Bogue and Bennett's History of the Dissenters;*" to which work we acknowledge our obligations, for much that is contained in this historical sketch.

In England, the number of dissenting congregations is 1583,

and in Wales 419, making a sum total of 2002. Of these 252, in England, are denominated Presbyterians; 799 Independents; 532 Baptists.

In Wales, the Presbyterians are no more than 18; the Independents 225; the Baptists 176.

Besides these, there are upwards of 20 congregations of Scotch Seceders, besides those connected with the established church of Scotland.

The General, or Arminian Baptists, and the Sandemanians, are included in the summary of the Baptist congregations. Of the former, the number is about 100; of the latter probably not more than 20.

The Quakers are not included in the above summary. Their number is calculated to be about 20,000, and is rather diminishing than increasing; but they are in the possession of much wealth and intelligence. The Moravians are not an increasing body in England. Of all sects, they have the least of a proselyting spirit. Their noble aim is the conversion of the heathen, and therefore they take no pains to bring over other denominations of Christians to join their society. The number of their congregations is no more than 16; and most of these are probably small.

Now when we consider that the number of parishes belonging to the established church in England and Wales, is upwards of 10,000, the number of Dissenters, amounting to no more than two or three thousand congregations, bears apparently a small proportion to the whole body of the established church. But there are several things to be here taken into the account. It may be calculated, that most of the Dissenters are people who have some conscientious regard to religion, as they can have no reason for continuing to be Dissenters, except their conscientious attachment to their own principles of religion; whereas multitudes in England, as well as in this country, pay scarcely any attention to religion, and care nothing about it. The Dissenters are mostly from the middle class of society, which is the bone and sinew of the country. The higher classes have never been, as a body, remarkable for religion, and the vast mass which contains the dregs of the people, are, in England especially, utterly irreligious, and seldom or never attend any public worship. So that if you compare the Dissenters with the population which frequents the parish churches, the difference will not be so immense, as it would seem from the comparison of numbers in the foregoing statement. Many of the parish churches are rather nominal than real places of worship. Their income is too small to support a curate; and in many places the Dissenters have



drawn to themselves nearly all the people. In some large districts of London, there are six to one, of those who are in the habit of attending public worship, attached to the chapels of the Dissenters. And taking the immense population of this grand emporium, it is believed, that the Dissenters form a majority of those who pay any regard to religion.

It is deemed best to give "THE CASE OF THE DISSENTERS," which is here published, with very little curtailment; that our readers may fully understand the reasons on which they depend in support of their claims.

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THE CASE OF THE DISSENTERS IN A LETTER ADDRESSED TO  
THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

*My Lord,*—Permit me to hope, that, in addressing this communication to your Lordship, your office will redeem me from the charge of obtrusiveness, and that your liberality will secure, for the brief statement, a candid and just consideration.

It is quite evident to all that the time is come, when the reform so happily effected in our civil institutions, must be carried into our ecclesiastical polity. It is equally evident, that this has happened, without any movement on the part of the Dissenters; for hitherto, with the exception of Scotland, they have been both silent and still. They may have memorialized the ministers on some particular evil; but they have declined to publish even such memorial to the world. At this moment their whole case is neither before the public nor the Government. Many may blame them for not having spoken *earlier*; none can blame them for speaking *now*. It is a crisis they have not made; it is a crisis they must not neglect.

It has indeed been said, that the reform of the church belongs to churchmen only, and that it would be mere impertinence in the Dissenter to interfere. To this objection I readily yield, so far as to admit, that we have nothing to do with any question affecting the church, *except as it affects ourselves*. But such is the relative position of the two interests, that it will be exceedingly difficult, in any one instance, to regard them separately. If indeed the Episcopal church could be considered only as a *religious institution* for the *spiritual welfare* of the people, other denominations could have no more right to interfere with it, than it would have to interfere with them. It might have any number of bishops; it might command any measure of property; it might adopt any methods of advancement and of usefulness; and the Dissenter would have nothing to do with it, ex-

cept to desire for it increasing peace and prosperity. But it is a *national* church; it is established on the fiction of claiming every subject of the State as a member of itself; it asserts its right when it has lost its power to enforce it; it exacts recognition and contribution from those who claim to be independent; it refuses to acknowledge a dissenting ministry, or a dissenting church; and it places the Dissenter uniformly in a state of comparative subjection, and of decided inferiority.

That the Dissenters have patiently endured these evils, while there was no remedy for them, is to their praise; if they should choose to endure them a moment longer, it would be to their disgrace. They are not unmindful of that consideration, which from time to time has enlarged their privileges; and they are especially grateful for the efforts of those noble-minded men who felt for their wrong, though they did not suffer by it, and who gave themselves no rest till the Test and Corporation Acts were expunged from the statute-book of the realm; but still they are not satisfied. No, my Lord, the Dissenters are not satisfied—they *cannot* be satisfied with their present position. They claim the *equality* of citizens. They do not ask to be placed above the churchman; they cannot submit to be placed beneath him. They claim, that no man shall be the worse, either in *purse*, *reputation*, or *privilege*, on the account of his religious opinions. This is what they seek. They will be grateful for any grant that may improve their condition—WITH THIS ALONE CAN THEY BE SATISFIED.

Allow me to refer the attention of your Lordship to some of those particulars, which unite to destroy this equality; and which, on this account, fall properly under the denomination of *grievances*.

I. The first thing which may be named is *the state of the registration*. The Dissenter, on the one hand, has been shut out from the parochial registry, except at the price of conformity; and, on the other hand, his own registry, which was forced upon him, has been discredited and rejected, so as to prevent the confidence of the people. The evil, however, of wanting an authorized evidence of birth is sometimes so great, as to induce many parents to sacrifice their consistency rather than expose their children to it, at some distant time. Great numbers have been tempted to trouble their consciences by declining the sacrament of baptism in their own community, where it is administered as they approve, and by submitting their offspring to it under a form to which they object; while others, who have had too much respect for their pastor and the community with which they were united to alight the institution of their own church, have pre-

sented their children in both communions for baptism ; but with very different objects before them. In their own church they sought for baptism and disregarded the registry ; in the national church they sought for registration, and submitted to baptism only as a form necessary to its attainment. It is proper under any circumstances to condemn such conduct, as a profanation of sacred things to secular purposes ; but it is yet more proper to condemn *the system* under which persons, who have too much conscience to neglect the means of religion, have nevertheless too little to resist the powerful temptations it presents to them.

The truth is, as your Lordship is well aware, that our whole system of registration is bad ; and it is so, in relation to the churchman as well as to the Dissenter. Our registry of baptism, either in church or chapel, is no legal evidence of *birth*, nor can it be ; it is proof of baptism and of nothing more. But, in all serious questions of law, what is wanted is evidence of birth and not of baptism. In the want of this, defective evidence has, at one time, been received, rather than expose the innocent to injury ; but, at other times, that defective evidence has been disallowed, and the party concerned has been left without a remedy.

For the sake then, not of a party, but of the commonwealth, we require to have the registration of the country placed on a simple and uniform basis. It should be a *civil*, and not a religious institution. It should embrace entries of birth, marriage, and death, by uniform methods. The duty should be discharged by a civil functionary in each parish or district ; a copy of the entries made in each parish should be forwarded monthly or quarterly to county courts ; and these again should transfer, at given periods, a copy of their entries to a *central* or *ultimate* court in the metropolis.

II. Another head of grievance by which the Dissenters suffer, is the *present state of the marriage law*. The English Church, in common with all protestant bodies, professes to acknowledge only two sacraments ; but in reality marriage has with her, as fully as with the Roman Church, the form and place of a sacrament. It is adopted with little variation from the mother church ; and it is so open to objection, from its superstitious and indelicate character, that few clergymen commit themselves to the use of the whole service. To this form, however, the Dissenters must submit. Although they have withdrawn from the church ; although the State has sanctioned them in so doing ; although they evince their sincerity by considerable daily sacrifices ; in this instance they must still conform. They must virtually, and for the occasion, profess themselves members of a community from which they have conscientiously separated ; or they must forego

all the sweetest relations of life. This imposition is the more galling, because it falls on the English Dissenter only; and it is still more so, because he was once as free to seek the privilege at the hands of his own pastor, as is the Nonconformist now in Scotland and in Ireland.

I am aware, my Lord, that this subject has been supposed to be encumbered with many difficulties; but I confess I perceive none, except what arise from the jealousy and intermeddling natural to a dominant church. Marriage is either a civil or a religious rite; or it is both. If it is civil, it belongs to the magistrate and not to the clergyman; if it is religious, then it belongs properly to the acknowledged pastor of the party using it: if it is composed of both, then it should be divided between the civil functionary and the pastor. Among the Dissenters it is, I believe, generally regarded as purely a *civil contract*, but demanding, from its importance, *religious observances*. If this is the correct judgment, the arrangement cannot be difficult. The State has to see that the contract is made with sufficient *publicity*, before a *civil officer* and *competent witnesses*, and is subject to an *exact registration*; and it has to refer any *religious exercise* proper to such solemn engagements to the *minister* of the *contracting parties*.

Change on this subject must quickly transpire. It is not to be supposed that the Dissenters can endure, that they shall be driven into an act of conformity which more than any thing desecrates the service, by leaving the will out of the action; or that the best feelings of the heart shall be embittered at a season most prepared of any to elicit all the tender charities of life.\*

III. Another instance of forced conformity, of which Dissenters may properly complain, relates to the *burial of their dead*. It may be thought that this declaration, if suitable to the former case, is too strong to be justified here; since the Dissenter is at liberty to provide his own burial-ground, and to adopt that mode of sepulture which his conscience or affection may dictate. But this liberty will be found mostly to exist only in *name*. Frequently it happens that the Dissenter has no other place of interment than the parochial ground; when he has the choice of place, it is often overruled by the passion he has to bury his dead where his fathers and his father's fathers slumber; but if he yields himself to the call either of affection or of necessity, he must pay the price of conformity. The law of the land gives him an equal interest with others in the church-yard; but the

\* See an excellent Pamphlet on this subject by Joshua Wilson, Esq.

law of the church prevents his enjoying this right either as a citizen or as a Christian; he must become a *churchman*.

Nothing can be more vexatious than the manner in which this frequently operates. It not only withholds an undoubted right; it disturbs and troubles the sympathies of social life at a time when to do them violence amounts to profanation. Some years since, it became my painful duty to commit the remains of a revered parent to the grave. It was many miles from the metropolis; and the only place that presented itself as suitable for the interment was the parochial ground. The pastor of my parent, and other ministers, from the respect and love they bore him, attended on the solemn occasion, but of course no one of them could be allowed to participate in the service. This was committed to cold and official hands; to the only person present who was ignorant of the deceased, and uninterested in the event; and on that account to the very last person who would have been chosen by the mourning relatives to officiate. Is it hoped by such forced compliances to renovate a sinking cause? For myself I felt that it required no small share of charity, not to resent the provisions of a *system* which carried its sectarian distinctions to the very grave; and which, in this case, sought to degrade equally, the Christian pastor by restraining him from the duties for which he was best qualified, and the parish priest by obliging him to officiate where his presence could only be regarded as an unwelcome intrusion.

The Dissenters of Ireland, who are not disposed to submit so quietly to the yoke as are the Dissenters of England, have resisted this interference with their most sacred affections. Their efforts were effectual: in this particular they are free; and no evil has been found to result to any party from the change. As precedent is thought to remove one half the difficulty from a subject, it is hoped that this matter, small in itself, but considerable in its influences, may be readily adjusted.

IV. Another serious cause of complaint to the Dissenters, is *their exclusion from the Universities*. Undoubtedly the restrictions which exist, when first imposed, were meant to act on the Dissenters, like those of Pharaoh on the Israelites; but, like his, they have wrought to a different issue. Shut out from the existing repositories of learning, they have provided, and are still providing, others for themselves. The practical good, therefore, of throwing open the Universities might be less to them now, than at any former time; still they are keenly sensible of the wrong *meant* to be inflicted; and it is the more keenly felt, because it affects the noblest aspirations and pursuits of our intellectual nature. Indeed, as the case now stands, if the Dissenter

is dishonoured, the church and the country are disgraced, in the sight of the civilized world. Is it to be endured, my Lord, at this time of day, that an Englishman, before he is permitted to study law, or medicine, or chemistry, or geometry, or Greek, must not only acknowledge himself a Christian, but a churchman? Is it to be endured, that the great seats of learning in foreign lands, should invite him to privileges which are jealously denied to him at home, and which are deemed the birthright of every scholar?

It has been repeatedly suggested that the complicated nature of the property involved in the university foundations, would make it impossible to throw them open. But, as your Lordship well knows, there is no *impossibility* in the case; there are no difficulties except such as may easily be overruled by Parliament; and all the pretences of the clergy against the admission of the Nonconformist, would operate just as effectually in the lips of the Catholic, to the exclusion of the Protestant.

Happily your Lordship's opinions on this subject are known to be both just and firm; and the country is hoping, that your elevation to power may qualify your Lordship to apply them, so as to renovate our great national institutions. Already our universities and public schools are, considering their advantages, greatly lower in the scale of advancement, than they ought to be; and if they are left under the present system, they will soon cease to be numbered amongst living things. If you would save them, my Lord, throw them open to the light and air; to the free circulation of opinion and the disencumbered pursuit of truth. Science, like light, dies in confinement, grows and brightens by radiation; make it their duty to *teach all*, and they will soon be taught *above all*.

V. The Dissenters have especially to complain, *that they are compelled to contribute towards a church from which they have withdrawn, and from which they derive no benefit.* This reference to the subject of compulsory payments is purposely limited to its effect on the Nonconformist, since there will be occasion afterwards to treat of it as a general principle. As a mere money question, there can be no doubt, that, if the churchman wishes to uphold his church, and if he fears his own generosity is not to be trusted in the matter, he is at liberty to invite the State to tax him for that purpose; but for the State to compel the Dissenter to contribute, either by tithe or church-rate, to the same object, while he is left to bear the burdens of his own church alone, is an outrage on righteous government and manly feeling. It is taking away his property without an equivalent, which is robbery; it is applying it to uphold a system

which his conscience condemns, which is sacrilege. In the case of Canada, when Romanism was made the state religion, the Episcopalian and Presbyterian protested against being taxed for its support as an intolerable abomination, and they were exonerated. Unhappily, the act of compelling the seceder at home to support Episcopacy and Presbyterianism, has not struck them as so flagrant an evil; but it is equally abominable and unjust; and, like every evil deed, it is bringing after it the sad and sure hour of retribution.

The less need be said of this monstrosity, since the public mind is evidently awake to it. The whole nation now resents it as an offence against common equity; and the more generous and religious portions of the establishments demand that their religion should be upheld by their own constituents. Parliament must deal with the subject fairly and firmly; and, if it shall still *assume* the right of taxing the Dissenter, it is impossible that it should alienate his contributions from his own to a foreign community. Now that attention is strongly directed to the subject, the only wonder is, that the State has tolerated so great an abuse; that the Dissenters have borne such a burden so long; that the clergyman has so readily lived on bread withdrawn from the seceder's table; and that the churchman has reconciled the manly and independent parts of his nature to meet and worship complacently in temples which other hands have reluctantly reared and garnished for his use!

VI. The final grievance with which I shall trouble the attention of your Lordship, is *that of the State preferring one denomination of religionists before others.*

I am perfectly aware that this reference commits me to the subject of national establishments generally: and I am also aware that one cannot, at the present time, give free and calm utterance to dissenting principles on this subject without, on the one hand, being assailed by every expression which scandal and prejudice can invent; and, on the other hand, of finding oneself associated with persons of infidel and extreme opinions. But the Dissenters are not to be drawn from a *right course* by accidental disadvantages. In the question of reform, it was our lot to be united with such as painfully differed from us; they sought perhaps for revolution, we sought for reformation; and we obtained our object and prevented theirs. So in the church question it may happen, that some who move with us, may desire its overthrow, while we seek its renovation; and we shall not be less earnest in our labours from the conviction that its renovation, on Christian principles, will prevent its destruction. At least such a temper is what the occasion requires. Those only

are fit to deal with the jarring state of ecclesiastical affairs in this great country, who can rise above momentary clamour, and look steadily forth on the serene elements, when their differences shall have been adjusted, and they shall have found their equilibrium.

It has been frequently asked, What is meant by a national establishment? and, as there has been manifest difference of opinion, it may be well to dispose at once of this question. An establishment, as it exists in Britain, is the selection of one denomination of Christians from amongst many, to participate in the favour of the State. As an expression of this favour, it is taken into close alliance with the State; it is supported by the property of the State; it has not only a virtual, but a positive and personal representation in the parliament of the State; its discipline is enforced by the power of the State; and it is indulged by the State, with manifold and exclusive privileges. Now it is evident, that such a civil establishment of *religion* is not to be confounded with *religion itself*. It is not a *part* of religion; it is not *co-extensive* with the subjects of true religion, or the members of the true church. If these favours of the State were transferred to the seceders, it would not make them more a church than they are; and were they withdrawn from the Episcopalians, it could not make them less so. The episcopal church would still have her bishops, her priests, her deacons, her temples, her congregations, her formularies, and her private endowments. She would only be left, as the dissenting communities now are, to be guided by her own counsels, and to be sustained by her own resources. Whether a body of Christians, then, is the better or the worse for such a *civil* establishment, is fairly open to opinion and discussion. The churchman, while the distinction is 'his, may think it beneficial, but he libels his church when he makes it essential to her life and prosperity; and the Dissenter may think it injurious; and in that judgment, while conscientiously opposing all civil establishments of religion, he may be truly seeking to promote the interests of the church at large, and of the episcopal portion of it in particular.

The arguments in support of national establishments have usually been based either on the principle of *right*, or on that of *expediency*; and since the time of Paley, the latter principle has been chiefly, if not wholly, relied on by the *discreet* advocate. This is certainly a happy circumstance. The proper test of the principle of expediency is to be found in *experiment*, and not in subtle discussion; and no man can now say, that the experiment is yet to be tried. No, my Lord, the experiment has been fully tried; it has brought us to the present crisis; all the results



are before us. If any might have thought it rashness to have formed a decision at an earlier period; all must agree, that it would be mere pusillanimity now, not to arrive at a deliberate judgment. Allow me with confidence to run over the surface of the subject.

1. In the first place, it will be admitted, without any difficulty, that, whatever may be the pretensions of a national establishment, *it must work injuriously to the Dissenter of every description.* This is my title for introducing it into a communication professedly exposing the *grievances* of Dissenters; and this title I am sorry to say is too easily justified. To do so, it is not even necessary that I should refer to those exactions of conformity and contribution already specified; these are *effects* springing from one great cause; the predominant evil is that of **UNIFORM, EXPRESSED, IMPLIED DEGRADATION.**

Partiality has ever been denounced as of the essence of bad government; it is bad in civil affairs, it is intolerable in those of religion. Yet to this evil an establishment exposes us. The professor of the State religion is, on the mere ground of his profession, placed nearer to Majesty; he is one of a privileged fraternity; he is pointed out to the community as the more correct, the safer, and every way the better man; and exaction, in some form or other, is at hand to uphold his pretensions. As he is exalted, the seceder is necessarily degraded. A cloud stands between him and the face of royalty: he does not belong to the king's church, and he is hardly thought to be true to the king's person; and he is treated as though he held a "divided allegiance," and was not to be fully trusted; certainly not to be trusted equally with a conformist. It is impossible to say what he has not suffered from this cause in *estate*, in *reputation*, and in *good fellowship*.

And can any thing exceed this in exasperation? If it were some one definite evil, to be endured at some one time of one's life, for worshipping according to one's conscience, however great, it might be bravely borne; but when it is an evil pursuing one, in its subtle and malignant influence, through every path and every hour of life; when it gives one a *lower place* in the *settled* opinion of one's fellow citizens; when it dishonours us at the exchange, at the college, in the senate, in the pulpit; when it worms itself into the paradise of home and breeds discord or indifference between parent and child, brother and sister; who can bear it? It is the continual dropping that wears the stone. The storm might fall on it—the lightning might strike it—it is unhurt; but this continued vexation chafes and corrodes even a stone!

And it is to be observed, that this evil, the greatest a generous spirit can know, must exist under the *mildest form* of an establishment. Wherever there is such an establishment there must be *toleration*; and toleration, though the boast of the churchman, is the abhorrence of the Dissenter. To tolerate a man in a given action is to *permit* him to do it; and to permit him involves the right to *prevent* him; and when these relate to an act *purely religious*, they are alike odious and execrable. To permit a man, forsooth, to worship God according to his conscience!

Besides, toleration in every form, is *inconsistent* with a national establishment. It is, in fact, a *license to disobedience*. A religious establishment rests on royal authority; but toleration says, in a given instance, this authority may be disregarded. Is not this placing the prerogative in a strange predicament? What should we say of a civil establishment, with an express license for all who desired it, to neglect its provisions? Indeed, my Lord, we are in a perilous condition. We must travel back, *if we can*, from our present position, which is called a *perfect toleration*, to an *imperfect toleration*; and as quickly as may be, we must make our escape from an *imperfect toleration* to an *exclusive* establishment, such as it was in the worst days of the worst Stuarts. The Romanist, after all our self-complacency, is the only *right man* for an establishment; *it* is essentially exclusive, and *he* is essentially exclusive; and, at this moment, Spain is his glorious example. France indeed has lately adopted a new course; instead of establishing one religion, she establishes all. There is but one other method left, as possible to any government, and that is the wiser and "more excellent way"—*it is just to let religion alone!*

2. It would undoubtedly have been some consolation to the Dissenter, if he had found, after all he had suffered on the account of an establishment, that it had, in the same proportion, benefited the church. But he is deprived even of this relief; for, to say the least, it has been as *injurious to the church herself*, as to those who withdraw from her communion. Establishments, where other sects are found, act on an *oppressive* principle; and it is of the nature of oppression, in its mildest form, to injure the oppressor quite as much as the oppressed. If it is the tendency of a national establishment to create irritation, discontent, and resentment on the mind of the separatist; it as certainly leads, on the part of the favoured conformist, to pride, contempt, and intolerance. Sad and abundant proof, that it has worked, *as a system*, most powerfully to such an end, is everywhere to be found. I rejoice to know that there are

most charming exceptions, but we have now, not to treat of the exceptions, but of the rule. The Dissenters *as a body*, have uniformly been treated by the endowed church *as a body*, with scorn, contumely and hate. No epithets, however low, have been too low, by which to degrade their profession, their pastors, and their institutions: whatever exemptions they have obtained from the cruellest exactions and the most unjust persecutions, they have obtained, not at the Christian intercession of the church, but in the face of her frowning and determined resistance: and had the high and true churchman had his way, not a resting-place would have been left to them on British soil.

Besides, the *patronage* and State endowment, which are a part of the establishment, are a source of awful and extensive *corruption* to a religious and spiritual community. They attract to it continually the worldly, the ambitious, the indolent; while the evil is perpetuated and increased, by placing the whole economy above the wholesome influence of public opinion. So great is the evil arising from this system, that it would have reached an extremity long before the present time, had it not have been for the interposition of a *redeeming power*. This power is none other than that of an *independent* and *voluntary* effort, on the part of a number of pious churchmen, to buy up livings as they fell vacant, that they might secure to the people a pious and efficient ministry. It is not saying too much, that the church owes three-fifths of her most laborious and pious clergymen to the action of this counteracting principle; a principle, be it observed, my lord, of *dissenting* character, though here subjected to strange functions. That *system* must indeed work badly, which requires a standing act of simony to preserve it from universal incapacity and dishonour.

But still it is urged, that the church, whether by this or other means, *has done good*. I cheerfully admit it. It has done *great good*; and it has not been, since the Reformation, so well prepared to accomplish good and great things, as it is at this time. I rejoice in this; but I am at liberty to maintain, that it has not done the good it *might have done*. It may indeed be said, that to maintain this assertion, I require to know, not what the church has done, but what it would have done under different circumstances, and that this is not possible. I am sensible the case is greatly one of comparison; but it is so plain and tangible that it demands no great nicety in disposing of it. For instance, when we look to Ireland, there is no difficulty in saying, that *less* could not have been done for the Protestant religion, in the last two centuries, by *any* system or by *no* sys-

tem, than has been done by the endowed and dignified establishment of that unhappy land!

Then, if the matter is to be one of *comparison*; although we cannot compare the church as she *is*, with the church as she *would have been*; we may fairly compare the church as she *is* with the sister communions around her as *they are*. It is only doing her justice to suppose, that if her character is as apostolic and her forms as scriptural as her constituents believe, that she ought, at least, to be *equal* in piety and efficiency to any; and that the privileges with which she is indulged by the State, should be so many advantages for her and against dissent. But what is the fact? Our churches, whether Baptist, Independent, Wesleyan or Methodist, have more purity, more concord, more efficiency by far, than the endowed church. All the mighty movements in the cause of our common religion during the last fifty years, which more than any thing will distinguish the period in future history,—whence have they sprung? Who first carried Sabbath and daily education for the poor, over the face of the land,—the Churchman or Dissenter? Who originated and chiefly sustained the Bible Society,—the Churchman or the Dissenter? Who planned and upheld our earliest and most efficient Missionary Institutions,—the Churchman or the Dissenter? Again, our Tract Societies, our Christian Instruction or Visiting Societies, our Benevolent Societies, our modern Charitable Institutions,—whence are they? There is but one reply to these inquiries, and sorry I am that that reply is decidedly against the State religion. All, whether it be religion, education, or charity; whether devoted labour at home or abroad, have found their origin or their encouragement chiefly with the Dissenter, and not with the Churchman.

It is true, that there are thousands of noble-minded persons in the Episcopal community, who, not able to witness these Christian efforts in our day without participation, have risen superior to the spirit of party, and have united as they could to promote and to imitate them; but for their redeeming services, they have been marked as dishonoured men in their own communion, and they are so to this hour. The church, properly so called, in the very presence of all these wonderful efforts of piety and zeal, has been not merely neutral; it has positively resisted them, so long as there was hope in resistance. When resistance was vain and disgraceful, it has either sought to unite itself to our popular institutions, rather for the ungracious purpose of inoculating them with the virus of party, than for giving freedom and power to their labours; or it has attempted an imitation in its own community—an imitation for the most part of

such success as painfully to remind the beholder of the efforts of Pharaoh's magicians when compared with the inspired performances of Moses and Aaron.

But how is it, my Lord, that this difference, which none can question, should exist? If the church, in the great conflict which is now waging against the powers of darkness, superstition and oppression, is the last in the field and the first weary; if her efforts have been constrained and feeble; and if too often she has thrown her dead weight as a protection to the adversary,—to what are we to ascribe it? To her episcopal form and principles? Were I the veriest round-head that ever breathed, I could not believe so much! No, my Lord, it is *state favour* which is alone guilty of the evil. This has taught her to sleep in silky indolence while others worked; this has diverted her attention from the things that are spiritual and proper to her, to the things that are worldly and improper; this has made her reluctant and unprepared to descend from her altitude, and to unite with the common friends of religion and virtue in hostility to the common foe. Treat Independency or Methodism as you have treated Episcopacy, and it would become the same feeble, worldly thing. Set the church free, my Lord; in behalf of the church, I say, set her free; and I answer for it, she shall run as fair a course, and put forth as strong an arm, and obtain as rich a spoil, as any of the children of the Reformation.

3. There is the more propriety in making this representation to your Lordship, because, what is thus shown to be injurious to the church, is in like manner *injurious to the State itself*.

If there would have been truth in this declaration at any time, it so happens that there is more truth in it now than there could be at any former period. While the government of this country was conducted on a principle of patronage, and that not of the purest kind, it might seem very statesmanlike to secure so large a portion as the church supplied; and while that government steadily inclined to high, monarchical principles, it might be confident, that the worldly influence created by the State in favour of the church, would be used in favour of itself. But this time, in both respects, is gone, and gone for ever. Never again can this country be governed on the principle of patronage; if governed safely and prosperously, it must be on the principle of the *common good*; and to be so governed, there must be an exact sympathy with the common mind. The patronage, therefore, which was useful to the government, under other circumstances, may become a serious evil now: it may stand between the ruling power and the people, and prevent it from

perceiving the general wants, or feeling with the general mind, of the community.

Then our view of the case is still more serious. It is doing no disservice to the church to say, that, as it is now constituted, it is unlike every institution by which it is surrounded. It is essentially *arbitrary* and *despotic* in its form. Even its constituents have no direct influence over it. Its bishops are appointed, without the consent of the clergy; its clergy, without the consent of the people. It has a natural and necessary antipathy to liberal principles and opinions. To be consistent, the Churchman *must* be, in the strictest sense of the term, a tory, as the Dissenter *must* be a whig. This may work no great harm, while the State is ruled by men of high and illiberal principles; but let it pass into other hands, and the church will be found amongst its bitterest foes. It will not avail that government, for the time being, has the power of patronage in its hands; the church will conclude on its safety in any case; and it will prefer to receive it from those it loves, rather than from those it hates. Between such a government and such a church there cannot be any peaceful alliance. The government may promise and prefer; the church may yield and accept; but she cannot be won; she is only waiting for the first occasion, when working with other antagonist powers, she may "trip up its heels" and laugh at its overthrow.

What have we seen during the last three eventful years, my Lord, but evidence in "confirmation strong" of this, and more than this? Of all the enemies the present government has had, is there one that has shown more determined opposition? Has it not uniformly and strenuously opposed every method of reform, of melioration? Has it not chiefly sought, by all this opposition, to get rid of a liberal government? and to accomplish this, has it not, more than once, put in peril the peace of the whole empire?

But why is this? Why should Episcopacy have this power to trouble the State, when no form of dissent has it? It is simply because it is taken into *alliance* with the State. In the changes which must happen to the church, it is this alone that makes them, in the least degree, difficult or dangerous. And, to look beyond ourselves, it is this alliance of the church with the State, which, in half the countries in Europe, is, more than any thing else, obstructing reformation and threatening revolution. Let our government then be wise. Let it deprive the church of its *civil* power; and it will increase in the inverse proportion its *religious* power. This act would have, at once, a double effect; it would convey a great benefit to the

people, and redeem the State from as great an evil. I deprecate, for the sake of a government I admire, an opposite course. They have found things as they are, and so far are not responsible; but let them *confirm* them on their present principle, and then let them prepare to suffer as the first victim. The eagle will then fall; but it will be by an arrow feathered from his own wing.

4. The remaining notice on this subject is the most weighty; *it is the injurious effect of a national establishment on the state of religion generally.* Most of what has been already stated, would naturally lead to this conclusion; but its importance demands some additional remarks.

Observe its influence on *Infidelity*. All the friends of religion are now called to contend, and in no mean warfare, with this demon of unrighteousness; and all who have committed themselves to this contest, are sensible of the prejudice and disadvantage arising to the cause, by the position of the establishment. This is the form of religion which most strikes the attention of the adversary; and some of the noblest champions of revealed truth have fought under the cover of its shield; and signal victory has repeatedly attended their arms. But the unbeliever has concealed his wounds by his raillery, and has half persuaded himself, that he has been beaten only because he fought at *disadvantage*. "Let us meet," he has exclaimed, "on equal terms. You say that your religion is divine; and that it can stand on its own testimony. Why then is it upheld by the State, and defended by the sword? At present you commit yourselves to the absurdity of supporting what you deem to be the word of God, by an act of Parliament; and exact from reluctant hands the sustenance your church would not otherwise command. In opposing us, you are only labouring in your vocation; and struggling to secure your worldly wealth and dignities. Put your pretensions to the proof. Let your religion stand on its own merits; let your principles, like our own, rest only on the convictions and contributions of the sincere disciple, and then see who will have the best of the field." Who does not deeply regret, that such men as Barrow, and Paley, and Skelton, and Butler, who have brought moral evidence, as near as may be, to a demonstration, should have had their argument rejected from the prejudice created by their connexion with an objectionable system?

Look at its influence in producing *delusion* on the spirit of the people. The national establishment rests, as Hooker observes, on the principle of making every member of the State a member of the church. But there are at least two-fifths of the people who have no just sense of religion, and who even profess to

have none, who are nevertheless encouraged on this principle to consider themselves as attached to the church, and as *secure* by such attachment. They are received into it by baptism, and are "made Christians;" they can claim, as Christians, the other privileges of the church, though they may choose to neglect them through life; and, at last, they may expect, as Christians, to enjoy burial by a service which expresses assured and "certain hope of their resurrection to eternal life." It is not for me to know, whether this more religious view of the effect produced by a *national* establishment, has struck the mind of your Lordship; but I do know, that the Dissenters, as the friends of serious religion, are greatly more afflicted by this evil, than by all the personal wrongs under which they suffer. They are constantly brought into contact with persons under this delusion; it is complete; it remains with them to the last. They have lived, and they are dying, without any regard to true religion of any form; but they are recognized by the church; they deem themselves *secure* in that recognition; and they die in peace. No evil is so appalling as this! Were the evils of sectarianism a thousand-fold greater than they are, all the evils of all the sectaries, would bear no comparison with this! In the course of a generation, **THREE MILLIONS** of our people are dying under this delusion—with "a lie in their right hand!" This is really frightful, to a mind at all prepared to appreciate the value of religion and the solemnities of a future world. Blood, "the blood of souls," is on the church that propagates such delusion; and it is on the State, if the State makes itself accessory to such delusion!

5. After these summary statements it may be needless to advance additional evidence on that portion of the argument which relates to the *expediency* of a national establishment; and if the subject be disposed of as a question of expediency, it may be thought unnecessary to make it a question of *right*. Perhaps, however, your Lordship will bear with me while I glance at it under this aspect.

The Dissenters maintain, not that a civil establishment of religion is wrong *because* it is inexpedient, but that, if it were thought to be expedient, it is *still wrong*. They believe, that the government ought not to interfere; and that, in the state of this empire, they cannot consistently interfere with the worship and religious opinions of the people. They believe that the State *ought* not to interfere with the religion and worship of the people. Those who have recently ventured to argue for an establishment on the ground of *right*, have exposed the weakness of the cause more effectually than an adversary could have done. They have quoted Abraham and Melchisedec! They have appealed



to an antiquated dispensation, which they admit to be abrogated; and which was every way peculiar while it lasted! They have argued from the right of a parent to provide religion and worship for his children; as though the cases of a child and an adult were parallel! As though the government of a family, which is necessarily despotic, and which nature has supplied with special checks against abuse, were the proper model for a commonwealth!

As a scriptural argument, the only document for a just appeal is the New Testament; and this, for the most part, has been carefully avoided. There the warmest advocates of a national religion do not pretend to find a precept, or the fragment of a precept, in their favour; while every candid observer must find, that the *whole spirit* of the book is against them. The kingdom of God, or the church, is not of this world; it cometh not—is not promoted—by might or power or observation; Christ is its head, and not a temporal prince; it falls under the denomination of the “things which are God’s,” and not “the things which are Cæsar’s;” and it claims to stand and move independent of all human authority—troubling none except as they trouble it. Its acknowledged disciples were such not by compulsion; not while indifferent; but by a *voluntary* act of the mind; and its resources were found, not in the taxed, but the free contributions of its disciples; and while this was its state, there was no virtue, which it did not exemplify—there was no victory which it did not achieve.

And, what is thus asserted for the economy of the New Testament, is in substance true even of the Jewish dispensation. Peculiar and peremptory as it was, the contributions of the people to the support of religion, were not *compulsory* but *voluntary*. They were bound, then, as we are now, by the command of God, but they were free from civil exaction. Even the Jewish tithe was not enforced by the power of the magistrate. It would have been contrary to the genius of religion so to have enforced it. Religion looks rather to the posture of the mind than to the overt action; while the State looks not to the inclination, but to the action only: and by compelling service to religion while the spirit remains averse, it has gone as far as human power could go in desecrating the things which we all hold to be most sacred.

To turn from this scriptural reference. In the complicated science of government, there certainly is no distinction clearer and broader than that existing between what is *civil* and what is *religious*; and one should suppose that no proposition could be more palpably just than that *what is civil alone, falls within the province of civil government, and that what is religious*

*is, from its very character, necessarily beyond its control.* But it is confounding to find, that a truth which might be deemed self-evident, has not yet become a principle of government; and that, with all the disastrous evidence of an opposite course before them, no statesmen have been found wise enough to shun the evil and pursue the good. A state religion under Pagan governments, brought on the early Christians all their severe persecutions; yet the Christians no sooner obtained power, than they allied their religion with the civil establishment. A state religion brought on Europe all the curses of Popery; yet the Reformers sought to elevate Protestantism in its stead. A state religion in our own land brought Charles to the scaffold, and spread massacre, martyrdom and proscription over the empire; yet the "pilgrim fathers" who fled from it for life to foreign shores, were scarcely weaned from this folly, and left much for their noble offspring to effect. A state religion, at this moment, is threatening us with convulsion at home; and abroad—in China, in India, in Spain, wherever it exists—with the greatest obstacle to missionary labour we know; and still we cling to the luscious error. How hard is it for any man, however enlightened and wise, to deliver himself from the seductions of error, when it seeks to retain its possession of the mind by flattering his pride and enlarging the region of his power!

I am aware that a distinction has been adopted by the modern advocate of establishments, in order to neutralize a portion of the evidence on this subject. It has been said, with some confidence, that the right of the State, though it cannot extend to the support of a false religion, does extend to the support of the *true* religion. This however is a mere sophism. If the right is a prerogative of the State at all, then the State must be sole judge of the manner in which that prerogative is to be used; this is the only way in which it can be employed. To support the opposite of this, is to support an absurdity; it is saying, for instance, that the emperor of China has not the right to establish the religion which he and his people believe to be true; but that he must establish only the Christian religion, because we believe it to be true, while he and his people believe it to be false.

Look at the working of this right in our own empire, where, from its tolerant character, it has had to contend with difficulties unnatural to it. If the king of England has the right to establish only the true religion, then how is it that his majesty has established *several*—Episcopacy, Presbyterianism and Romanism? Again, if it is the prerogative of the king to establish religion, then it is his highest prerogative, and I, as his subject, am under the highest obligations to submit to him in this parti-

cular; but how shall I render an exact and full obedience? His majesty equally sanctions all; but I cannot conscientiously profess all; yet if I chose one, then my obedience to my sovereign is not so ample and full as his prerogative. Suppose, because Episcopacy is his established religion in England, I become an Episcopalian; I pass into Scotland, and I am denounced as a separatist; I cross over to Canada, and am denounced as a heretic, by the very institutions of the sovereign, and when I sought to place myself nearest to his favour. But it is enough, more than enough. Such folly, though it has continued long, cannot, it is evident, continue much longer. "Then," said the immortal Milton ages past, "then both commonwealth and religion will at length, if ever, flourish, when either they who govern discern between civil and religious, or they only who so discern, shall be admitted to govern." That time is now coming.

I have thus, my Lord, submitted, with what brevity and clearness I could command, the case of the Dissenters to your attention. I have shown it to be one of intolerable grievance; as it is unjust to them; as it acts injuriously on every other party; and as it relates exclusively to a subject which rests between God and the conscience, and with which no earthly government has the right or competency to interfere. To a mind like your Lordship's, I am fully persuaded that such a case cannot suffer from the presence of difficulty and objection; but as I desire to make this statement as complete as may be, and as some objections have been pressed into popular circulation with the hope of withdrawing a calm attention from the whole case, it may be proper to refer to them by a slight notice. Slight notice is all they will require.

1. It is said, that the principle of allowing religion to stand independently of the State, and to make its way by its own merits, is the *novel* opinion of unpractised minds, and is not to be trusted. A dignitary of the church, from whose erudition and liberality better things might have been expected, has recently asserted, that it is altogether a new opinion, and that it owes its origin to the French Revolution.\* This, however, is as a declaration untrue, and as an insinuation, ungenerous. There is indeed a connexion in which the opinion may be said to be new. To the churchman, and to the statesman, who have found the church in union with the State, and are contented to have it so; and who have thought dissent from what is established too insignificant in any form for inquiry, it may appear to be a crude novelty. But it is not a *new*, it is a *revived* opinion. True it is,

\* See Dr. Dealtry's Sermon.

it was lost in the dark ages of the world, when every thing else most precious to man was lost; true it is, that the reformers, Luther, Calvin, Knox, and Cranmer, did not avow it—did not appreciate it. But this principle was the principle on which the church lived and flourished during the first three centuries. Afterwards, when religion became wholly a matter of priestcraft and state policy, it lived, where alone in fact it was allowed to live, in the deserts and fastnesses of Europe. At the Reformation it came from its hiding places; and, though it could not prevail at once over the force of custom and prejudice in the majority, it found entertainment in the bosom of a respectable minority. It has flourished and expanded from that time to the present, and it is now the parent of all the thriving and unendowed communities of the land, as it is also of the whole church in America. Is it fair then to denounce such a principle as an untried novelty?—as the child of the French Revolution? Can such assertions do harm to any party except to the party which ventures to make them?

2. It is also maintained against this principle and the equality which the Dissenter claims, that it would necessarily involve an act of *spoliation and confiscation*, which would be unjust in itself and dangerous as an example. This is a subject on which much has been said, and with much vehement and vituperative declamation. It may be disposed of in a few sentences. In the first place, rely only on it, my Lord, that the Dissenter is too just to desire, in seeking justice for himself, to do or to see done an act of injustice to another party.

Then, secondly, it should be distinctly understood, so far as it is thought to be a matter of spoliation, the Dissenters are asking for *no share* of the spoil. Much unworthy insinuation has been directed to this point; but the Dissenters cast it from them as unjust to themselves, as unworthy in the accusers. In most cases, it is not believed when uttered. They feel indeed, that if there is to be endowment, they have as much right to their share as others: but they deny the right altogether. If the government were to propose to place them on the footing of Episcopacy to-morrow, to-morrow they would respectfully decline the offer. They would not receive it, if they could; they cannot receive it, if they would. They were the basest of men, if, after professing to take high and holy ground, and contending against State endowment as an evil, they could consent to participate in that evil. No, my Lord, this is the exultation of the Dissenter, and no man shall destroy this boasting; he seeks for nothing, of all the church possesses, for himself. Whatever shall become of what is called church property, he asks not a fraction, nor will he receive it.

Then, thirdly, as it is an affair between the church and the State, the Dissenter desires to witness nothing that shall be entitled to the name of *confiscation*. We say in this, as in every case, respect private property and private endowment as always sacred; and deal only with that property which is *public*, with which the State has repeatedly dealt; and which is of the nature of State allowance for services rendered to the religion of the State. Even here, we say, in looking firmly to a wiser and more economical arrangement, let the evils incident to a state of transition be as few as possible. Let the new state of things come in, as the life interest in the old system dies away; and where it may be needful to anticipate the slow but effectual working of this principle, and where parties suffer by the deviation, let them be open to fair compensation. Nothing can work well for the Dissenters, or for religion, which works unrighteously to the Churchman.

3. Another objection taken to the views of Dissenters is, that if the principle of State allowance were abandoned, the *principle of voluntary contribution is not adequate to the proposed end*. An accidental weight has been given to this objection, by the zeal with which it has been put forth by one of the best men of the day. That admirable man, though never wrong in intention, is too often so in argument; it will not be difficult to release the subject from the verbiage in which it has been enveloped, and to show that its charm lay in words and in nothing more.

It seems, as far as we can gather up the opinion, that the voluntary principle is not worthy of confidence because it is not so efficacious, so uniform, or so permanent in its operation, as the principle of endowment. Let us look at these points.

It will not work, it is said, so *efficaciously*. This, as a general assertion, is so strange and so directly in the teeth of evidence, that one is disposed to ask, can we and our opponents be agreed on the import of the term? If by not being so efficacious, is meant, that it will not so readily provide some 12, 20, or 30,000*l.* per annum, for the bishop or archbishop; that it will not provide for some 4000 clergy without cure of souls; that it will not supply some 300,000*l.* for sinecure allowances, then undoubtedly it is not so efficacious; but if it is meant that it will not so well provide the means of instruction and worship to the people, then we wonder at the boldness which can commit any man to the declaration. The facts, my Lord, are all on one side. In London and its adjacent boroughs we have 459 places of worship; of these, though London is the strong-hold of churches, 265 are dissenting and only 194 are established places. Dissent has spread over the country about 8000 chapels, besides

school-houses and preaching-rooms; it has provided for the respectable education and sustenance of a ministry, commensurate with this demand; while it has done this, it has been made to contribute its proportion towards the support of an endowed church; and yet it has, as if refreshed by its exertions, greatly surpassed that church in its contributions of service and money to those great efforts of Christian benevolence which are not of a sectarian but of a general character.

But it is urged, that the voluntary principle will not work *uniformly*; that though it should provide for the large towns, it could not carry the means of religion into our *small villages* and agricultural districts. There is something plausible in this argument, and it rests on many conscientious minds as a real difficulty. A simple question or two is sufficient, however, to rectify the judgment. If by preference, any parts of our country were selected as poor and thinly populated, they would be Cornwall and Wales. Who has carried religion over these unpromising districts,—the endowed or the dissenting teacher? One more question: There are in England and Wales 3000 stations at which the curates who serve them have less than 100*l.* a year; these are certainly the smallest and poorest in the country;—could the voluntary principle *do less* for them? is it not certain, if they deserved to hold their stations at all, that it would do *much more* for them?

Then it is said, that whatever is allowed in favour of the voluntary principle, it is not sufficiently *steady* and *permanent* to be relied on. If by its want of permanence is meant, that it will not continue its support irrespective of the State of religion, and of the services and merits of its ministers, then I claim this as a peculiar excellence. It is a faithful indicator of the presence and power of religion; it fails where it is not, and shows the true state of the place; and it lives and flourishes where it is, and in its turn contributes eminently to its expansion and permanence. To do more than this; to supply the outward form and body of religion, except as true religion is near to sustain and animate it, is to do too much; it is to deceive the eye with the appearances of life, when there is no life; and it is to propagate death age after age. The small portion of the dissenting church which is endowed, is rather like a sepulchre than a sanctuary. Germany has an endowed church, where religion is on the surface, but where neology is beneath. France has an endowed church, where religion is professed, but where infidelity is real; and every where it is found to present the most formidable obstacle to the spread of vital religion.

After all, the principle has not had fair trial in our land. It

has been more fully and extensively tried in America; and although attempts have been made to depreciate the state of religion in that land, I am prepared to say advisedly, *that it is better supplied with the means of religion than any other land under heaven.* One of its small and new towns, for instance, as an ordinary sample, contains 6,000 persons; it has five churches; and half the population attends them. New York has 200,000 inhabitants; it has 101 churches; this will give, at an average attendance of 500 each, a fourth of the population as church-going; and that of London by the same estimate would give only one-seventh. It has 15,000 churches raised amongst a population of 12,000,000; and the average attendance cannot be taken at less than one in four, while that of Great Britain cannot be taken at any thing like that amount. And what is remarkable is, that it has achieved this with a population *doubling itself in fourteen years; and instead of appealing to the principle of state endowment, as in an emergency, it has renounced it as inefficient where it did exist.* Thus we have a land, under the greatest disadvantages; without any endowment for the purposes of religious worship; provided with more churches, with a more efficient ministry, and with a better average reward for ministration, than we have in our own country, where every advantage has been possessed for ages, and where some three millions a-year are given to uphold an establishment!

If such facts settle the question, they will not create surprise; for this, after all, is the ordinary mode in which these principles work, the one to evil, the other to good. The principle of endowment makes a place for the man; the voluntary principle makes a man for the place. The one is a premium to indolence; the other is the reward of service. The one is indiscriminate, and falls alike on the evil and the good; the other is a nice discernor of character, and apportions remuneration to worth. The one is deceptive, and leads you to conclude on religion where it does not exist; the other shows you things as they are with unerring certainty. The one is deadly, it not only has no life, its tendency is to destroy life where it is; while the other is vivacious, where it is there is life, to that life it imparts additional vigour; it has an expansive power, which prepares it for emergency, and teaches it to gather confidence from difficulty, and life from exertion. This is true with remarkable uniformity. Endowment withers every thing it touches. Endow a royal academy, my Lord, and genius disappears; and commonplace men are drawn together, who wash each other's hands and repeat each other's praises, while the world leaves them to their monopoly and their insignificance. Endow a hospital, and

charity seeks some other sphere where she may offer voluntary service and spontaneous sympathy; while her place is filled by perfunctory persons who crave the place, not to pity the miserable, but to live in comfort. Endow a church, and religion declines and withers and dies; and formality, worldliness, and ultimately infidelity, take its place; except as this may be prevented by the action of different and *extrinsic* causes.

4. Finally it is objected, that it is an admitted principle of government that the *majority* must legislate for the *minority*, and that as the sectaries *are a minority* they must submit to their situation. If this question were of a *civil* nature, it would be subject to such a rule; but it is *wholly religious*, and the Dissenters deny, firmly deny, that the State has any right to come between a man's conscience and his supreme Judge on any pretence whatever.

But, assuming the right to act on such a principle in religious worship, it may then be inquired, Is this the principle which has settled the religion of Ireland?

Again, if the right is admitted, and if that right is to be exercised in favour of the majority, then the churchman must yield his place to the Dissenter, *for he has the majority*. Take the United Empire, and the majority is overwhelming;\* take Great Britain, and it is very considerable; take only England and Wales, and it is still decided. The Dissenters have the larger congregations; they have the more communicants; their strength is in the middle classes; and the middle classes are proverbially the strength and beauty of the land.

If figures are demanded on this subject they are at hand; and they shall be supplied by the churchman rather than by the Dissenter. The Bishop of London, who is more enlightened on such matters than many, has stated several times in Parliament, that the Dissenters compose one-fourth of the people; and the expectation has been that the mind would pass to the conclusion, that the remaining three-fourths were churchmen. But such a conclusion is inadmissible. It appears by other evidence from the same quarter, that in the returns from one diocese, which may be taken as an average specimen, there were 110,000 persons composing the population; and that out of these only 19,069 were attendants at church, and only 4,134 attended the communion. This gives only about one-seventh as going to church, and about one in thirty-eight as using the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. This would give, then, for the nation at large, scarcely 350,000 persons as in communion with the

\* It is in round numbers as FIFTEEN MILLIONS to SEVEN MILLIONS!



church; and taking the proportion of attendants not at one-seventh but at one-sixth, it would give, in a population of 12,000,000, only 2,000,000; while, by the Bishop of London's low estimate (which we are far from allowing) the proportion of Dissenters is 3,000,000. But suppose it is insisted, that the gross numbers of the people must be made to tell on this question; then, my Lord, I boldly affirm, if it were submitted to the sense of the whole nation, whether the Episcopal church should stand on its merits, or be supported by the present State endowments, that the large majority would determine against a civil establishment of religion. And if this would be the issue when an expenditure of some 5,000,000*l.* annually in the United Kingdom is silently employing its amazing influence in favour of an establishment, what would be the size of the majority, if the nation were left to a disinterested and conscientious opinion?\*\*\*\*

Great men, it is said, are made for great occasions; but great occasions do not always attend them. Never, my Lord, was a government more happy in this particular than that with which you are connected. Already it has had opportunities of service, which ages might fail to supply; and still there are opportunities before it which might be sufficient to distinguish ages. Rightly improved, there are no blessings that the country needs, which, under Providence, they may not bestow. Religion may be freed from her encumbrances, and the State from her embarrassments. Sectarian animosities may be not only subdued but destroyed, and the fellowship of good citizens may be made complete. A fresh and mighty stimulus may be given to the piety, the education, the industry, the commerce of the land; and England's commonwealth may, in advanced age, renew her strength like the eagle; and all coming generations may point to the present passing page of her history as the brightest and the best which even she ever saw!

But it is proper to such patriotic expectations to remember, that the *opportunity* is equalled by the *responsibility*. Wellington's official life was too long for his official reputation; and what he lost has made the nation itself the poorer.

ART. II.—*Tholuck's Interpretation of The Sermon on the Mount.\**

IF an apology is due to any of our readers, for the frequency with which we have drawn their attention to German books, we deem it sufficient to say; first, that we present nothing which is not in our judgment intrinsically valuable; secondly, that while so much unsound and dangerous matter is let loose upon the American public from the same source, it is imperatively demanded that the bane should be followed by an appropriate antidote, produced under the same climate. But surely, no circumlocution is necessary, in introducing to our readers any thing from the pen of Dr. Tholuck. His name is already dear to believers in this country. We have learned long since to regard him as one of the few self-denying and heroic spirits of Germany, who have thrown themselves into the breach, and opposed a dauntless front to the irruptions of a deistical theology; as the friend of the doctrines of grace; as the denouncer of corrupt teachers in high places; and as the laborious, affectionate, indefatigable and eloquent preacher of the Gospel. Several of his productions have already been translated for the *Biblical Repertory*, and other works; and his commentary on the Romans is on the eve of appearing in an English dress.

The latest work of Professor Tholuck is that of which we have given the title in the margin: an Exposition, critical and doctrinal, of the *Sermon on the Mount*, with a discussion of the theological and ethical statements of that incomparable, inspired summary. By the friends of the Gospel in Germany, the Professor is thought here to have surpassed all his former efforts; and we have good reason to suppose, that in the view of the author himself, it is the capital production of his pen.

In undertaking to review a commentary, there is scarcely any medium between a general estimate of the principles of interpretation, and a minute sifting of detailed particulars. The latter would be tedious and repulsive, and we must be content to speak in general terms of this valuable exposition. It is not to be understood that our theology is that of the author, or that we assent to every statement upon which do not animadvert. We are well persuaded of the truth and value of some doctrines

\* Philologisch-theologische Anlegung der Bergpredigt Christnach Matthäus, zugleich ein Beitrag zur Begründung einer rein-biblischen Glaubens- und Sittenlehre, von A. Tholuck, Doctor der Theol. u. s. w. Hamburg, 1833. pp. 544. 8vo.

which he indignantly rejects, and we stand in dread of as many more which he steadfastly maintains. At the same time we find in all his writings a sincere reverence for the holy standard, and the actual possession, in good measure, of those cardinal Gospel truths which distinguish us from Romanists, Pelagians, Arminians and Rationalists. Yet Tholuck is a German, and not an Englishman, or an American. Never, even amidst the aridity of verbal inquiries, does he regard any object in what Bacon expressively calls a *dry light*. He soars and expatiates in the region of speculation, and is not only obscure, but sometimes transcendental. The philosophy of Germany, which we are wont to regard as a baseless vision, he cherishes as the very bulwark of the faith; and sincerely laments that the Christians of England and America are bound down to a shallow and empirical system. In the periodical work of which he is the editor, he has a special article upon this subject, in which he deploras the indifference of Americans to the transcendental philosophy, and predicts that without the latter, our boasted "common-sense" will but engender the most heartless infidelity. Such are not our views; but we do not find that these peculiarities so far taint the work before us, as to render it either useless or injurious.

There has, perhaps, been no period in the history of the church, during which the Sermon on the Mount has not been considered one of the most important products of inspiration. It is, if not the longest, certainly the most pregnant of our Lord's recorded discourses; a divine comment on the law, a divine syllabus of Christian ethics. Yet there have been few distinct commentaries upon this discourse. Among the Fathers, Augustin is the only one who has treated it separately. The exposition by Chrysostom, in his homilies on Matthew, stands next in rank to his celebrated interpretation of the Romans; and Thomas Aquinas is reported to have said, that he would not exchange this work for the city of Paris. To this we may add the comments of Theophylact, Euthymius Zigabenus, and Isidorus Pelusiota. Among the Latins, Hilary has treated the subject in a clear and nervous manner, though not without the characteristics of the school of Origen. The brief notes of Jerome cannot be consulted with much advantage. The two books of Augustin (Tom. iii. ed. Bened.) contain much that is valuable, in the midst of indistinct and hesitating views.

After the period of the Reformation, Erasmus is the first whose exposition of these chapters is deserving of notice. Luther's commentary is rather a collection of homilies than an exposition. Melanethon also wrote brief annotations. After

this epoch the commentators become so numerous that we shall not pursue the enumeration. It will suffice to say a word concerning recent works, published on the continent of Europe. The names Rosenmueller, Paulus, Kuinoel, Henneberg, Fritzsche, Olshausen, and Meyer, are well known. Among these Olshausen is distinguished for originality, acuteness, vigour, and piety. Among Roman Catholics, may be noticed Gratz and Kistemaker. Several treatises concerning this portion of Scripture have been published, by Jehnichen, Oertel, Pott, Rau, Grosse, and Jentzen; but none of these are commentaries.

The question whether the Sermon on the Mount as recorded by Matthew is identical with that contained in the sixth chapter of Luke, is ably discussed and answered in the affirmative. In opposition, also, to those who consider these three chapters a cento of aphorisms, delivered at various times, the author maintains the unity of the discourse; which, somewhat after the manner of Olshausen, he analyses as follows: (1.) The relation of the disciples to the kingdom of God, their destiny and position in the world: v. 1-16. (2.) The relation of the new to the old covenant; with a spiritual interpretation of the law, in opposition to Pharisaical glosses: 17-48. (3.) The sole motive of genuine good works; namely, respect to God, exemplified in the several instances of alms, fasting, and prayer: vi. 1-18. (4.) Cautions against attempting a divided service of God; the divine principle must be paramount: vi. 19-34. (5.) Insulated expositions to self-knowledge, wisdom towards our neighbour: with a maxim in the twelfth verse which comprehends our whole social duties: vii. 1-12. (6.) Exhortation to earnestness in seeking salvation, warning against hypocrisy—admonitions to be doers as well as hearers of these instructions.

It is an interesting inquiry, whether this discourse of our Lord was addressed solely to the little circle of the twelve apostles, or to the whole multitude who waited on his preaching. In the Roman Catholic church the prevalent opinion has been, that the sermon was intended for the apostles alone. The majority of Protestant interpreters however, rationalists as well as supernaturalists have united in the belief that it was pronounced for the benefit of Christian disciples at large. The judgment of Tholuck is, that it was addressed to all disciples and followers of Christ, but that as the church then consisted mainly of the twelve, and involved the others only in various inferior degrees of connexion, it had primary reference to the apostles. For our Lord had a special and complete argument. The reader is referred to the work itself, pages 25—32.

A controversy, equally interesting and momentous, has long existed with regard to the general import of this discourse, and the relation of its contents to the plan of mercy. That it is taken up chiefly with the inculcation of moral duties is undeniable. But the conclusion of Socinians and other Rationalists from this concession, is dangerous and appalling; for they have endeavoured to prove that the whole system of Christianity is to be sought here; that this is the key to the New Testament; that atonement and the work of the Spirit are mere appendages to the fabric; and that Christ here stands forth revealed as a divine witness or teacher, and nothing more. According to the cardinal principle of Kant, here it is that the fairest relic of the genuine Gospel, the *purior typus doctrinae Christianae*, is to be sought. In a word, because the Sermon on the Mount is a compendium of morals, the Gospel is no other than a moral code, and Jesus a moral apostle. In consistency with this, a large school of modern German theologians make bold to dissect away from the pure body of the New Testament what they call the mysticism of John and the Judaism of Paul; leaving us instead of the symmetrical, glowing, animated original, a denuded, heartless, lifeless corpse. Tholuck beautifully and triumphantly confutes their hypothesis by showing that this portion of the New Testament is a harmonious complement of the rest; that if John is mystical, Matthew is mystical no less; that the Rationalist, with these views, is more absurd than the Chubbs, Morgans, and Mandevilles of England; and closes with the unanswerable interrogatory: Why He whom we all acknowledge to have been sent as a Saviour for the whole world, (if he were a mere teacher) acted as a public instructor scarcely three years, and never exercised his office beyond the confines of Palestine?

The scope of the Sermon on the Mount is well stated to be, *a representation of the Christian moral law in its general outlines*. Here again we are encountered by one of the most important disputes which has stirred the mind of the Christian world. Are we to consider Christ as a new legislator? The well known dogma of the Catholics was, that Christ here addresses us first as communicating *consilia evangelica*, and then as an original lawgiver; (v. 20.) and the Council of Trent (Sessio 6. Canon 21.) pronounced this decree: *Si quis dixerit Christum Iesum a Deo hominibus datum esse ut redemptorem, cui fidant, non etiam ut legislatorem, cui obediant, anathema sit*. "The Socinians and Arminians," our author observes—"went still further. While the Catholics said that Christ gave a more profound interpretation of the Old Testament pre-

cepts and subjoined his *consilia evangelica*, the Socinians alleged, that what Christ placed in contrast to the laws of the Old Testament, must be regarded, not as *expository* of the latter, but as *supplementary* and *emendatory*; not merely opposed to *pharisaical misinterpretation*, but to the *Mosaic precepts themselves*; not as *counsels* but as *commands*. And they added, as may be seen in Wolzogen and Vorstius, that the words *ἀπερὶ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις*, are not to be taken ablatively, (as some Catholics and all Protestants did) "it was said *by* them of old time," that is, by the Rabbins; but datively, "it was said *to* them of old time," that is, it was enjoined on the contemporaries of the Moses. It was incumbent on these forerunners of modern Rationalism, who restricted the whole redemption of Christ to his prophetic office, to contend for Christ's dignity as a lawgiver.

"We find similar views of this discourse among the Arminians, particularly in Limborch. The Lutheran and Reformed churches, on the other hand, with the exception of a few such men as Calixtus, Pfaff, and Baumgarten, defended the position that Christ here simply develops more profoundly the law of the Old Testament, in opposing himself, not to Moses, but to the Jewish interpreters, and that he is therefore not to be considered as a new legislator, although he interprets and confirms the existing code, and awakens the heart to repentance," p. 38.

In giving his own answer to this question, Tholuck distinguishes. He maintains that the *germ* of every Gospel precept is undeniably found in the ancient law, but he also sustains the position that Christ's injunctions are contrary to the glosses of the Jewish teachers. So far all is well; but we think it unwarrantable when he says that "particular ethical precepts of the Old Testament stand in direct opposition to the highest requisitions of morality." The reference which he makes is to the case of divorce. He further represents the Sermon on the Mount as a continued exhortation to repentance, and as tending to produce a sense of guilt, misery and spiritual need.

And having now given a brief account of the introductory part, we are perplexed with regard to the method which shall be pursued in our remaining strictures. A critical commentary admits of no analysis. We cannot even detail the results of the author's labours. The only alternative is to speak of his general plan, and to illustrate it by one or two specimens. And here we are warned by a fable, significantly quoted by Tholuck from *Jedu Paul*, who compares a certain class of reviewers to one who when asked to describe a human being, produced some finger-nails and a lock of hair.

For an example, we select the exposition of a passage which has given rise to controversy in every age of the church, namely Matt. v. 33-36. I *say unto you*, swear not *at all*, &c. The reference is here to Lev. xix. 12. and Exod. xx. 7. The addition, "but shall perform unto the Lord thy vows," is not in the Law, though it is contained in Numb. xxx. 3. and Deut. xxiii. 22. Probably it was appended by the Scribes, in order to restrict the precept to promissory oaths. The spirit of our Lord's interpretation is this: "Formerly, such an honouring of God's name was required, that it was forbidden, under a penalty, to swear *falsely* by his name. I require such a veneration, that you must not swear even truly, and not merely not by God's name, but by any other object of reverence, since hereby the fear of God will be indirectly impaired. Instead of such oaths, use simple affirmation."

The form ὁμῶς is not, with Beza and Georgi, to be taken for the imperative, but as the infinitive, dependent on λέγω, which is equivalent to πιστεύω. ὁμῶς is the same with the adverbial phrases, τοῦ θεοῦ, τὰ θεοῦ, τοῖς θεοῖς, and answers to παντὶ, παντὶ, &c. it denotes the entireness as opposed to particular parts. See 1 Cor. v. 1: vi. 7: xv. 29. The question is important, what are the particulars to which the word here stands opposed? Are all occasions of even true oaths here meant? and are we to understand the prohibition—"I command you, in no conceivable case, to swear a true oath"? Were this the meaning, the reference to *forswearing* would lose its force. Or does the adverb refer to all the different *kinds* of oaths, as if Christ said: "I forbid, not only oaths by God, but every kind of oaths, even by creatures"? That is, implicitly, every oath whatever. The true force seems to be, "I forbid, not only *in specie*, false-swearing, but *in genere* all swearing." The extent of the prohibition is not wider than that of James v. 12. Now, though the universality of the rule is admitted, the biblical scholar calls instantly to mind numerous cases of allowed exception to such general laws: see vv. 39, 41, 42. Luke vi. 30. Col. iii. 20. In all these cases we must apply the Canon, that "Christ's moral precepts are to be interpreted according to the analogy of the Spirit."\*

Shall we now explain the precept in its most absolute sense, or may we restrict it? This grave question must be decided on the following grounds: (1) the nature of an oath; (2) the connexion of the passage, and (3) the parallel declarations of the New Testament. As to the first, an oath is the expression of

\* See Bergpred. p. 162.

religious feeling; he only can call on God as a witness who believes in God. The pious man, falsely accused, looks to God, as the witness of his innocency: and what the Christian thus inwardly and lawfully feels, may he not utter? The case of Paul is in point: see Rom. ix. 1. 2 Cor. ii. 17. xi. 10. passages which have not the formality of oaths, but which fully exemplify the manner in which a mental appeal is verbally expressed. In the Old Testament oaths are expressly enjoined. Ex. xx. 10. Deut. vi. 13. x. 20. They are badges of true worshippers. Is. xix. 18. lxxv. 16. Jer. iv. 2. Ps. lxxiii. 12. Nay, God himself swears: Is. xlv. 23. Heb. vi. 13. 16.

As to the *connexion* of the passage, the obvious end of our Lord (says Tholuck) is to secure a higher reverence for God, than was enjoined even in the Old Testament. Now this reverence is not impaired by solemn, but by trivial oaths; hence we gather the scope of the text. As to the *parallel expressions of the New Testament*, there are a multitude which militate with the absolute prohibition. Paul appeals to God as a witness, Rom. i. 9. Phil. i. 8. 1 Thes. ii. 5. 10. 2 Cor. xi. 11. 31. Gal. i. 20. 1 Tim. v. 21. 1 Cor. xv. 31. 2 Cor. i. 23. In the last of these, as G. Vossius long ago remarked, God is invoked as an avenger, which, however, is involved in every oath. Add to this, notwithstanding the objections of De Wette, Pott, and Flatt, the fact that Christ himself made use of the oath. For in reply to the formal adjuration of the High Priest, Matt. xxvi. 63, our Lord answers, *Thou sayest it*; and hereby took the oath in the regular Hebrew form, according to which the judge pronounced the formula, and the witness confirmed it by his *Amen*.\* We are therefore constrained to the opinion, that the words must not be taken in their widest and most absolute meaning, but as restricted by other principles of revelation. The only oath which Christ forbids simpliciter, is *such a one as militates with reverence for God*.

The author next proceeds to examine the enumeration which follows, viz. by heaven, by earth, by Jerusalem, by the head; and compares this with James v. 12. which some have used to prove that Christ here intended to forbid these oaths by creatures exclusively. But the very argument of our Saviour against these, evinces that the oath by the Most High was forbidden; namely, that the former involve the latter; the reasoning is *a minori ad majus*. It must be borne in mind, that the Israelites held these minor oaths as less binding. In Matt. xxiii. 16—18. they are found to have been considered entirely nugatory. The

\* See Maimon. de jurejur. c. 11. § 10. Selden. de Syn. II. 11. p. 530.



Talmud expressly teaches that oaths 'by the heavens,' and 'by the earth,' and 'by the prophets,' are not binding, even should the person in the act of swearing think of God; herein revealing the germ of Jesuitical casuistry. And when we learn from Maimonides, that oaths of this kind were not admitted at the tribunals, but only used in common parlance, we are strongly induced to think that our Lord had special reference to the ordinary intercourse of men.

To appreciate the reason here given by Christ, we must glance at the manner of swearing. All ancient nations swore not only by God, but by creatures, and especially by such as had some sanctity, such as sacred symbols, cities, groves, and fountains; by the most remarkable natural emblems of God, such as the sun, the earth, or the elements; by the most valuable members or possessions, as the head, the beard, the hair, the breast, the sword, or the graves of ancestors. The very grammatical construction of the formula in most languages indicated that in case of falsehood the swearer threw himself beyond the protection of God. To render this the more impressive, the person swearing was wont to lay his hand upon some consecrated object; as the Greeks, Romans, and some early Christians, on the altar; the Greeks and Germans on the judge's mace; the Scandinavians on the bloody ring of their god *Ullr*; the people of the middle age on the relic-box, the missal, the mass-bell, the gospel; the Jews on the Law or the phylacteries; and the Mohammedans on the Koran.\* When an oath was taken by any creature, there was a kind of implied personification. Now our Saviour teaches that whatever is sublime, valuable, or significant in the creature, is derived from the Most High, *quia nulla est pars mundi*, says Calvin, *cui Deus non insculpserit gloriæ, suæ notam*. And as the glory of all things is the glory of God, an oath by the creature is an oath by the Creator, and therefore should never be used in common life. The argument, when fully carried out, is profound, but the Divine Teacher so expresses it, as to command the assent of his humblest hearers. Hebrew poetry had represented heaven as God's throne, and the earth as his footstool;

\* *Stæudlin* has a special treatise on Oaths, Göttingen, 1824. *Malblanc* is still better. See the literature of the subject in *Fabricius*, *biblioth. antiquaria*, p. 427—432. On the oaths of the Greeks and Romans, *Valknaer*, *Opusc.* ed. Lips. T. 1. On the oaths of the Northern nations, *Grimm*, *Rechtaltorthümern* Th. II. Concerning Jewish oaths, see the Tract. *Shebnoth*, with the annotations of *Maimonides* and *Bartenoras*, in *Surenhusius*, P. iv. also *Maimonides*, *Constitutiones de jurejurando*, edited by *Dithmar*, a scholar of *Surenhusius*, *Leyden*, 1706. *Zeltner*, *de jur. vet. Heb.* *Jena*, 1693. *Hattermann* *de formulis juram.* *Jud. Rost.* 1701. *Sebast. Schmid*, *Fasc. disp. disp.* xi. On Mohammedan oaths, *Müllius*, *de Muhammedismo*, *Lugd. Bat.* 1743, p. 113.

Jerusalem was the centre of the Theocracy; and so truly was the head of man the work and possession of Jehovah, that not even the colour of a single hair was subjected to human power.

Tholuck then proceeds, as his manner is, to the history of the various interpretations. Through this we cannot follow him closely, but we may give some specimens of the rich store which he has provided. In the early church, it must be owned, the opinion that every oath was unlawful prevailed widely. One of the oldest authorities is *Justin*, in *Apol. I. c. 16*. About the beginning of the third century, *Basilides* died as a martyr, because he refused to swear.\* *Irenaeus* confirms the same, but with a limitation in the case of weak brethren.† So also *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, and *Cyril* of Alexandria. *Basil* peremptorily forbids the oath; so do *Theodoret*, and above all, *Chrysostom*, *Isidore* of Pelusium, *Theophylact*, and *Euthymius*. In the Latin church *Hilary*, upon this place, and *Jerome*. The passages in which the apostle Paul makes use of an oath, are regarded by these fathers as simple expressions of earnestness; excepting only *Theodoret*, who admits an oath in 2 Cor. xi. 10. *Chrysostom* rests his opinion solely upon the explicit prohibition of the text.‡

It was not until after the fifth century that it was thought heretical to refuse an oath; the practice obtained among various separatists, such as the Cathari, the Albigenses, and the Waldenses. In later times among the reforming sects of Russia, such as the Raskolniks, the Duchoborges, and the Philippones. Within the Catholic church we find *Erasmus* longing for the time when swearing and divorce shall be needless; a wish on which *Beza* animadvert, as an “anabaptist error.” The Reformers were guided into a sound way of thinking on this head. The Anabaptists rejected all oaths, and of the Quakers this was a characteristic. *Barclay*’s language is remarkable: “the question is not, what Paul or Peter did, but what their own Master taught to be done, and if Paul did swear, (which we believe not) he had sinned against the command of Christ.”§

In later times, *Kant* has treated the command of Christ as absolute, and represented oaths as superstitious and absurd; as if (says he) it were left to the witness to choose whether God should punish him in case of falsehood, or not.|| *Pott* and

\* Euseb. hist. vi. 5.

† Iren. adv. haer. ii. 32. Clem. A. Strom. vii. p. 861. Orig. ad Jer. hom. 5. Cyr. de ador. p. 212.

‡ For heathen opinions consult *Tamblichus*, Vit. Pythag. p. 126. See also *Epicæetus*, Enchir. c. 33. 5. *Diog. Laert.* iv. 7.

§ Apology, Prop. 15. § 12.

|| Religion within the bounds of mere reason. 2d A. p. 240.

*Nitsch* coincided in this view of the command. *Staedlin* considers the command as absolute, but regards the oath as allowable in the present state of society. The same interpretation of the text is adopted by *Gutbier*, *Augusti*, *Paulus*, *Henneberg*, *Fleck*, and others, none of whom, however, feel themselves at all bound by the positive precepts of Christ. *Olshausen* and *Stirm* have held the strange opinion (already maintained by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Bucer*, and *Pellican*,) that the prohibition is absolute, but that it is directed to Christians, with reference to the ideal world of "the kingdom of heaven," and is not intended to regulate the intercourse of believers with the world. This is ably opposed by Tholuck, who denies that there is any thing necessarily evil in a solemn oath, or that our Saviour can be considered as the legislator for a non-existent state of things.

On the other hand, we find oaths, as well as military service, strongly defended even in primitive time. *Tertullian* says, the Christians never swear *per genios Caesaris*, but *per salutem Caesaris, quae est augustior omnibus geniis—et pro magno id juramento habemus*. *Novatus* caused his adherents to swear by the body and blood of Christ that they would never leave him. The canons of the oldest Councils do not absolutely forbid swearing, but only swearing by creatures, and perjury. *Athanasius*, though apparently averse to oaths, swears before Constantine. *Rudius Junicus*, *Nestorius*, and others, abjured their errors before Councils. In the fourth century, *Vegetius Renatus* says of Christian soldiers: *jurant per Deum et Christum et Spiritum sanctum et per majestatem imperatoris*. In the fifth century, the oath appears to have been so fully recognised, that *Hilary*, in his eighty-eighth epistle to *Augustin*, names among the errors of *Pelagius*, that he denied the lawfulness of oaths: and *Pelagius* avows the same opinion, in his epistle to Deometriadus, c. 22. The influence of Augustine upon the Catholic church was great in this regard. In his estimation, the prohibition of the text seems absolute, while the expressions of Paul contravene such an exposition. Many indeed (says he) suppose, that the latter are not oaths, because Paul does not say *per Deum*, but *testis est mihi Deus; ridiculum est hoc putare. Tamen propter contentiosos aut multum tardos, ne aliquid interesse quis putet, sciat etiam hoc modo jurasse apostolum; 1 Cor. xv. 31.*: where the very formula commonly used in Grecian oaths is employed.\* And upon Gal. i. 20: *qui dicit ecce coram Deo, jurat utique*.

\* Comp. *Serm.* 161. c. 5. in 1 John i. T. V. ed. Bened. p. 599.

He explains the absolute form of prohibition, by supposing that as frequent swearing gives occasion for perjury, our Lord used this strong and universal expression to cut off this occasion.\* The sinfulness of the oath, he however denies, as in his exposition of 1 John i. Nay, he says, (c. 9.) "So far as concerns my own case, I make use of the oath; but, as it seems to me, compelled by great necessity. When I perceive that I am not believed without an oath, and that he who hears me cannot be profited by what he believes not, then, deeply weighing and pondering the reasons, I say with the utmost reverence, *Coram Deo*, or *Testis est Deus*, or *Scit Christus sic esse in animo*." In these views most Catholics concurred, and subsequently most Protestants, including even the Socinians.

The interpretations of those who admit the lawfulness of civil oaths are then rehearsed. Among them there are some which are very surprising. Most agree that oaths are not absolutely forbidden, but they are less explicit in clearing the passage of its grammatical difficulties. *Erasmus* supposes the ordinary methods of swearing to be proscribed. *Luther* supposes Christians alone to be intended. *Calvin* expounds ὅλως as indicating the kinds of oaths; *neque directe neque indirecte jurare per Deum*. *Flacius* and *Glassius* allow a synecdoche, *totum pro parte*. *Rosenmueller* supplies a disjunction: "*plane non jurare*, nempe in convictu quotidiano, *vel etiam per creaturas*." *Zuinglius* renders the verb by *dejerare* or *adjurare*. *Socinus*, *Grotius*, *Episcopus* and *Wolzogen*, refer the whole to promissory oaths. But our enumeration already threatens to be tedious and must close here.

The learned and laborious author chooses another outlet from the difficulties of the passage; the soundness of his interpretation we shall submit to the determination of the reader. It is as follows: the word ὅλως admits of being rendered "in general," (*im allgemeinen*), or by the still more analogous *im Ganzen*, "on the whole," which signifies not only the totality of all the parts, but also a mere generality. And this is justified by the citation of various Greek phrases, and especially, a passage from Aristotle's Politics, (II. 2. § 4.) Applying this to the case before us, the sense will be, "I say unto you *in general*, (but without determining in every particular case) swear not."

From this specimen, although it does but partial justice to the original extended exposition, the reader will perhaps be led to form the right conclusion respecting the faults and excellencies of Tholuck's manner. That in which most labour is bestowed

\* See Aug. on Ps. 88. De Mendacio. c. 28. Comp. Wisd. 23, 9.

is the history of interpretations, ancient and modern, which is so complete as to furnish almost an index to all that one could desire to consult. In many respects this is highly desirable, yet we confess that where a passage is simple, or even in difficult places, where the different expositions naturally fall into a few classes, this parade of bibliography, or rather "*Litteratur*," is both needless and vexatious.

No one can fail to observe that the author goes to work without undue prepossessions, without systematical attachments, and with a conscientious desire to enucleate the kernel of simple Gospel truth. Sworn to no master, and too bold to be afraid even of violating the analogy of faith, he advances opinions which are strictly his own. And it is but just to say, that his views are generally such as we suppose would commend themselves to the majority of American Christians. The system of morals which he deduces from this heavenly discourse, is pure and lovely, infinitely remote from ascetic punctiliousness, and from the subterfuges of a licentious casuistry; while at times he opens to view a new prospect into fields of philosophical speculation, illustrative of the divine truths under discussion, and so beautiful that we are forced to admire, even when we do not feel convinced. The speculative bias, and glowing temperament of the author are ever and anon betraying themselves, even amidst the fetters and frigidity of verbal criticism. There is a fervency, an animation, a heart, about the whole production; and this ardour is by no means fanatical, or merely sentimental, but pure and well founded; in consequence of which the work is relieved from dulness, and the reader, when he has closed it, is still sensible of the moral savour and fragrance for which we often sigh in the perusal of ethical treatises. There are, it is true, diversions into the upper regions of mystical dimness, in which we must suffer our author to soar alone; yet this is the characteristic of the age and nation, and in a higher degree of the individual, and the smile with which the American student will peruse these passages cannot but be respectful and benevolent.

After all, we are not disposed to concede to Dr. Tholuck the praise of distinguished acumen, or discriminating judgment in its highest degrees. When he has at great length kept us in suspense among these glosses of fathers, schoolmen and Reformers, we are somehow disappointed with his own conclusions. And it is not in the precise development of a sentence that we think he most shines. Others among his countrymen excel him in this; there are many who unfold the dogmatical fruits of exegesis far more satisfactorily: but there are none whose expositions are warmed by a more pervading principle of affectionate

piety, and none who happily touch the heart's chords in a greater number of keys, or with richer modulation. Often he is penetrating, and sometimes eloquent, and from his pen the unrivalled language which he uses comes with impressive melting earnestness.

If we were called upon to select the most valuable part of this volume, we should certainly indicate the exposition of the Lord's Prayer. This is highly laboured, and might be advantageously translated and published in a convenient form. It forms a whole of itself, and is easily separated from the body of the work. An Introductory Essay contains, first, the history of various comments and expositions; secondly, a discussion of the time, place, and intention of this inspired model; thirdly an investigation of its alleged identity with certain Jewish or Persian forms; and lastly, a survey of its scope and contents.

In no part of the work, however, does the peculiar genius of Tholuck manifest itself more strikingly, than in the pages which he has devoted to the subject of *Marriage and Divorce*. (Matthew v. 31, 32.) Upon this theme, he speaks with stern and inflexible rigour concerning the licentiousness of modern laws. He regards marriage as a sacred and indissoluble union. He adds, (p. 240.) that the connexion remains "even beyond the grave; whence the Christian Church every where regarded second marriages as of doubtful propriety, and the Apostle enjoins that, at least, the presiding officer of the churches\* should not enter a second time into wedlock." The physical and psychological reasoning of Tholuck upon this whole subject, are among the most singular and at the same time visionary specimens of German philosophizing which we remember to have ever seen. Our limits forbid our even glancing at these. It is admitted that second marriage is explicitly allowed in 1 Cor. vii. 39; yet, our author gathers from the counsel in verse 40, and the directions elsewhere given,† that the avoidance of repeated wedlock was viewed as a higher excellence. He cites the instances of heathen epitaphs, in which it was recorded in praise of a Roman matron, that she lived *univira, innupta*. Tertullian (as is well known) denounced all second marriages as wicked, and all but adulterous, and in all the observations of Tholuck (who is himself a widower) we perceive a strong leaning towards the same opinion.

There is something quite remarkable in the vicissitudes of opinion in the Church upon this subject of marriage and divorce. Some early writers, especially *Augustin*, explained the passage

\* Der Leiter der Gemeinden.

† 1 Tim. iii. 2. 12. v. 9.

so as to make idolatry and even covetousness a just reason for divorce. *Epiphanius*, *Clement* of Alexandria, *Chrysostom* and others, give even a greater latitude of meaning to our Saviour's exception. The Roman law, even under Christian emperors continued to be very lax on this point. Separations *communi consensu* were prevalent until the time of *Justin*. Restrictions resembling those of ancient Rome were introduced by *Constantine*; according to which the occasions of legitimate divorce were as follows: on the part of the husband, homicide, poisoning, sacrilege; on the part of the wife, adultery, poisoning, and the trade of illicit indulgence. Under *Theodosius II.* fourteen sufficient causes of divorce were enumerated.

In the Romish Church the basis of all legislation on this subject has been the position that marriage *quoad vinculum* is dissoluble only by death, while the Greek church added conjugal infidelity. But separation *quoad thorum et mensam* was allowed under various pretexts. The Reformers returned very much to simple explication of the Scriptural precepts. *Luther* gives three causes, one of which is physical, and besides this adultery and malicious abandonment. *Calvin* coincides with *Luther* in this particular. *Melancthon*, *Bucer*, and *Zuinglius* give a much wider range to the passages of the New Testament. But we cannot pursue the subject.

It would be easy to give copious extracts of an interesting character from this volume, which abound in very striking episodes, and eloquent bursts of genius; but we should thereby encroach too much upon space which it would be better to occupy with matter more nearly concerning the body of our readers. *Tholuck* is ranked, and justly, among the evangelical and orthodox divines of his country; yet we must never forget, that the system of Christian doctrine which we are accustomed to derive from the Scriptures never shines forth "full-orbed" in any German work. On the profound themes of the Divine Sovereignty, the mediatorial work, and even the method of justification, we find a defect of that clearness and fulness which forcibly impresses us in the English theologians, and which always raises the student far above any doubt as to the precise belief of his author. The language of abstractions and vague sentiment is so natural to a philosophical German, that we could scarcely find one among the evangelical party who does not become obscure and intangible when he advances into the more recondite portions of revelation.

This must even be the case, so long as the inductive method of philosophising is neglected; so long as the school of *Locke*, *Newton*, and *Reid*, is branded with the characters of empiricism

and shallowness; and so long as the vagaries of transcendentalism are regarded as venerable or even safe. Some idea of what we mean may be obtained by any reader who will drop his plummet into the fathomless speculations of Coleridge; though even these are clear and satisfactory when compared with the German depths of darkness. Nay, Kant himself, impracticable as his theories are to every English or American mind, may be said to be logical and convincing, when compared with those who have succeeded him in public regard. The idealism of *Fichte*, if our information is correct, baffles all analysis, and the dreams of *Schelling* and *Hegel* are little else than the vision of an excited imagination, disguised in the garb of philosophical nomenclature. Will the reader bear with us when we say (by way of specimen) that *Fichte* maintains the external world to be the mere creature of the active *Ego*, which has power to picture in itself the image of the universe; so that the outward world is nothing but the limit of our existence, on which thought operates, and that God himself is only the moral order of the universe. As might have been expected, there were multitudes in Germany who could not swallow this. And we beg to be understood as by no means suspecting Professor Tholuck of any such opinions; while we believe that the general principles of his philosophy are equally remote from what is regarded among us as safe and reasonable. One of *Fichte's* colleagues complained to the Saxon ministry, and the work in which the doctrine appeared was confiscated, in 1796 or 1797.

*Schelling* went even beyond this, and maintained a theory of *universal identity*. Rejecting all aid from experience (for Germans consider this as the capital error of English thinkers) he was unwilling to give it a place as even introductory to philosophy. Having with *Fichte*, taken for granted that the subjective *Ego* (we ask pardon for the jargon, but we give it as we receive it) produces the objective *non-ego*, *Schelling* mounted to the *primitive absolute*. That is, he regarded the primitive and infinite *Ego* as the source of all reality and all knowledge. Arrived now, (as *Degerando* well observes) at a degree of abstraction altogether unheard of before, he was able to take a bird's eye view, still more vast, of all science. Pantheism became the fashionable theology or rather a-theology of the day.

Nothing, surely, can be further from our intention than even to hint that Tholuck symbolizes with these sublime visionaries. Yet we presume he would not regard the *method* of philosophizing the "high priori road," with the indignant contempt which every American thinker must experience when such metaphysical "charlatanerie" is attempted to be palmed upon him. Again



we say, however, that Professor Tholuck regards these *dogmas* as untenable. And in the volume before us, no trace is found, on any page, of these or any similar theories, so that the object of our digression will have been accomplished, if the reader shall, with us, feel the necessity of a sober investigation of revealed truth, and an abhorrence of that falsely called philosophy which too often ends in turning the truth of God into a lie. To conclude, we do not hesitate to say, that (so far as our knowledge reaches) no work of equal value to the mere interpreter has ever appeared on the same subject.

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ART. III.—*Bodily Affections produced by Religious Excitement.*

MR. EDITOR—The following letter, it will be perceived, was not originally intended for the press. Nevertheless, the brother to whom it was directed, is so much interested in its contents, and so convinced of its adaptedness to do good, that he cannot refrain from offering it for a place in your miscellany. He differs from the respected writer in one respect. He does not think that such facts as are detailed, ought to be consigned to "oblivion." They are highly instructive, and ought to be recorded, and remembered for the benefit of the coming generation. He who gives such a simple and striking picture as is here exhibited, of the scenes in question, is a benefactor of the Church of God.

H. A.

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*Dear Brother*—I have, since your communications came to hand, been so much engaged, in one way or another, that I have had no leisure to attend to your request respecting the revivals of 1800–3. And even now, I feel too much at a loss, and unprepared to do any thing more than to state a few facts, and to give a brief sketch of what fell, mostly, under my own observation. I was not in the ministry at that time, but recollect distinctly, the scenes and passing events of the day. I do not write this for the press, but for your own eye, allowing you the privilege of making what use of it your superior judgment may dictate.

The revival of religion, under consideration, commenced in the southern and western sections of Kentucky, or what is generally known by the Green River country. The principal instruments were the Rev. Messrs. M'Gready, Hodge, Rankin, and M'Gee. The first named individual was in the van. He was a devout, evangelical, powerful preacher; a pupil of Dr. M'Millan, lately deceased. These men, let it be recollected, were the original leaders and abettors of the subsequent irregularities and disorders of the Cumberland Presbytery; which will be noticed hereafter. Previous to this revival of religion, Kentucky, and all this western region, was in a state of great coldness and declension. The country was new, and a heterogeneous mass from all quarters had pressed into it. Presbyterians, both clergy and people, were very formal. Sacramental services were very long, and often irksome, and apparently unedifying, or rather, uninteresting to the large mass of attendants. Communicants were heads of families generally; rarely was there to be seen a young person at the Lord's table. The services were conducted on the plan suggested in our Directory for Worship, Chap. 8. Sec. 6. The Sabbath was occupied, in preaching, *fencing*, and *serving* the tables, as it was called, from five to eight hours. The communion was held *twice* in the year, in those churches which had stated pastors or supplies, and in many churches only *once* in the year. Such was the state of things when the revival commenced, which was sometime in the year 1799, in the region before mentioned. The population there was sparse at that time, and widely scattered. The work at first, was no doubt, a glorious work of the Spirit of God. The calls for ministerial labour were so great and extensive, that it was impossible for the few clergymen, recently settled there, to supply the demand. This circumstance suggested the idea of *protracted* meetings; that the ministers might have the opportunity of meeting people at one time and one place. There were then no missionaries to go from place to place, and preach to the scattered population. And inasmuch as no neighbourhood had a population sufficient to support so many people as assembled on those occasions, this gave rise to the plan of *camp-meetings*. A grove was selected; "a pulpit of wood," or, as we generally term it, a *stand*, for the clergy was erected. The multitude who intended to be stationary, located themselves, with their wagons, carriages, or tents, in such places around the stand, as their fancy or convenience dictated. The assembly was often so great, that *secondary stands* were erected: the congregation divided, so that three or four preachers were discoursing at the same time, in different parts of the

grove. Here was the commencement of disorder and confusion. The sermon had scarcely commenced, when some one or more would become the subject of *bodily exercise*. This was commonly called the *falling exercise*; or, as it was often said, such and such an one was "*struck down*." I cannot better describe this exercise, than Dr. McMillan has done, in his letter to President Carnahan. "It was no unusual thing to see a person so entirely deprived of bodily strength, that they would fall from their seats, or off their feet, and be as unable to help themselves as a new-born child. I have seen some lie in this condition for hours, who yet said that they could hear every thing that was spoken, and felt their minds more composed, and more capable of attending to divine things, than when their bodies were not thus affected. As far as I could observe, the bodily exercise never preceded, but always followed, upon the mind's being deeply impressed with a sense of some divine truth." Another *fac simile*, if I may so call it, you may find in Mr. Gulick's letter, written on the Island of KAUAI. See Miss. Herald, vol. 29. p. 404. "Some were seized with a kind of convulsive trembling; and in a few cases, overcome by their feelings, they fell prostrate on their faces, and lay for a length of time weeping in a most affecting manner. And what, in my estimation at least, renders this work the more remarkable is, that many of these very persons, who now felt so deeply, have, for years, been in the habit of hearing the most solemn and alarming truths in the Bible, without the least apparent emotion. But now, without any special cause of excitement or alarm from us, they are thus deeply affected." But now, as I conceive, commenced the principal mischievous measure. When any one would become the subject of this bodily exercise, immediately a group would collect around, and commence singing, and then praying, and then exhorting. Many instances of this kind obtained in different parts of the congregation all at the same time. Hence it happened, that, throughout the assembly, as far as the eye could reach from the stand, there was a continual commotion and confused noise of preaching, exhorting, singing, praying, and shouting going on at the same instant. Many from curiosity or anxiety, were seen continually running from one group to another; so that the multitude was in a perpetual state of commotion and agitation. This scene of things continued day and night, with little or no abatement. The ministry rather yielded up the reins to the multitude, who, being carried away with such a state of things, considered the pulpit of little account, if any at all. Indeed, preaching, especially of the *didactic* character, was considered a great *hindrance* to the pro-

gress of the revival. This sentiment was not confined exclusively to the populace, for some of the leading and most popular preachers gave way to the opinion, that such kind of preaching was rather an interruption to the *great work* that was then going on. Hence the most zealous, arrogant, and enthusiastic of the laity, finding the ministry ready to surrender their posts, very naturally took the whole management of the service out of their hands and controlled it at pleasure. Moreover, if a minister, however evangelical in faith and practice, did not come "*fully up to the mark*," i. e. if he expressed any disapprobation, ministered any caution, attempted to correct any extravagancies, he was not only set down immediately as being hostile to the revival, but even interrupted and prevented from proceeding in his discourse, by some of the multitude, who commenced singing, or praying, or exhorting, or shouting; which ever was, at the time, found most convenient, by the leaders of such disorder. It was, ultimately, out of this hot-bed of wild enthusiasm and disorder, that there sprung up that fruitful crop of heresy and schism, that afterwards assumed the shape, as well as the name, of *New Lights*, *Schismatics*, *Marshallites*, *Unitarians*, and *Shakers*. By these heresies, the Synod of Kentucky was deprived of eight members, viz: Marshall and Thompson, (who afterwards recanted their errors and returned,) Stone, Dunlavy, McNamer, Huston, Rankin and Bowman. All these, except Stone and Bowman, became *Shakers*. For a particular account and description of *bodily exercise*, as they were perpetuated and fostered among the *New Lights*, after they became a *separate* and *distinct* body, being excluded from our church, I refer you to the "*Evangelical Record*," (p. 217.) written by McNamer, while one of that party, or perhaps after he turned Shaker. The description is indeed ludicrous, but so far as my knowledge and observation extended, at the time, I cannot detect any thing incorrect in the statement. I do not consider it exaggerated, or too highly coloured. As to these extravagancies, the Presbyterian church by this time began to pause, and look on these scenes, as they were fully acted out by the *New Lights*, with a degree of wonder and disgust. Still there was enough, and more than enough, among ourselves, to make us blush, on a review, and excite in us a desire to hide our mother's nakedness if we could. The work was conducted by Bishop and M'Chord. I return to the revival scenes.

We have seen the origin of *camp-meetings*; which have so much importance now attached to them. They originated in the Presbyterian church from *necessity*; and this necessity, per-

haps, at the time, justified the measure. And so long as they were confined to the circumstances which seemed to call for them, were extensively accommodating and thought to be highly beneficial. The meetings, at first, were awfully solemn; and no doubt much good was done. But when they were extended, and adopted in the more populous parts of the country, where they were attended by thousands and tens of thousands, induced by every motive good or bad, together with the lax and irregular management of them, they exhibited too much the appearance of disorder and confusion which baffled and defied all description. It is proper to remark, however, that the form and arrangements of camp-meetings *now*, differ very much from those in former days. *Then*, the people came together without any shelter but their wagons and their tents, erected where convenience or fancy might dictate. They brought provisions for themselves and horses, and whatever else was thought necessary to their continuance on the ground for many days. *Now*, the plan of temporary buildings of small log huts, in regular order, around the stand, and the space were the congregation is to assemble, is adopted. Order and solemnity generally prevail, and are carefully inculcated and constantly maintained. Formerly, as we have seen, it was entirely the reverse. As for the comparative good or evil 'attending camp-meetings, I have nothing to say; as my acquaintance with such meetings is very limited. They appear to be lauded or condemned according to the opinions and prejudices of their advocates or opponents.

I confess myself much at a loss to know the proper shape and size of the subject now before me; how far the plan of this history should extend; what to set down, and what to omit. To descend to particulars, and minute circumstances would not be agreeable to the feelings of some yet living; nor do I know that it would be edifying. I will state a few facts and anecdotes, connected with the subject before us. I was licensed to preach in April 1803; both before and after which, I witnessed many things, the detail of which would make a little volume. The largest meeting I attended was in June 1801, at Caneridge, Bourbon county, where B. W. Stone was then pastor. The exercises, as well as the encampment, were such as I have described above. Many appeared to be deeply affected; and many had fallen down. There was much singing, praying, exhorting, &c. at tents, at the meeting-house, and every place where small groups were assembled around one or more of the persons who were "*struck down*." Subsequently, during the years 1802—3, I witnessed many cases of bodily exercise, the most of which I

have reason to believe, were entirely involuntary ; while some others, I thought were the reverse, i. e. either the persons conceited, or fancied themselves under exercise; or desired to be, and therefore sought for it, and yielded to the first impulse, which might, however, have been successfully resisted. Many persons within my knowledge, became hopefully pious, the most of whom continue unto the present, and many have fallen asleep in Jesus. The number of apostacies were much fewer than might be supposed. Indeed, when I look back on those times, I greatly wonder that there were not ten for one. The Presbyterian church suffered greatly, lost many members, more ministers, *proportionably*, than others : but, she continued unconsumed, and was much better prepared, by practical knowledge, and dear-bought experience, for the next revival than she was before. But to our narrative.

A contemporary brother minister, by my request, has given me in substance, the following facts. The first personal knowledge he had of any of the subjects of the revival was in the winter of 1800—1, near the borders of the state of Tennessee. Shortly after the people began to assemble, two or three persons appeared to swoon away, and after lying fifteen or twenty minutes, appeared to be wholly convulsed, some more than others. His attention was particularly called to a young female, who, after sometime lying apparently motionless, began to move her lips. On a near approach, he found himself the subject of her prayer; from which it appeared that she was under the impression, that he had come a considerable distance, and from a cold region, to see the *great work* that was going on in that place. And she prayed fervently that he might not be disappointed. When she recovered, resumed her usual posture, and state of mind, there was great solicitude manifested by her minister and others, to know the result of her exercise, what she had seen, &c. She informed them, that she had seen that they were to have a glorious meeting that day, and the minister (Mr. Rankin) said he had no doubt of it. In that same place, there were others who saw, during their exercises, as they expressed themselves, certain persons, (who were yet unconverted) in the act of preaching and a very great work going on under their ministry; and they appeared to expect it with as much certainty as if it had been revealed to them from heaven. At that time and place, there was a considerable mixture of wheat and chaff. On the one hand, there was manifestly, an anxious disposition to converse on religious subjects, and particularly about the experience and exercises of the heart; a close attention to the preaching of the

word, with apparent desire to profit thereby. There appeared among many a docile temper, a spirit of inquiry, with fervent prayer and cautious zeal. On the other hand, there was a prevailing sentiment, that the subjects of the revival had more than common attainments in evangelical knowledge and piety; that the millennium was just at hand, even at the door; of which fact these extraordinary exercises were certain precursors and evidences. These and such like extravagant notions, were, of course, attended by an arrogant boldness, and self-importance, which did not savour of the religion and spirit of Christ. Social meetings, catechetical instruction, &c. were almost, if not altogether neglected. As before intimated, the intervals between sermons, were occupied by the multitude in various exercises. The ministers took, comparatively, but little interest in conducting the worship, except in the time of preaching, which occupied but a small portion of the twenty-four hours. The rest of the time was spent as before described, singing with great fervor and animation, shaking hands all through the crowd, praying by fifties and hundreds all at the same moment. Such scenes I have often witnessed. Young converts were often seen passing through the assembly, and on the outskirts thereof, exhorting sinners, in a very lofty tone, and peremptory manner, to fly from the wrath to come. Others would pray for hours together, until they were exhausted; and when they could stand up no longer, they would sit down, or recline on some other person, and then pray, or exhort, until completely exhausted; so that nature could exert itself no further. These exercises were greatly applauded, and highly approved, as being not only certain evidences of the gracious state of the individuals themselves, but likewise, as eminently useful and instrumental in furthering the revival. When some of the elder brethren were inquired of about the expediency and propriety of correcting some extravagancies which appeared wild and visionary, their reply was, in substance, that they knew these things were not right; but should they interfere by attempting to rectify them at that time, it might interrupt, if not stop, the revival altogether. Here the ministry, however good the intention, was much at fault. The surrendering up the control and management of the religious exercises into the hands of mere novices, or such as were unskilful and inexperienced, was the very inlet or gateway, to those errors and extravagancies that soon followed. There was, if I mistake not, one general, prevailing, prominent feature attending this revival every where; it was the strange, mistaken disposition, in a very large portion of the people, to undervalue the public means of

religion, and in the place thereof, to promote a kind of tumultuous exercise, in which themselves could take an active part, if not become the principal leaders. Hence, some of these would-be-leaders have been known to lie down and sleep in the time of preaching, and during some of the most serious and solemn addresses, and as soon as the sermon was over, suddenly rise to their feet, and sing, and shake hands, and pray, and exhort, with all the apparent energy of a saint or messenger from heaven. The wild fanatical notions of some were manifested by their believing themselves under obligation to go, according to certain impressions, which they considered to be from heaven; namely, that they must go to certain places, and say and do certain things, and that it must be done and said at a certain time, &c. Many such things as these, which would be tedious and unnecessary to detail here, obtained and prevailed in this revival.

I proceed to relate a case or two, respecting the exercise called the *jerks*. This succeeded sometime after the *falling exercise*; and, I believe, had its origin in East Tennessee, at least it was, to use a commercial phrase, first *imported* into Kentucky from that quarter. It affected the good and the bad, the aged and the young. It was entirely involuntary, dreaded and hated, and even cursed by some; while it was desired, and courted, and highly prized by others. It came on something like the *hiccough*, without any premonitory symptom, and left the subject equally without any sensible effect. During its prevalence, I made several experiments; being a young minister, and inexperienced, I knew not what to do with it. While preaching, I have, after a smooth and gentle course of expression, suddenly changed my voice, and language, expressing something awful and alarming, and, instantly, some dozen or twenty persons, or more, would, simultaneously, be *jerked* forward, where they were sitting, with a suppressed noise, once or twice, somewhat like the barking of a dog. And so it would either continue or abate according to the tenor, or strain of my discourse. The strong sympathy, and intimate correspondence between the mind and body, was fully manifested, by this experiment, producing the exhibition which immediately followed. The first subject of this exercise that attracted my attention, was the pious wife of one of our elders. She was affected by this operation very gently, she felt no pain whatever, but rather the reverse—a pleasing sensation—could give no satisfactory account of its operation. She went to the country village, on a public day, to do a little shopping. I accompanied her on our way home. She was entirely free from any operation of the *jerks*. I determined in my own mind to try an experiment, con-



versed freely and somewhat jocularly with her on secular matters, to divert her mind as far off in that direction as I thought necessary; and then immediately changed the subject to that of a very serious and solemn character. I am certain, not two minutes had elapsed, before she was considerably effected with this exercise. Her body, from the saddle and upwards, appeared to pitch forward half way to the horse's neck, six or eight times in a minute. I was fully satisfied she could not prevent it. My mind became, sometime after, greatly perplexed about this exercise. I could not encourage it, and yet, being a young minister, I was afraid to say any thing against it, publicly, as it had many friends and advocates. At length it was found to be detrimental in various ways; besides interrupting public worship, it deterred many from attending altogether, being impressed with the belief that it was "*catching*." But it was not confined to the public assembly; it invaded the private and domestic circle, while engaged in domestic business, or travelling on the road. The same individual was frequently the subject of it, young and old, male and female, refined and unrefined, the pious and the wicked, were alike under its operation.

Take another singular case, stated to me by Mr. M'Gready. A young man, son of an elder, to avoid attending a camp-meeting in the neighbourhood with the family, feigned himself sick. On the morning of the Sabbath, he continued in bed, until the family had all started for the meeting; he being left alone, except a few small blacks. When thus alone, he congratulated himself on his success, by the deception he had practised on his parents. He raised up his head, and looking all around his room, smiled at the adventure; but lest it might not be complete, lest some one might have occasion to linger, or return, and so he be detected, he resumed his clinical position, covering over his head, and in a short time directed his thoughts towards the camp ground. He fancied the multitude assembling, the services commenced, the bodily exercises, as he had seen them, now in operation. He fancied a certain female now in full exercise; "now she's at it, now she's at it." In a moment he was taken with the same exercise, the *jerks*, was hurled out of his bed, and *jerk-ed* hither and thither, all around the room, up against the wall, and in every fashion. He had never been affected by bodily exercise before, but now found himself perfectly unmanageable. He had heard it said, and indeed witnessed the fact, that *praying* would cause the *jerks* to cease. He tried it; the desired effect followed immediately. He felt no more the effects of the exercise than a person does after the hiccough. He supposed it all a dream, a mere conceit, illusion or something of the kind, resum-

ed his bed, commenced his pranks again, and again was the scene acted over, only a little worse. The same remedy was resorted to, and he again became *in statu quo*. He arose, dressed himself, sauntered about awhile, wanted some employment to pass the time away, bethought himself of a *dog skin* in the vat, that needed *unhairing*, he drew it out, laid it on the beam, rolled up his sleeves, grasped the graining knife, lifted it up to make the first scrape, when lo, it was instantaneously *flirted* out of his grasp, and he was  *jerked* back, over logs, against the fence, up and down, until he resorted to his old remedy and again obtained relief. Feeling, as before, perfectly free from any sensible or evil effects, as strong and resolute, and determined, and reckless as ever, he ventured again. He assumed his instrument, and resumed his posture over the subject of his intended operation, when immediately, before he could make one stroke, the whole scene, only, if possible, tenfold worse, was acted over again; it was much more severe, and greatly protracted. The usual remedy, at first, failed; he became alarmed, thought the Lord was now about to kill him, became deeply convicted of his great folly and wickedness; became composed again in body, but now greatly agitated and concerned in mind; called a little black, pointed him to the dogskin, which he was afraid now to approach, directed where to lay it away, returned to his room weeping and crying to God for mercy, and in this condition was found on the return of the family. He shortly afterward obtained a good hope through grace, applied for the privileges of the church, gave this relation of facts to the session, was received, and in the judgment of Christian charity, gave satisfactory evidence by a scriptural experience, and godly living, that he was a renewed man, and redeemed sinner saved by grace.

I will trouble you with only one case more. One evening I rode six miles up Green river, and preached at a Mr. M'Whorter's, in a Baptist settlement. The house was crowded. The people were attentive, until I had finished my discourse and had prayed, and was about to sing the last hymn, but was forestalled by an enthusiastic kind of man, who started a song with a lively tune. Several young women began to  *jerk* backwards and forwards. The seats were immediately removed, to afford room and prevent them from being hurt. One young woman had what I would call the *whirling exercise*. She went round like a top, I think at least fifty times in a minute, and continued, without intermission, for at least an hour. It exceeded by far, any thing of the kind I had ever witnessed. I was told she had had the  *jerks* nearly three years. She did not appear exhausted;

complained of pain or distress if the bystanders did not continue singing. I became perfectly tired, my preaching seemed to be all gone, and to have been rather in the way, from what took place afterwards. I remonstrated with some of them, and cautioned them. Thus you see this exercise continued, more or less, in one or another place for a long time. It, however, in the general, gradually disappeared, especially from the Presbyterian church; and thus afforded us a very happy relief. I was heartily glad when it was entirely gone. After all these novelties left us, the church, like one enfeebled and exhausted, sunk down into formality and apathy. After she had passed through the fire, she came forth more refined as to doctrine, and soundness in the faith. For nearly twenty years afterwards was she without a revival. But blessed be God, she has recovered, and her borders have been greatly enlarged, and her stakes strengthened; and I trust in God, she will never see and feel such another shock. In her wisdom and experience, I believe such things will never find favour and encouragement again.

The Cumberland business was the last difficulty we had to struggle with. The "Brief History," &c. put out by the Synod of Kentucky, I perceive you have, or I would send you a copy. The facts there detailed I know to be true—I wrote the History as the servant of the Synod; had all the documents; was present at all the meetings which had any concern in that business. I would not have any thing altered except the style and some few typographical errors. The original Cumberland Presbytery was one of our own, formed by the Synod from Transylvania Presbytery, and shortly after dissolved, being incapable of transacting business. M'Gready and Hodge acknowledged and renounced their ecclesiastical aberrations; Rankin turned Shaker; M'Gee and M'Adam were under citation, but never appeared. The whole business was finished by the Assembly in 1809, and in February 1810, the present Cumberlands formed themselves into a separate body. By a subsequent Assembly (I do not recollect when) they have been recognized as other denominations, such as Methodists, Baptists, &c. Some of their ministers are more violent against us than the Methodists. Their preachers are generally illiterate, and a little more than semi-Arminian. They have carried off, by their zeal and name, many members of our church, where we had no ministry. A friend in whom I can confide, lately informed me, that they are very friendly in Missouri; co-operate with us heartily in the Christian enterprises of the day; boldly and successfully combat heresy; and appear to manifest great anxiety, and desire to become, in some way, united with us. But this cannot be,

from their present aspect as a body. Their literary character, as well as orthodox standard, is too low and uncertain. Should it become expedient to branch out, in extending the history of the revival, (as I wrote to you before) it will be necessary to trace, first, the *New lights*, the sphere of whose operations was, in the eastern section of Kentucky, by Marshall, Stone, &c. The Rev. W. L. McCalla collected materials for their history before he left Kentucky, but I know not what he did with them. Out of these heretics soon sprung the Shakers, whose history is familiar. The Cumberland is a distinct branch altogether, gradually rising and growing out of the disorders which obtained in the Green River country, or further down in Kentucky, and in West Tennessee, called Cumberland, I suppose, from the river of that name, running by Nashville. This accounts for the name "Cumberland Presbytery," at first given to that section of our Synod, and subsequently adopted by the present Cumberlands, as they are generally called. In their worship, they are considered more noisy and disorderly than the Methodists. In short, to use a homely phrase, they have Presbyterian *warp*, but Methodist *filling*.

My dear brother—With this hasty sketch, meager and unsatisfactory I fear it will be, I must stop. I do not know what more I can do. The whole subject, with all its bearings and relations, would require a little volume. And after all, were the whole written and published to the world, still the inquiry forces itself upon my mind, *cui bono*? Those singular transactions have so long passed away; the times so changed; the church gone so far ahead; Christian enterprise so active and extended; the era so new and wonderful; all things considered, would it not be as well to let those unhappy, mistaken steps and observations, pass on to oblivion as fast as possible? I yield, however, to your better judgment. Make what use you please of this rapid and hastily written sketch. I have no leisure to transcribe it. Look over its imperfections and blunders. For the general aspect, or substratum, of matters and things, as they existed among us at the time he wrote, I refer you to the second Epistle of Rev. David Rice, see *Memoirs*, by D. Bishop, p. 340. The notes, over the signature of *Anon.* were from the pen of Dr. J. P. Campbell. For details, I refer you to what I have here written, in connexion with the *Evangelical Record*, before mentioned.

For Cumberland Presbyterians, I refer you to the Brief History. It is a document containing facts that ought to be preserved, and more generally known. If any thing more should be needed, do not fail to let me know, and every demand,

for the good of the cause, shall be faithfully and cheerfully complied with, as far as within my power.

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#### THE JERKS.

As the facts, in relation to these bodily agitations are somewhat remarkable, we deem it expedient to make some addition to what is stated above, by our worthy correspondent.

The phenomenon of swooning, or suddenly falling or sinking down, under religious exercises, has not been uncommon in times of great excitement, and under very impassioned preaching. Such occurrences were very frequent under the ministry of Whitefield and Wesley; and in this country, during the great revival which took place under the preaching of Whitefield, the Tennents, Blairs, &c. such appearances were of frequent occurrence. The same was remarkably the fact at Cambuslang and Kilsyth in Scotland, during the extraordinary religious excitement which took place in those towns, early in the last century. We have also witnessed such effects on the body, as occurring very commonly, in the meetings of the Methodists and Baptists in the south and west. In the cases which have fallen under our observation, the effect on the body was entirely involuntary. Sometimes it was preceded by a universal trembling of the whole frame; but at other times, the falling was as sudden as if the person had been struck with lightning. In some cases, there followed a convulsive motion of the limbs; but most frequently the patient lay motionless, as if in a swoon. And the only remarkable difference between these paroxysms, and those of common syncope, is that, in the former, the person is not unconscious of what is said and done in his presence.

But the bodily agitation called the *jerks* is a very different affection; and the only appearance known to us, which bears a resemblance to it is the jumping exercise in Wales, of which Dr. Haygarth has given an account in his treatise "On the Effect of the Imagination in the cure of bodily diseases." The same facts are referred to in Sidney's Life of Rowland Hill. This extraordinary nervous agitation commenced, as stated by our correspondent, in East Tennessee, at a sacramental meeting; and we have been informed, that on that day several hundreds of persons, of all ages and sexes, were seized with this involuntary motion. It was at first almost uniformly confined to the arms, and the motion proceeded downwards from the elbow, causing

the arm to move with a sudden jerk, or quick convulsive motion, and these jerks succeeded each other, after short intervals. For some time no religious meeting was held, in which this novel involuntary exercise was not exhibited by more or less of the audience in that part of the country where they originated. And, generally, all those who had once been the subjects of it, continued to be frequently affected, and not only at meeting, but at home, and sometimes when entirely alone. After the commencement of the jerks, they spread rapidly in all directions. Persons drawn by curiosity to visit the congregations where they existed, were often seized, and when they returned home, they would communicate them to the people there. But, in some instances, they occurred in remote valleys of the mountains, where the people had no opportunity of communication with the infected. In East Tennessee and the south western part of Virginia, their prevalence was the greatest; and in this region, persons of all descriptions were seized, from the aged, gray-headed preacher, down to children of eight or ten years of age. Soon, however, the "exercise" began to assume a variety of appearances. While the jerks in the arms continued to be the most common form, in many cases, the joint of the neck was the seat of the convulsive motion, and was thrown back and forward to an extent, and with a celerity, which no one could imitate, and which to the spectator was most alarming. Another common exercise was dancing, which was performed by a gentle and not ungraceful motion, but with little variety in the steps. During the administration of the Lord's Supper, in the presence of the Synod of Virginia, we witnessed a young woman performing this exercise for the space of twenty minutes or half an hour. The pew in which she was sitting was cleared, and she danced from one end to the other; her eyes were shut, and her countenance calm. When the dancing terminated, she fell, and seemed to be agitated with more violent motions. We saw another who had, what was termed, "the jumping exercise;" which resembled that of the jumpers in Wales. It was truly wonderful to observe the violence of the impetus with which she was borne upwards from the ground: it required the united strength of three or four of her companions to confine her down. None of these varieties, however, were half so terrible to the spectator, as that which affected the joint of the neck. In this, it appeared as if the neck must be broken; and while the bosom heaved in an extraordinary manner, the countenance was distorted in a disgusting way.

Besides the "exercises" already mentioned, there were some

of the most curious and ludicrous kind. In one, the affected barked like a dog; in another, they boxed with fists clenched, striking at every body or thing near to them. The running exercise was also one of the varieties, in which the person was impelled to run with amazing swiftness. There were many other singular motions in imitation of persons playing on the violin, or sewing with a needle, &c. &c.

The most remarkable circumstance in relation to these various exercises was, that a person affected with a peculiar species of the jerks, coming into a congregation where that had not been experienced, would commonly communicate it to those who had been affected with exercises of a different kind. Thus, a lady from Tennessee, who brought into a certain part of Virginia the barking exercise, immediately was imitated by certain of those affected with the jerks, who had never seen any thing of this sort before. These nervous agitations were at first received as something supernatural, intended to arrest the attention of the careless multitude, and were therefore encouraged and sustained by many of the pious; but after a while they became troublesome. The noise made by these convulsive motions in the pews was such, that the preacher could not be composedly heard; and in several of the exercises the affected person needed the attention of more than one assistant. Besides, nervous agitation or falling was so easily brought on by the least mental excitement, even at home, that many who were the subjects of the jerks, became weary of it; and, in some cases, avoided serious and exciting thoughts, lest they should produce this effect. It is remarkable, however, that they all united in their testimony, that in the most violent and convulsive agitations, as when the head would rapidly strike the breast and back alternately, no pain was experienced; and some asserted, that when one arm only was affected with the jerks, it felt more comfortable than the other, through the whole day. Perhaps, this was imagination. In some places the persons affected were not permitted to come to the church, on account of the noise and disturbance produced. The subjects were generally pious, or seriously affected with religion, but not universally. There were cases in which careless persons, and those who continued to be such, were seized. The dread of the jerks was great in many, both religious and careless, and upon the whole, the effect produced by them was very unfavourable to the advancement of religion. All, however, were not of this opinion. Some who had much experience of them, continued to speak favourable of their effects.

We have the pleasure of annexing to our account, the statement of an intelligent and respectable physician, who appears to have paid much attention to subjects of this kind. The opinion of such men is valuable, as they are better acquainted with the physiology of man, than other persons.

#### THE JERKS.

This affection I have repeatedly witnessed in the State of Illinois in the years 1822-3-4. The persons subject to it were principally females in the humbler walks of life, natives of North Carolina and Tennessee. Young females (say from thirteen to thirty years old) of sanguine and nervous temperament were more addicted to it than others. It is equally prevalent among Methodists and Cumberland Presbyterians. Their discourses are generally passionate addresses, first to the fears and secondly to the sympathies of their hearers. At the conclusion of these addresses hymns are sung with great animation, the leaders passing through the congregation shaking their hands. The jerks or falling generally commences at the conclusion of the sermon and increase during the singing. Different persons are variously affected: some rise to their feet and spin round like a top, while others dance till they fall down exhausted. Some throw back their heads with convulsive laughter, while others drowned in tears break forth in sighs and lamentations. Some fall from their seats in a state of insensibility and lie for hours without consciousness, while others are affected with violent convulsions resembling epilepsy. Those habituated to the affection are generally attacked under the circumstances above detailed, but I have seen some persons who had become so irritable that the least mental excitement would produce the paroxysm. Others appeared to be affected from sympathy. I have seen several young women of the same neighbourhood, who were always attacked at seeing one of their number with the paroxysm. I have seen others who would be instantly attacked on seeing any person with the affection without having any previous mental excitement. During the *convulsive paroxysm*, recollection and sensation are but little impaired; after continuing a certain period, the person generally falls into a state of stupor very much resembling that subsequent to epilepsy. Yet the animal functions are not much impaired. The pulse is natural. The temperature that of health throughout the paroxysm: after it has subsided, there is soreness of the muscles and a slight dull pain of the head, which soon pass away.

From the sex of those most subject to the affection, the time



of life when they are most susceptible of it, the condition they occupy in society, the causes which excite it into action, and the effect produced by the paroxysm, I was led to the conclusion that it was a nervous disease brought on by continued mental excitement, and protracted by habit, that after it has once become habitual from long continued mental excitement, sympathy will be sufficient to call it into action without mental excitement.

Many of the subjects of this affection were addicted to hysterics; and *all*, persons easily affected by any thing exciting the natural sympathies.

I have omitted to mention one fact I have often witnessed, viz: that *restraint* often prevents the paroxysm. For example: persons always attacked by this affection in churches where it is encouraged, will be perfectly calm in other churches where it is *discouraged*, however affecting may be the service, and however great the mental excitement. Some of them have told me that such was the fact, and as these were the more intelligent of those addicted to such affections, I doubt not the truth of what they said.

#### REFLECTIONS.

1. The first reflection which is suggested by the preceding accounts is, that the physiology of the human system is very imperfectly understood.

2. The second is, that an irregular action of the nervous system produces often very astonishing appearances.

3. Religious excitement carried to excess is a dangerous thing. Enthusiasm is the counterfeit of true religion, and is a species of insanity.

4. In revivals of religion, badly regulated, there may be much extravagance, and yet the work in the main may be genuine. The wise will discriminate, and not approve or condemn in the lump.

5. Pious men and women are imperfect in knowledge and often form erroneous opinions which lead them astray. Bodily affections however, are no evidence of error or enthusiasm.

6. Such bodily affections as are described in the foregoing narratives, are no doubt real nervous diseases, which do not destroy the general health.

7. All such things tend to the discredit of religion, and should be prevented or discouraged.

ART. IV.—*Evidences of a New Heart.*

**MAN** was, in the beginning, created in the image of God, which consisted in "knowledge, righteousness, and true holiness." By the fall, the human race have lost that crown of glory with which the first man was adorned, and have become corrupt and blind.

The chief end of the Gospel is to restore man to holiness, and thus to make him happy. To bring about this, much was requisite. Sin must be atoned for, and a new creation must take place. The first of these ends was effected by the one offering of Jesus Christ, as a lamb to take away the sins of the world. The great work is finished, and there remaineth no place for any other sacrifices; the way into the most holy is now laid open; that is, a door is opened by which believers, who are sprinkled with the blood of Christ, can enter into the highest heavens. But the restoration of the image of God by the new creation, is a work which is carried on from age to age, upon all who become heirs of salvation; and is now carried on by the conversion of sinners through the preaching of the word of life.

If man were made perfectly holy by his regeneration, there would be no difficulty in knowing certainly, when this good work had been wrought; or if there were no counterfeits of piety, or if the heart of the renewed was not still in a measure deceitful, it would be easy for the children of God to arrive at a satisfactory assurance, that they had passed from death unto life; and there would remain no ground on which the unconverted could persuade themselves that they had been the subjects of this change. But still, although difficulties stand in the way of complete assurance, and many deceive themselves with the name, the form, and the counterfeits of piety; yet there are marks of regeneration so plainly laid down in Scripture, and presented in so many aspects, that the honest and diligent inquirer will not be disappointed in obtaining such a degree of comfortable evidence of the favour of God towards him, as will be of more value than all the treasures of this world. And the hypocrite, or formalist, may, by the application of Scripture marks, determine, that he is still "in the gall of bitterness and in the bonds of iniquity." It may be stated as a truth, that if the truly pious remain in distressing doubt respecting their spiritual state, it is owing to some want of diligence in searching

their own hearts, and comparing them with the Word of God; to some erroneous opinions which they have imbibed; to some melancholy humour in their constitution; or, they are fallen into some woful declension, or they have been overcome by some powerful temptation which has produced a sense of guilt in the conscience, and spread darkness through the whole soul. And on the other hand, there is no unregenerate man, however amiable, moral, and benevolent he may be, who does not constantly carry about with him clear, legible marks of his being in an unconverted state. All that is wanting to bring conviction to his mind, is a conscientious application of the Word of God to his heart. Every deceived soul is, therefore, its own deceiver. No man with the Scriptures in his hands, is under any necessity of remaining in error, on this all-important subject.

From what has been said, it is obvious, that it is a very useful and necessary thing to understand what the Scriptures teach on this point. And as some aid may be afforded to the ignorant, to the doubting, and to all who are not familiar with their Bibles, by drawing out, and clearly setting forth the testimonies of the Word of God, in regard to this matter, we have attempted to render some assistance in this way, in the essay which is here presented to our readers, and to which their candid and earnest attention is requested.

On this subject, so vital to our best interests, we shall not indulge in speculation, nor even lay any stress on human reasoning, but endeavour clearly to exhibit what the Scriptures teach, with all simplicity; and as a systematic method can be of no service in this case, we shall not resort to it in communicating the truths which we wish to address to the reader.

We have already observed, that the new creation is intended to restore to the human soul, the lost image of God. We now remark, that the holy law of God furnishes the most correct standard, by which to judge of the reality of this renewal of the mind. The law is the perfect measure of the creature's duty. Conformity to the law is the exact image of God; for the law is a transcript of his moral attributes. Now conformity to the law consists, in "loving God with all the soul, and heart, and mind, and strength, and our neighbour as ourselves." If then, our hearts have been brought to love God and our neighbour, we have been renewed in the spirit of our minds; for, in our carnal, which is our natural state,—“the heart is enmity against God and not subject to his law.” But, lest any, who are not renewed should persuade themselves that they possess this characteristic, let us mention some of the prophecies and evidences of the love of God.

1. *It must be sincere and genuine love*, felt in the heart, and not a mere animal commotion, or a mere profession of the lips. Sincere love stands opposed, both to that which is pretended, and to that which is spurious. It is easy to say with the mouth, 'I love God,' but our love must not be *in word*, but *in deed*, and *in truth*. Our love must be a real emotion of the heart, and not a dissembled affection.

But it must also be genuine. A man may call any feeling by the name of love. He may experience a feeling of exhilaration diffused through his frame, he knows not how; and knowing that he did not produce it by any voluntary effort of his own; and, observing, that it came on him suddenly after much distress; and that it causes him to feel happy, he may call it, *the love of God*, when it may be nothing more than a flash of joy, produced by some physical change in the animal frame, especially in the nerves. We know that there are natural causes which will produce such effects. Or it may be nothing more than an exercise of self-love, arising from some persuasion that the danger which he supposed to be hanging over him, has passed away. As if a man under conviction of sin should imagine, that he heard a voice saying, *thy sins are forgiven thee*, or should have a text of scripture of similar import, to occur to his mind, he may be led, without examination, to think that he is a converted man; and may feel a joy proportioned to his former sense of danger, or desire of happiness. Now, we do not deny that something like this may accompany a sound conversion, yet it is manifest that all that has been mentioned may be experienced without any change of heart—it may be nothing but nervous exhilaration, or the gratification of self-love, neither of which surely are evidences of piety. And O that they who are the guides of immortal souls would duly consider this, and not become accessory to the delusion of multitudes!

2. *Love to God must be founded on a just view of his character, as revealed in the Scriptures.* It must be love to God, not only as good to all, but as just and holy; we must love God as sin-avenging, as well as sin-pardoning. What we mean is, that the object of our esteem and love must be the whole character of God, as he has revealed himself to us in his word. If we have true love to God, we shall rejoice that such a Being exists, and that he is what he is; we shall delight to meditate on all his perfections; the awful as well as the amiable. Now, this is only saying, that our love must be fixed on the true and living God, and not on an idol; for is it not most manifest, that if we love him not in his true character, however strong our affection, it is directed to another being—to an idol of our own imagination; and it matters not whether our idols be material or spiritual.

3. *Our love to God must be the predominant affection of our hearts.* Whether it is possible to exercise love to God in any degree, while other affections have the ascendancy, it is not necessary to inquire; for the Scriptures are most express in declaring, that no other love but that which is supreme, and prevails over every conflicting passion, will be of any avail. *He that loveth father or mother more than me,* says Jesus, *and he that loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me.* And the same thing is expressed in the strongest possible manner, in another place. *If any man come unto me and hate not his father and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple.* The young man who came to Christ was put to this test, which, with all his amiable qualities and high professions, he was unable to endure. And Christ recognizes the same principle in his solemn interrogation addressed to Peter: *Simon, son of Jonas, loveth thou me more than these?* Indeed, if this were not the fact, the love of God would not form and mould the character and govern the life of Christ's disciples; for every one knows that the strongest affection does always govern. This is a test to which all must come; and if we are found wanting, when tried by this touch-stone, our hearts are still unrenewed—the heart of stone remains, with all its hardness.

4. *Again, true love is constant.* The soul may be agitated by feelings which are attended with much greater commotion, and which may be accompanied with more extatic joy, but these are transient; like the morning cloud and early dew, they pass away. But the love of God in a renewed heart, takes root and abides. Temporary faith is not distinguished from that which is saving, by the liveliness of the feelings or the fair external appearance, for the seed which fell on the stony ground grew up as quickly and flourished, for a while, as luxuriantly as that on good ground. Its defect was want of root, and therefore it soon withered away. In revivals of religion it has often occurred, that some of those who seemed to feel the most, and who attracted most attention, after a while, decline and turn back. It is he that persevereth to the end, that shall be saved. We lay it down, therefore, as one property of true religion, that it is permanent. But this constancy of love is not at all inconsistent with great vicissitudes of feeling, and frequent fluctuation of frames. When the soul mourns an absent God, love is not extinct; nor its evidence obscure; true love discovers itself as manifestly, by uneasiness, on account of the absence of a beloved object, as by joy at his presence. When many seem to begin well, and to run well in the way which leads to Zion, be not too sanguine of the event.

Many blossoms drop and produce no fruit, but where the heart is really renewed, there it will appear by a steady continuance, and gradual progress in piety. They, therefore, who have been long travelling on the pilgrimage to the new Jerusalem, have much better evidence of piety, other things being equal, than they who are just setting out.

5. *Genuine love to God inspires the soul with a desire to please God.* This is the nature of love, that it desires a return of affection from the person beloved. This leads to the use of every means to please that person. On this principle is founded the injunction of Christ, *If ye love me keep my commandments*; and the declaration, *He that hath my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me*. Now what would seem to be easier than to know, whether, indeed, we were habitually desirous of pleasing God, by keeping his commandments? If we truly love God, this desire will have more influence over our conduct than any other.

6. *But love to God also produces a fear of offending Him.* The pious man is characterized by *being in the fear of the Lord, all the day long*. *He feareth always*, not with a slavish dread, but with a holy reverence. He fears to give offence. And when he is convinced that he has in any way done what he habitually wishes to avoid, it is to him a subject of unfeigned grief. He mourns in secret places, and obtains the blessing which Christ has promised to Zion's mourners. He sorrows after a godly sort, and finds in his own experience that godly sorrow is efficacious to work repentance unto life, or a *change of mind* which is connected with eternal life.

7. *The desire of communion with God, and joy in his presence*, are strong evidences of love to God. The ardour of this desire for the sensible and comfortable presence of God is various. Sometimes it is exceedingly great, so that it is expressed, by the panting of the heart after water-brooks—by longing, thirsting, and even fainting. But when there is *a new heart*, it will give indication of its heavenly origin by pointing its desires towards God. How can that soul be renewed, which is unconscious of all such desires? Yea, that does not feel them daily? We might discourage and distress the timid Christian, by laying down the sensible enjoyment of communion with God as an inseparable attendant on piety, (and we must not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax,) but certainly, we must insist on *the desire, the habitual desire* of such communion, as an evidence of piety, which all must be conscious of, except those who are fallen asleep, or gone far back in the way of declension. And whatever may be the real condition of these back-

sliders in the sight of God, there are no evidences of piety applicable to them while they remain in that state.

We need say nothing about the joy experienced from the sensible manifestation of God's presence, and from the light of his countenance lifted up on the soul; for there our aid is not needed, for the soul enjoys already a blessed assurance of the divine favour, and is not only conscious of loving God, but feels *the love of God* shed abroad in the heart, and can say in the language of the spouse, *my beloved is mine and I am his*.

8. The last particular which we shall mention is, *the fixed purpose and ardent desire to glorify God*. Love identifies the honour and interest of the person beloved with our own. It is even possible that we should love another with an affection so strong, that in our zeal for his honour we almost forget ourselves. Such a strength and fidelity of attachment has been observed in inferiors towards their superiors. But if even there is room for such a sacrifice, and a reasonableness in it; it is when God, our Creator, Benefactor, and Redeemer is the object of our love. This love to Christ has, indeed, a constraining power. It makes us willing to be any thing, or suffer any thing, that God may be glorified in us, and by us, living and dying.

The desire to glorify God then, with our bodies and spirits, which are his, which he hath bought with a price, is the best evidence of love to God; and consequently the best evidence of *a new heart*. If there be a new heart without this aim at God's glory, it is not from the regeneration of the spirit. It may, like Saul's be *another heart*, but the love of God is not in it; and wherever the renewing spirit comes, there is love, for the fruit of the spirit is *love, joy, peace, &c.* This same heart causes us to rejoice when God is glorified, whoever may be the instrument; and to mourn when his name is dishonoured. *Rivers of waters*, says David, *run down mine eyes because they keep not thy law*. The Lord directed the man clothed with linen, and having a writer's inkhorn, *to set a mark on the foreheads of the men that sigh and that cry for all the abominations that be done*. That heart which thinks nothing, and cares nothing for God's glory is a base, worldly, selfish heart, and has no resemblance to the *new heart* of the Gospel.

Christ's kingdom on earth is that in which the glory of God is more involved, than in any thing within our reach. Every renewed heart loves the church, and desires, and rejoices in its advancement. Every article of intelligence which relates to the conquests of the Redeemer, the triumphs of the cross and the conversion of men is cheering to his spirits, and grateful to his heart. For this cause he is willing to labour, to suffer, and to

die. Whatever of talents, of learning, of influence, of wealth, God has given him, he considers all as consecrated to the service of God. And his language is, *Lord what wilt thou have me to do?*

There are, indeed, many nominal Christians, and many strict professors, who feel differently; who will scarcely stir a finger, or give a dollar, to promote the kingdom of Christ. But we read in the Scriptures, that while many are called, few are chosen; that but few of those who seek to enter in at the strait gate are able to find it; that many draw nigh to God with their lips while their heart is far from him. We judge no man in particular, but, lay it down as a decisive mark of a renewed heart, that the man will make God's glory the chief end of all his actions and plans; and that the advancement and prosperity of this object will be very dear to him and will greatly rejoice his heart.

Here we might finish our labour, for he who truly loves God has every other mark of piety, and undoubtedly is possessed of a new heart; but as the Scriptures present this subject under many different aspects, it will be proper to give some other views of it, that every one may have the best opportunity of determining what his own spiritual condition is.

A sincere love of the truth, and inflexible attachment to it under all temptations to deny or abandon it, is one evidence of a new heart. The new man is born of the incorruptible seed of the Word of God; is begotten by the word of truth, and sanctified, and guided, and comforted by the truth, it is natural for him therefore to love the truth. It is the food by which he lives. It is sweet to his state, sweeter than the honeycomb, and more desirable than fine gold. There is a sweet accordance between the truth of God, and the feelings of the new heart. His language is, *O, how I love thy law!* it is my meditation day and night. *He that abideth in the doctrine of Christ he hath both the Father and the Son. I rejoiced greatly that I found of thy children walking in the truth.* The real Christian will part with life sooner than relinquish the truth of God. If all should forsake it, yet by the help of God, will not he. This then is his characteristic.

The apostle Paul declares, that, *If any man be in Christ he is a new creature, old things are passed away, behold all things are become new.*

Here we may observe that this change cannot take place in a person arrived at the years of discretion, without his observation. In the *new creation* old things are passed away, and all things are become new. Now as this complete revolution takes place in a man's own mind, of all the exercises of which he must



be conscious, it is clear that he cannot have been the subject of such a new creation, without some knowledge of the fact. The renewed man may, indeed, sometimes doubt whether what he has experienced is a genuine conversion, but he cannot doubt that he has undergone a change. He cannot but remember the various impressions, convictions, conflicts, discouragements, heart-troubles; and also the light, the truth, the hopes, the sweet meltings of soul, the feelings of gratitude, love, and confidence, which have at one time or another occupied his mind. Those, therefore, who cannot look back to a great change in their views and feelings, either gradual or sudden, ought not to entertain, for a moment, the hope that they have received *a new heart*.

To this there is one exception. They may be some now, as in former times, who have been sanctified from their birth, or from the womb. But such cases, when they occur, will carry with them their own evidence. From childhood, from the earliest dawn of reason, such persons will manifest such a love of divine truth, such a tenderness of conscience, such a readiness to perform all known duties, such a fondness for the people and ordinances of God, such a delight in hearing of Christ and heaven, and such an exemption from the common predominant vices of children, such as lying, vanity, envy, ill-will, attachment to their own interest, that the *new creation*, although we cannot observe its commencement, will show itself by the light, beauty, and order which surround it, and are impressed upon it. When any person, then, has now, and always has had, a heart to love God, and delight in his service, he may without scruple believe, that this good work was wrought upon him prior to his recollection. But let no one deceive himself with a vain delusive hope, who has only been preserved from gross immoralities, and has often been the subject of religious impressions from his youth up; for it may be presumed, that this is the case with the majority of those who have had the advantages of a religious education. Let every one, then, look back with serious impartiality, and inquire what change of views and feelings he has experienced, which corresponds with the *new creation*, in which old things have passed away, and all things have become new.

The same apostle, in his epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, uses language of this sort, in relation to this change; *And that ye put off, concerning the former conversation, the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts; and be renewed in the spirit of your mind: And that ye put on the new man, which after God, is created in righteousness and true holiness. Seeing that ye have put off the old man with his deeds, and have put on the new man, which*

is renewed in knowledge, after the image of him that created him. And again, he describes those who are made alive and saved by grace, as persons created in Christ Jesus unto good works. Among the deeds of the old man, specified as those which must be put away are, *lying, cherished anger, stealing, corrupt communications, bitterness, wrath, clamour, evil-speaking, and all malice*. Now, from these passages we learn, that the Christian has become a new man, in principle and practice; and that a reformation of life, by which he turns away from all his former vices, of whatever kind and degree they might be, is an essential thing in his character, according to the Scriptures. Those professors, therefore, who retain any of their sins, and habitually practise them, secretly or openly, have not put on the new man, and are not renewed in the spirit of their minds. As the "putting off the old man" is nothing else than forsaking all our former sins, of every sort, so "putting on the new man" is acquiring the habits and exercising the graces of a holy life. These are too numerous to be here specified, the principal are *faith, love, humility, charity, meekness, temperance, thankfulness, prayer, &c.* Now let every one who wishes to decide whether he has a new heart, turn to those passages where the fruits of the Spirit, and Christian graces are enumerated, and ask himself, as he reads each particular, does my heart produce this fruit? Let us be assured, that religion is the same now that it was in the days of the apostles. And if our religion will not bear the scrutiny of Scripture marks, it is false; and our hearts are not renewed.

Another evidence of a renewed heart, which is much insisted on by the apostle John, and is indeed laid down by Christ himself, as a distinguishing mark of a true disciple, is *love to the brethren*. *He that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in darkness even until now. He that loveth his brother abideth in the light. We know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren: he that loveth not his brother abideth in death. And Christ says, These things I command you, that ye love one another. Hereby shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.* Without this brotherly affection, all gifts, and all knowledge, and all sacrifices, even of all our goods, and life itself, will profit nothing.

Some think that this is so low a mark of piety, that there is danger of announcing it, lest unconverted men should be led to think well of their condition. But our wisdom is, implicitly to follow the Scriptures. If Christ and his apostles have insisted especially on this evidence of piety, we need not be afraid to depend

on it as certain. But although unrenewed men may and will deceive themselves, by supposing that they possess this and other marks of piety, the children must not be deprived of their allotted food, because dogs snatch at it. The truth, however, is that there is no characteristic of piety of which carnal men are more utterly destitute than of love to the brethren. They may love them with a natural affection because they are relatives, or be pleased with them because they are amiable, or be attached to them because they do not stand in the way of their ambition; or because they receive benefits from them; they may, moreover, feel respect for the consistency of their religious character, but they have no complacency in their holy character—they feel no fervent affection for them because they are Christ's. On these accounts they are hated of the world. But the new heart cleaves to the people of God, like Ruth to Naomi, who said, "*thy people shall be my people and thy God my God.*" There is among sincere Christians, a peculiarly strong, tender, and pure affection. No bond on earth is so close and sacred. They are *taught of God to love one another with a pure heart fervently.* Such is the strength of this love that he who feels it is ready to lay down his life for the brethren. This renders the communion of Christians delightful. They have the same Saviour, and being animated by the same spirit, their mutual intercourse is sweet, and they continually endeavour not to please themselves, but their brethren for their good. They "weep with them that weep, and rejoice with them that rejoice," and are "kindly affectioned one to another, in honour preferring one another." If it be said, that few possess this temper, then we must conclude, that there are few real Christians. If brotherly love waxes cold in any church or society, most certainly true religion is at a low ebb in that society. Love of a party is a quite different thing. Brotherly love embraces with kind affection Christians of other denominations, and is exercised towards the poor and afflicted, as well as the rich and prosperous. It is attended also with good works. It does not say, *go, be fed and clothed*, but is ready to administer to the wants of Christ's needy followers. The strongest recommendation of this grace is found in the words which Christ will address to his disciples at the last day. *Then shall the king say to them on his right hand, come ye blessed of my father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world, for I was an hungered and ye gave me meat, I was thirsty and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger and ye took me in; naked and ye clothed me; I was sick, and ye visited me; I was in prison, and ye came unto me. Verily I say*

*unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.*

Another characteristic of a *new heart* is, trust in God, and submission to his will. *Thy will be done* is the sincere language of the pious heart, at all times, and when heavy afflictions press on the soul, it may cry out in agony, *if it be possible let this cup pass from me*: but soon it rejoins, *not my will, but thine be done*. And when sore bereavements deeply wound the tenderest feelings of nature, the language of the renewed heart is, *"It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good."* The strokes of God's chastising rod irritate the proud, and sink others into hopeless sorrow, but they drive the pious closer to his God; for as he knows by experience that there is shelter under the wings of his mercy, he flies thither as to a safe refuge.

But that mark on which the Scriptures lay the greatest stress, is one of a general nature, which includes all others, it is *a good life*. *The tree is known by its fruits*. A good man, out of the good treasure of his heart, bringeth forth that which is good. In this sense a man is justified by works, for he must prove the reality of his faith by his works; for faith without works is dead. God's redeemed sons are *zealous of good works*. *"Beloved,"* says the apostle John, *"follow not that which is evil, but that which is good. He that doeth good is of God; but he that doeth evil hath not seen God. Whoso keepeth his word, in him verily is the love of God perfected."* All they that are in Christ, *"walk not after the flesh but after the spirit."* Christ says, *"If ye love me keep my commandments."* *"If ye keep my commandments ye shall abide in my love."* *"He that abideth in me and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit."* *"Herein is my father glorified that ye bear much fruit, so shall ye be my disciples."*

Saul, of Tarsus, was a persecutor, and a blasphemer, and a murderer, hurried on by false zeal, but when he was on his way to Damascus, he received a new heart. And from that day and hour he was an humble, zealous, laborious, patient, and devout man. He spent his life in travelling and preaching in the midst of cruel enemies, who often scourged, beat, and imprisoned him. But his purpose never wavered, his zeal never abated, his patience and fortitude never gave way, but he went on praying for blessings on all, and sacrificing every thing that men count dear, for the promotion of the Gospel. Through a long life, he exhibited, in spirit, and conduct, a bright example of piety. His zeal for God's glory, his love to the Saviour, his affection for all true Christians, his benevolence to all men and tender concern for their salvation. His spirit of devotion, his indefatigable labours,

his patience, his self-denial, his trust in God, and contempt of worldly honours and possessions, do all most clearly manifest a heart renewed by the grace of God. All Christians, it is true, do not come up to the standard of Paul's experience and excellence; but all truly converted persons have something of the same spirit which was in this apostle; for true religion, though it differs in degree, is every where the same in kind.

Many persons, also, in modern times, give indubitable evidence of a new heart. Their whole views and tempers are changed. The tiger becomes a lamb. The proud, vindictive, covetous, and unclean, become humble, meek, contented, pure, benevolent, and devout. The change is often so remarkable, that all around observe it, and cannot but wonder at the alteration. Such monuments of the reality and power of the grace of God are, happily, to be met with in almost every place where the Gospel is faithfully preached.

It may be proper now to adduce some examples to show, how a renewed heart shows itself in the life.

A woman who had been a sinner, that is, a great sinner, having become penitent, (and repentance is nothing else than receiving a new heart,) felt such love to Christ that it constrained her to follow him into a house, where she knew that her presence would be detestable to the master of the house; but being filled with penitential grief for her past sins, she poured out a flood of tears on the Saviour's feet as they lay extended on the couch, and then kissed his feet and wiped them with her hair. Here was a new heart, for there was much love, and much humility and godly sorrow; and accordingly, her forgiveness was prompt and full. (See Luke vii.)

The Publican who prayed at the same time as the Pharisee in the temple, smote upon his breast and cried, *God be merciful to me a sinner*, had a new heart, for it was an humble, penitent, and believing heart; and accordingly he went down to his house justified.

The Syro-Phenician who would take no denial of her suit, but made a new plea of every objection, discovered evidence of a new heart, for no other heart professes such faith as this, or perseveres so importunately in prayer. And the nobleman who sent for Christ, but thought himself unworthy that He should come under his roof, had a new heart, for no one unrenewed is so bowed in humility.

On the other hand, Peter, although under the power of sudden temptation, wickedly denied his Lord with curses and oaths; yet showed that he had received a new heart, for when his Master looked upon him, and he was led to think of his conduct, his

heart was melted into contrition, and he went out and wept bitterly.

Mary, the sister of Lazarus, was so filled with desire of learning from Jesus, when he lodged at her house, that she omitted all attention to common business, that she might fully improve the precious privilege of hearing the instructions of her Lord: for while her more careful worldly sister was cumbered with much serving, she sat at Jesus' feet and heard his words. Mary had received a new heart, for she chose the better part which shall never be taken away from her.

Judas discovered that his heart was unrenewed because he was deliberately and habitually a thief, and for the love of money betrayed his Lord. And when convinced of his great sin, he did not repent with a godly sorrow, but with guilty despair, and went away and hanged himself. But Peter gave evidence that the root of the matter was in him, for even when he fell foully under the power of temptation, he almost instantly repented, and wept bitterly on account of his transgression.

Two thieves were crucified with Christ; one of them reviled him, but the other reproved his companion, and prayed to Jesus to remember him when he came into his kingdom. This was a prayer of faith. It proceeded from a renewed heart, and was graciously heard and fully answered. *This day*, said the dying Jesus, *shalt thou be with me in paradise.* Was ever scene like this? One dying man prays to another, who was also in the agonies of death, for a blessing, when he should receive his kingdom, and immediately, has a promise of an immediate entrance into paradise!

**ART. V.—1.** *The Fundamental Principles of Evangelical Pietism, (viz: the Doctrines of Adam's Fall, Original Sin, and the Atonement) examined on Scriptural grounds, Compared with the Opinions of the Christian Church in the first three Centuries, and Judged in Reference to their utility, as parts of Christian Theology.* By Dr. C. G. Bretschneider, General Superintendent at Gotha, Leipzig, 1833. 8vo. pp. 420.\*

**2.** *The Advancement of Christianity to be the Religion of the World.* By Dr. C. F. Van Ammon, First Court Preacher to the King of Saxony. Leipzig, 1833. 8vo. pp. 281.†

**PIETISM** is a term of honourable reproach, analogous to Puritanism and Methodism in England. The origin of the term is a most interesting topic of religious history, into which we cannot, and need not enter now. What sort of a thing the German pietism of the present day is, may be gathered from the fact, that its "fundamental principles" are the doctrines of depravity and atonement. This we learn, not merely from the Pietists themselves, but from their adversaries. The title of the first book at the head of this article is a sufficient proof, that a war against pietism is a war against the dogmas of Adam's fall, original sin, and Christ's atoning sacrifice. Now it so happens that these are the subjects of dispute among ourselves. Not only are they, in their very essence, the terror and the loathing of all unbelievers; but alas, alas, the church itself is dividing in regard to them. The atmosphere of local controversy is a hazy one; and it is beneficial to exchange it for another, till the vision regains strength, and the lungs respire more freely. This end might be accomplished by an entire suspension of polemical discussion. But the subjects of dispute are too important and exciting to admit of intermission. While one combatant reposes, others carry on the fight, and an armistice on one side only, is a sure defeat. It may therefore be advisable to relieve the jaded faculties by a simple change of the localities and parties. The relative position of the German theologians, and their method of discussion, are so different from ours, that a visit to their camp

\* Die Grundlage des evangelischen Pietismus, oder die Lehren von Adams Fall, der Erbenende, und dem Opfer Christi. Nach Gruenden der heiligen Schrift gepueft, mit den Ansichten der Christlichen, Kirche der drey ersten Jahrhunderten verglichen, und nach ihrem Gebrauche fuer die Christliche Theologie beurtheilt.

† Die Fortbildung des Christenthums zur Weltreligion. Eine Ansicht der hoeheren Dogmatik.

may serve a very useful purpose to our own belligerents. For this purpose no more opportune occasion could present itself than the appearance of the book, to which we have referred our readers. It appeared during the last year, and is therefore, not yet antiquated even in its own country. The sensation which it there produced was strong; so strong that it may well be looked upon as one of the most remarkable theological phenomena of the present day. And as to the author, his name is too well known, even among ourselves, to need a formal introduction. The biblical students of America have of late become familiar with the name of Bretschneider and some kindred spirits, in connexion with critical and doctrinal discussions. We have heard what he thinks of certain points in exegesis. Let us hear him on the fall of Adam and the sacrifice of Christ.

The book appears to have been designed particularly for the use of laymen, and with a special view to free them from the "anguish, the insanity, and the humiliating self-contempt" which *pietism* produces. This is weighty testimony in favour of the truth, and not the less so, for being borne by such a witness. No one, who understands the Bible, and believes it, need be told, that repentance and humility are tests of orthodox belief.

One circumstance which distinguishes this book, and many others like it, from the productions of our own illiterate infidels, is the form of biblical investigation which it every where assumes. It is not a metaphysical assault upon the truths of Christianity, nor a declamatory tissue of refuted common-places.

As the title page professes, it is an attempted refutation of the principles of pietism, on scriptural ground. The first passage expounded is the third chapter of Genesis, the object of which we are told, was to teach, that man ought to be contented with resembling God in wisdom and knowledge, and has no right to expect exemption from mortality. Here the author gives us to understand, that death, according to the Old Testament, is a natural and original arrangement, and that no such thing is there taught as a depravation of the will or understanding. We beg the reader to look at the points on which this infidel prelate soars above the prejudices of the olden time. It may be of use to know where it is that German rationalists have discovered the absurdity and falsehood of the Scriptures. We shall then be less surprised to find the same points assaulted, with various degrees of violence, by other theologians of a better reputation.

In the New Testament, says Dr. Bretschneider, there is nothing about the image of God being lost, nor is the fall of Adam mentioned except in an incidental manner. The meaning of



Romans v. 15. is that through the offence of Adam men became inhabitants of Hades. No one, however, can be "guilty of death" except by means of actual transgression. The subject is introduced by the Apostle, we are told, simply for the purpose of showing to the Jewish Christians on their own principles, that God could save the heathen without an observance of the law. We are no strangers to this act of transmuting the plain direct assertions of the Bible into illustrations and allusions.

After these specimens, the reader will not wonder to be told that faith, in the New Testament, never means reliance on the grace of God and the sacrifice of Christ, but a mere reception of Christianity, and a profession of Christian belief on receiving baptism.

The historical portion of the work undertakes to prove, from Barnabas, Hermas, both Clements, Ignatius, Justin, Theophilus, Irenæus, Origen, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, the fourth book of Esdras, the Testament of the twelve Patriarchs, the "Clementina," the Gospel of Nicodemus, the Sibylline writings, and the Apostolical constitutions, that in the first three centuries, the doctrine of original sin was unknown; and there was no settled belief respecting Adam's fall, the image of God, the future state of the soul, and other kindred topics; these dogmas forming no part of the popular religion, and being left to the discretion of the theologians.

The most important part of the book, however, is the discussion of the question, what use ought to be made of these doctrines in the theology of the present day. Here we have implied and asserted that favourite notion of our own empirics, with respect to the improvements of the science of theology. Let us see how the general superintendent of Gotha carries out the idea. Be it remembered that Dr. C. G. Bretschneider, though once supposed to be an almost Christian, or, only a half-way infidel, is at present one of the acknowledged heads of the party still called *rationalists* in Germany, and that very few belonging to that party do refuse to recognise him as a flattering sample and an authentic organ. It is true, as we may take occasion elsewhere to set forth, that rationalism strictly so called, is declining in the German schools and churches, and that other forms of error, more refined and subtle, are usurping its dominion. It is also true that some of the best men in Germany are strong in the persuasion, that our own country is the field on which the enemy whom they are driving out, is hereafter to appear. However weak and groundless this opinion may be thought, it well becomes us to look narrowly at the misshapen fiend, in his German incarnations, that we may not be startled when we see his hideous

lineaments half hidden by the disguise of an angel of light among ourselves.

What then is Bretschneider's opinion on the subject last referred to? He begins by manifestly exploding the old hermeneutic principle, that all the contents of the Bible have a reference, more or less direct, to matters of religion. On the ruins of this old wives' fable, he erects the principle of *rationalism*, founded on induction (!) It is that religion is a development of the human faculties in such a manner as to fit them for the knowledge of religious truths, which knowledge is to be obtained by observation of facts.\* To revealed religion therefore, appertains not the form in which the truth has been evolved, but only the pure product of the evolution. It is on this very principle, we are informed, that the Apostle Paul proceeds in all the passages which bear upon the doctrines now in question. Death is represented as a punishment for sin, in order to teach us that the progress to perfection must be internal as well as external, or it cannot be at all. Christ is represented as a victor over the evil spirits, in order to exhort us to destroy the evil within us, and so gain eternal life. The death of Christ is represented as an expiatory sacrifice, in order to convince us, that the moral development of human character begins with imperfection, and includes a period subject, *as it were*, to demoniacal influence; but that God forgives the offences of this period, when the individual becomes a new man by spiritual baptism and wears the true image of God.

If the reader is struck with the obscurity and vagueness of these propositions, he must also be surprised at the use made of scriptural expressions, and the air of spirituality thrown over the infidel inanities. This is far more true of the author's own full statement than of our mere outlines, though even these exemplify the fact which we assert. It is not at random that we call attention to this little circumstance, but for the express purpose of reminding heedless readers, that the officious exhibition of scriptural formulas is never any proof of scriptural belief, for in Germany as well as in Judea and America "the devil can quote Scripture for his purpose."

The conclusion drawn from the considerations we have quoted is, that Christianity is not a scheme of expiation for original and actual sin, but a system of symbols designed to create and consummate in the minds of men the idea of immortality, and so to fit them for their lofty destination. The pietistical principles (of

\* The original term is *Weltanschauung*, contemplation of the world. But *world* seems to be used in the wide sense of universal history, civil, natural and religious.

depravity and atonement) are consequently unscriptural, and can find no place in a system of biblical theology.

The learned author of this book has, by his forced interpretations, and his disingenuous tampering with historical testimony, incurred the stinging censure of some contemporary critics, one of whom asks why he was not honest and bold enough to call the doctrines, which he fights against, "the fundamental principles of the Protestant church," instead of masking his design by the employment of a nickname on his title page.\*

We turn from Bretschneider to his worthy compeer Christopher von Ammon. This man, the infidel chaplain of a popish king, has been longer and more avowedly a thorough-paced rationalist than the superintendent of Gotha. Instead of assailing the Gospel therefore, under the name of *pietism*, he assumes at once an air of condescension, and on his very title page, appears as the protector and the patron of the Christian faith. He resembles his fellowcraft, however, in his attachment to the idea of developing, refining and improving Christianity. This is indeed the Shibboleth of modern new-lights. They occupy such different stations in the scale of degeneracy, that they cannot be identified by boundary lines. It is convenient therefore to be furnished with a countersign by which to challenge spies and interlopers in the camp of Israel.

These two books, though of the same stuff, are not of the same pattern. Bretschneider's book is critical, Ammon's is declamatory. The one is famous for his learning, the other for his eloquence. The superintendent deals out Greek and Hebrew with profusion, makes a show of exegesis, and puts the Fathers to the torture. The court-preacher weaves a splendid web of German rhetoric about Church and State, the march of intellect and the spirit of the age. They come together just at the point of strong contempt for old fashioned orthodoxy, with its absurd array of creeds, confessions, faith, and common sense. So may we see, in other lands, the spider's web of heresy spun out in different directions, or from different starting points, by insects most unlike in their appearance. But the circles are concentric and will constantly assume more unity of aspect, until swept from the walls and pillars of the Church by the besom of destruction.

Some of our countrymen appear to believe, in the simplicity of their hearts, that this theory of theological improvement is an invention of their own. We are sorry to disturb the dreams of happy ignorance; but sacred truth requires it. Many a poor

\* Rheinwald's Allgemeines Repertorium. November 21, 1833.

artisan, on finding that his fancied invention was already on record in the patent office, has felt the bitterness of Solomon's experience, "There is nothing new under the sun." A kindred pang would visit some of our brethren, old and young, if they could be listeners long enough to learn, that their complacent speculations on the march of mind in matters of theology, are but pitiful crudities, compared with the consistent, bold, and masterly development of the self-same principle, by such unshackled Germans as Christopher von Ammon. That benignant patron of the true religion, in his zeal for "the *advancement*\* of Christianity to be the religion of the world," undertakes to tell us how far this process of improvement can be carried, or in other words, how much of Christianity is absolute and incapable of change, and how much merely temporary and *perfectible*. Under the former description falls the belief in one God and his essential attributes, and also the *moral* divinity of the character of Christ as our model under the new dispensation. These, he distinctly states, are represented in the Scriptures as doctrines immutable and beyond the reach of all fluctuations in opinion. Dr. von Ammon is not therefore to be stigmatized as one who recognizes no fixed articles of faith. He has no less than two; quite a rich supply in these days of theological retrenchment.

But what is the *perfectible* or transitory element in the Christian system? It is, 1. Every thing in Christianity that arises from, or belongs to, its connexion with the Old Testament!

2. Every thing in Christianity that arises from, or belongs to, the personality or individuality of its earliest teachers, (Christ and his apostles)!!

3. The historical statements, the moral and theological doctrines, contained, or supposed to be contained, in the oldest record of our faith!!!

This is perfectibility with a witness! This is indeed the march of mind and an advance of theological science. We have not been able to present the triple classification of our author, wholly free from the peculiarities of his German terminology. It is too easy to perceive, however, what his classes are designed to comprehend. The first cut off, not only the Old Testament *en masse*, as a part of revelation, but every thing in the New, that can be possibly referred to a Jewish origin.

From the meager residuum which survives this operation, we are next to set aside whatever, to the eye of arbitrary criticism, betrays the impress of the individual through whom it was re-

\* *Fortbildung* means continued cultivation and improvement.

† "—das Sittichgoetliche in der Persoenlichkeit Jesu —."

vealed. To one who is aware how little inspiration interferes with the display of individuality, and how strongly marked the Scriptures are with the distinctive traits of individual character, we need not say that these two canons are perfectly exhaustive. There is nothing left. And yet, as if on purpose to preclude evasion, or to try the strength of theological gravity, the old man adds a category which includes the other two, and sets exception at defiance. It might have been imagined that the *ethics* of the Scriptures would at least be spared. Even infidels and libertines have made set speeches in behalf of Christian morals. But that was in the days of old-school formality. Mind, mind is on the march, and the Upper Court Preacher to the king of Saxony is at the head of the column. In a line so long it is very possible that some may not be in sight of the commander. Yet are they not the less component parts of the mixed multitude, and we are sore afraid that some who look like independent chiefs, are only corporals and drum-majors in the army of the Ammonites.

We have given the essence of Ammon's system, and may spare ourselves the labour of reporting its ridiculous details. No American Christian, after reading the prodigious stuff which we have laid before him, will ask for a refutation. The absurdity and impudence of such a barefaced infidel's professing Christianity, is only matched by the atrocious wickedness of defiling the Lord's table with his unhallowed touch, and dishonouring the Gospel by pretending to proclaim it.

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ART. VI.—*The Life of the Rev. Rowland Hill, A. M.* By the Rev. Edwin Sidney, A. M. London, (printed.) New York, (reprinted,) 1834. 12mo.

A FEW years ago there were living, at the same time, five brothers and sisters of the family of Hill, each of whom had passed the boundary of three score years and ten. The last survivor was the Rev. Rowland Hill, whose life is now before us. Another little circumstance, which we may mention, is, that on one occasion, there sat down to table, and upon one side of it, the Rowland Hills of three generations. These were the Rev. Rowland Hill, his nephew Lord Hill, and his grand-nephew Sir Rowland, now member of parliament for Shropshire. This was in the house of Rowland's brother John, who had five sons in the battle of Waterloo, every one of whom returned in safety

to the bosom of his family. Many other facts might be adduced to show, that the family had other claims to distinction besides its antiquity and the longevity of its members.

Rowland Hill, was born at Hawkstone in Shropshire, August 23d, 1745. He was the sixth son of Sir Rowland Hill, Baronet. All that we know of his early childhood is, that he displayed that liveliness of disposition which in later life so strongly characterised him. It is worthy of remark, too, that he never learned to look upon this gaiety of spirit as a weakness or a fault, but to the end of life reverted with pleasure to the drolleries of his childhood.

It was at Eton school that he experienced a saving change, and there is something deeply interesting in his own declaration, that he never saw occasion to alter the simple views which he then adopted of essential Christian doctrines. The human instrument of his conversion was his eldest brother, Richard, whose religious history is worthy of remark. From the ninth to the twenty-fourth year of his age, he seems to have experienced, almost without remission, a distressing inward conflict. At Westminster, at Oxford, on the continent of Europe, in his father's house, he could find no peace. Neither religion nor the world, could give him comfort; and very often during this long trial, his distress arose to agony. The first relief which he obtained was from a private interview with Fletcher of Madeley, held at an inn in Shrewsbury, at the request of Hill, but without revealing his name. He now returned to Oxford, ostensibly to study law, but really to enjoy the retirement of a college. Here his dejection was exchanged for rapture, and his subsequent intercourse with Romaine in London, gave him no small comfort, though he still experienced sudden alternations, which arose, perhaps, in some degree, from constitutional causes.

It cannot be thought surprising, that one who had experienced such things as these, should feel a strong desire for the conversion of his friends. With untiring assiduity, he warned, exhorted, and advised his younger brothers then at Eton, urging them both to diligence in study and attention to their souls, and supplying them with such books as he thought would do them good. While one of the lads appeared to waver and to halt, the other furnished pleasing evidence of genuine conversion. This was Rowland, whose new principles were first displayed by the courageous zeal with which he preached the Gospel to his school-fellows. Contempt and censure were as nothing to him, and there is satisfactory proof that his juvenile efforts were blessed to the conversion of souls. Nay, so thorough-going was his Christian enterprise, that while he remained at Eton, he

formed a society among the boys for religious improvement, the effects of which were permanently felt, and gratefully remembered.

There were six livings, of considerable value, in the gift of the Hill family, but so restricted that they could only be conferred on fellows of St. John's College, Cambridge. As it was his father's wish that Rowland should enter the church, in which he fully acquiesced, he was sent to Cambridge, instead of Oxford, where most of his family were bred, in order to qualify him for presentation. He entered as a pensioner, but on a change of his designs, became a fellow-commoner, a class of students, who from their superior rank and situation, are not eligible to fellowships.

Young Rowland's outward trials were not left behind at Eton. They were just beginning. After stemming a torrent of reproach and ridicule from thoughtless school-boys, he was obliged to endure the frowns of both his parents. His tender affection for them might have made this insupportable, had not the presence of his devoted brother and a pious sister afforded him relief. His biographer adds, that a godly nobleman, highly respected by the family, helped to moderate the parental opposition. Such a nobleman should not have been left nameless.

That his outward comforts was not much enhanced by a removal to Cambridge, may be gathered from the affecting observation which he made himself; that "he was such a marked and hated person, merely on account of his religion, that nobody in the college ever gave him a cordial smile, except the old shoe-black at the gate, who had the love of Christ in his heart."

One of the earliest acquaintance of Rowland Hill at Cambridge, was Berridge, the well-known itinerant clergyman, who, though he had a stated parish, and a private fortune, preached for many years in fields and farm-yards, through the counties of Cambridge, Essex, Hartford, Bedford, and Huntingdon. He rented houses and barns, maintained lay-preachers, and travelled at his own expense. Under his influence, Rowland Hill began to manifest a zeal which, though sincere, was too erratic to escape official censure. In addition to his labours among the students, some of whom ascribed their conversion to his instrumentality, and among the sick and prisoners, he began to preach in Cambridge and the adjoining villages. This, as might have been expected, increased the censure of the college officers, and the opposition soon became so violent, that he consulted Whitefield. The answer to his letter was highly characteristic, urging him to continue in his labour of love, defying opposition, and rejoicing in reproach. "That is a poor building that a

little stinking breath of Satan's vassals can throw down. Go on, therefore, my dear man, go on." Is it strange that with such encouragement, from such a man as Whitefield, an ardent youth of twenty-one should have committed actual excesses? Is it even right to blame him with severity, when he certainly did wrong? We have no doubt that, whatever good may have resulted from his labours, the immediate effect of this irregular excitement on his own mind was injurious. His biographer gives extracts from his diary at this time, in relation, chiefly, to his public exercises. From the frequent allusions to the scanty audience, and his own dejection when preaching to a few, as well as his triumphant record of the mobbings he experienced, it is very clear, that an unconscious appetite for brilliant notoriety, was largely mingled with his unaffected ardour in the cause of Christ.

In the midst of these personal exertions at Cambridge, he maintained a correspondence with such as were like-minded in the sister University. There, the opposition was more violent than at Cambridge, and resulted in the expulsion of six young men on various grounds, but chiefly upon that of Methodism and the connexion with such men as Newton, Veinn, and Fletcher. This event gave rise to a public controversy, and affected Rowland Hill most sensibly. It did not however interrupt his course at Cambridge, where, in spite of bitter foes and cautious friends, he still pursued his bold career. It is a remarkable fact, that during this whole period his academical studies were by no means slighted, so that when he took his first degree in 1769, his name appeared upon the list of honours, an unusual thing, in those days, for a fellow-commoner. Nor was his religious zeal at all tinctured with moroseness. His constitutional vivacity continued unimpaired, and he was exceeded by no person, either at school or college, in athletic exercises, with the sole exception of his brother Robert. In riding, skating, and swimming he especially excelled. His favourite branch of study seems to have been mathematics in its application to natural philosophy, a preference which he entertained through life. Before we leave this period of history, we must mention, that in Cambridge, as in Eton, he had organized a society of students for religious improvement. Some of its members were his seniors in the University, and were settled in the ministry before he had completed his education. With these he maintained a constant correspondence, rendered more interesting by the diversity of sentiment among them, upon certain practical subjects, particularly that of *irregular* efforts to promote the cause of Christ. We were forcibly struck with one short extract from a



letter written by a young man, who was strongly in favour of the course pursued by Whitefield, Berridge, and on a smaller scale by Hill. The allusion is to a fellow student who on this point cherished opposite opinions; "you need not I think, mention any thing to Simpson, of what I design by the will of God to do in the ministry either now or afterwards. I dare not give him any pain, and though we think differently about the methods of advancing the kingdom of Christ, yet I am sure his eye is more single than mine, and what I very often take in myself to be a burning zeal, is nothing but constitution."

While Rowland Hill was an under-graduate, his eldest brother was pursuing his labour of love at home. When the young men already mentioned were expelled from Oxford, he assailed the act in a pamphlet called *Pietas Oxoniensis*, and when this was answered by the public orator of the University, he published a rejoinder called *Goliath Slain*. But the most interesting view of his character is that presented by his efforts for the spiritual good of his dependents and poor neighbours. Though the heir of an ancient and honourable family, he became a village preacher and a visiter of prisons. His affectionate interest in those whom Providence had placed far below him in society, is beautifully evinced by the following entry in a little memorandum book. "February 6, 1766, this day, being Thursday, about a quarter past twelve at noon, my dear humble faithful servant, Giles Archer, sweetly fell asleep in Jesus. His disorder was a fever, which lasted exactly three weeks. The Lord enable me to follow him as he followed Christ." This noble Christian gentleman with all his brother's zeal, appears to have had little of his extravagance, a difference explained by the fact already mentioned, that he attained to peace of mind through conflicts of intense severity and astonishing duration, while Rowland had experienced scarcely any trials but those which were external. Opposition *ab extra* often hardens while it fortifies, or at least confirms the erratic singularities which called it forth. The sevenfold furnace of internal trial, not only purifies, but softens and subdues. The benevolent exertions of a man like Richard Hill could not fail to make a powerful impression on the laity around him. Well might Whitefield say, "a prison-preaching, field-preaching Esq. strikes more than all the black gowns and lawn sleeves in the world." In a short time, however, he relinquished this particular form of Christian effort, and leaving the pulpit to its regular incumbents, confined himself to labours more consistent with his own situation and the order of the church.

On leaving the University, Rowland Hill was placed in a predicament extremely mortifying, but which might have been

foreseen. Unwilling to forsake the church of England, yet unwilling to promise strict obedience to her rules, he was met upon the threshold of the ministry by a severe repulse. No less than six bishops successively refused to give him ordination. His impatience to take order was increased by a singular presentiment that his life would be a short one!

Whitefield being now dead, Hill depended for advice upon his old friend Berridge, who, with all his piety, contributed but little to correct the young man's characteristic errors. As a sample of his judgment, we may mention that the conduct of Sir Richard Hill, in ceasing to preach publicly, incurred his sore displeasure. Nevertheless, both he and Rowland Hill were very strong in their attachment to the liturgy and articles. In the case of the latter, this was clearly proved by his adhesion to the church in spite of all the barriers which her prelates reared between him and the ministry. After living in retirement at his father's house for some time, he began again to preach, in consequence of which, popular insult was soon added to ecclesiastical censure and parental disapprobation. Berridge the while encouraged him to continue 'a spiritual comet,' and assured him that the darkest moment in the whole *nucthemeron* was just before the break of day. In the course of his preaching expeditions, he visited a multitude of places, and laboured, apparently, with such success, that Mr. Wesley took occasion to express his approbation in emphatic terms. During these exertions he derived no benefit from the rank and affluence of his family. In order, both to punish and prevent his eccentricities, Sir Rowland Hill allowed him but a scanty pittance. His journeys were made upon a little pony presented by a clergyman, and he depended for subsistence upon Christian hospitality.

In 1771, Mr. Hill preached in Somersetshire, Gloucestershire, and Wiltshire, cheered and directed by occasional letters from Mr. Berridge, in one of which we find these characteristic sentences: "God sends you out to thrash the mountains, and a glorious thrashing it is." "If you meet with success, as I trust you will, expect clamour and threats from the world, and a little venom now and then from the children. These bitter herbs make good sauce for a young recruiting serjeant, whose heart would be lifted up with pride, if it was not kept down by these pressures." The extracts from Hill's diary, at this period, show that he met with that variety of treatment in his public ministrations, which Wesley and Whitefield had experienced before him. Sometimes he was pelted with stones and rotten eggs, sometimes silenced by the din of pans and shovels, horns and bells. In other cases he was heard with breathless interest and deep

respect; and on one occasion three hundred people came from a neighbouring town and took him home to preach. In the midst of these vicissitudes, we find him saying: "I am more than ever convinced that itinerant preaching does a world of good, and that God blesses it continually." "I am fully satisfied as to field-preaching. I know the Lord puts honour upon it."

There can be no doubt, indeed, that he achieved a great deal for the cause of Christ. An old lady at Wotton, in Gloucestershire, used to relate, that she was sitting one day at her tea, when a relation came in saying, "Ann, the baronet's son who goes about preaching is under the market-house." "Are you sure it is the baronet's son?" "Yes; that I am, for I saw his brother, Mr. Richard Hill, not long ago, and he is so like him, I am sure he is of the same family." She went, and was awakened. On this occasion, a man who stood by her was about to throw a stone at Mr. Hill, when another laid hold of him, and said in the Gloucestershire dialect, "If thee dost touch him, I'll knock thy head off." The man dropped the stone, and the people became quiet. These little anecdotes are vivid pictures, and as such, worth volumes of mere prosing. We must copy another which relates to Richard Hill, whose determination to abandon preaching we have already mentioned. His father, charmed with this return to reason, as he thought it, sent him to Bristol to bring Rowland home. When he got there, Rowland was at Kingswood, preaching to the colliers. Richard found him in the midst of a discourse. The tears flowing down the black faces of the colliers, touched his heart. Rowland saw his emotion, and though he guessed his errand, closed the service by announcing, "My brother, Richard Hill, Esq. will preach here at this time to-morrow." The stroke succeeded. Richard preached, and instead of taking Rowland home, remained to help him in his labours.

The winter was spent by Mr. Hill at home, where he was received more kindly than he had expected. In the spring of 1772, he returned to Bristol, where he had preached before, and there renewed his labours. In the summer he came forth at London, as in some sort the successor to Whitefield, and preached to vast assemblies in the Tabernacle, and Tottenham Court Chapel. The effect of his discourses is described as very great, though in multitudes of cases it was not revealed for years. He had afterwards the rich reward of being told of many, who ascribed, upon their death-bed, their conversion to his preaching. While he was in London, he was represented in the west by captain Joss, a pious seaman, who reported progress, ever and anon, with a profusion of marine metaphor. Another assistant

in the same field was a grazier and butcher by the name of Hogg.

In the summer of 1772 Mr. Hill proceeded to his second degree in the arts, after which he preached in London, Kent, and Surry, retiring, as the winter approached, to his father's seat in Shropshire. At the close of his second chapter, Mr. Sidney gives an extract from a letter, in relation to the doctrines preached by Mr. Hill, who there complains of Wesley's gross injustice in branding Calvinists as Antinomians, and appeals to the constancy with which they denounced iniquity and preached the necessity of personal and universal holiness. "I have often known it to be a fact, that when some of those good people connected with him (Mr. W.) have ventured to break through his command, to hear what dreadful doctrines we *Antinomians* have to advance, they have been as much astonished at what they have heard in favour of holiness, as if they had been sitting on enchanted ground."

Early in the year 1773, Mr. Hill opened a negotiation, through his brother-in-law Mr. Tudway, with the Bishop of Bath and Wells. The necessity of regular ordination, as a means of greater usefulness, was so apparent, that he prevailed upon himself to exercise great caution for the purpose of securing it. It is curious to observe the effect of these restraints upon a man of such erratic temper and habits. In a letter to a friend, he gave particular directions, with respect to the inducements and considerations to be laid before the bishop, and in order to avoid giving 'immediate disgust,' consented to withdraw from public labours for a time. It would be unjust, however, not to add, that he refused to pledge himself, in one way or another, with respect to proceedings after ordination. For some weeks he confined himself to an inactive state at home, but near the end of March set out upon a journey. We are amused with the result. His diary informs us, that on the evening of the first day, he preached "to a small congregation, notice not having been given, in the Baptist meeting-house" at Coventry. Two days afterwards, March 26, he "hastened to Northampton and preached in the late Dr. Doddridge's meeting-house, to a large assembly;" "in the evening to a still larger congregation;" the next morning "in the same place, excessively crowded." On the 28th at Olney, where "a very large congregation from every quarter attended," and as no meeting-house would hold them, he preached out of doors. At Woburn he preached with much appearance of success; but was admonished, by a letter, of his great imprudence in sacrificing future usefulness to immediate action. In his answer he exclaims with some bitterness of spirit, "O that I were

at liberty to labour for my God !” And even when to his surprise and pleasure he was informed, that his overtures had been well received by Bishop Wills, it was with great reluctance that he took the necessary step of withdrawing for a time from public view. This reluctance indeed could not be expressed more strongly than in his private record of his actual retreat. “There being,” says his journal, “a considerable prospect of my ordination, retired into Shropshire, and *preached a few sermons at Hardwick, Marchamley, &c.*” Well may his biographer say, that preaching was his element; and well might Mrs. Hill in latter life, express her dread of his becoming unable to preach, as the greatest misfortune that could befall him. Through the mercy of God he did preach to the last.

On the twenty-third of May, 1773, he was married in London to the sister of his brother-in-law Mr. Tudway, and on the sixth of June he was ordained deacon by the bishop of Bath and Wells, “without any promise or condition whatever,” and as he says himself “through the kind and unexpected interposition of Providence.” The aged prelate (Dr. Wills) had already shown a favourable feeling towards the Methodists in his proceedings with respect to Mr. Rouquet, who was one of them, and in whose church at Bristol, Mr. Hill preached his first *regular sermon*, June 8, 1773.

We have already said, that Mr. Hill never learned to look upon his jocose humour as a blemish in his social character. But his biographer informs us, he frequently lamented his propensity to comic turns and ludicrous expressions in the pulpit. No sooner did he yield to this besetting sin, than he appeared to sorrow over it, and passed by an abrupt transition to unusual solemnity and pathos. We may take this opportunity to say, that many of the pulpit jokes on record, as the sayings of Rowland Hill, are, in all probability, supposititious. Mr. Sidney most emphatically states, that the current stories with respect to his observations from the pulpit about Mrs. Hill, are all without foundation. When the good old man was told of them, instead of laughing heartily, as he did at other tales, he exclaimed with indignation, “It is an abominable untruth, derogatory to my character as a Christian and a gentleman. They would make me out a bear.” And yet alas! many who know nothing of his zeal, his self-denial, and his holiness of life, are quite familiar with his fictitious speech about the “chest of drawers.” Is not this a striking comment on the danger of acquiring an extensive reputation for facetiousness, however neutralized by nobler elements of character? Many coarse minds let the qualifying circumstances slip

and hold the questionable fast, to serve as models and excuses for themselves.

Mr. Hill was ordained to serve the parish of Kingston in Somersetshire, with an annual stipend of forty pounds. On taking possession of it he began to preach almost daily in the surrounding villages. He was shortly after arrested by a violent bilious complaint, but as soon as he recovered fell to work again. He was pelted, lampooned, threatened, burnt in effigy; but his spirits never flagged. Old Berridge was in ecstasies. "Dear Sir—I mean my dear Rowly," thus he writes, "your letter was long in coming, but it brought good tidings." "I was afraid lest orders would cure you of rambling, but my fears were groundless and all is well." "Study not to be a fine preacher. Jerichos are blown down with ram's horns." "Avoid all controversy in preaching, talking, or writing. Preach nothing down but the devil, and nothing up but Jesus Christ."

It appears from Mr. Hill's own statement, that he had received a promise of priest's orders from the Bishop of Carlisle, provided some one else would give him the first degree. This is certainly odd policy in a successor of the apostles, but the promise, strange as it was, was never kept. Mr. Hill presented himself to his lordship of Carlisle with a letter dismissory from him of Bath and Wells; but the first named dignitary gave him to understand, that his Archbishop had forbidden him to redeem his pledge. Here ended his hopes of 'full orders,' and here began his new career of 'public labours.'

The close of the year 1773 was spent by Mr. Hill in active labour about London. He was at this time the most popular preacher in the metropolis, and was therefore often called upon for charity sermons, both by churchmen and dissenters. The natural simplicity and ardour of his preaching was as charming in public, as his affectionate hilarity in private life. Mr. Sidney gives the testimony of two distinguished men to the power of his discourses. The one was Sheridan, who used to say, "I go to hear Rowland Hill, because his ideas come red-hot from the heart." The other was Dean Milner, who said to him after one of his sermons, "Mr. Hill, Mr. Hill, I felt to-day. It is this slap-dash preaching, say what they will, that does all the good." In the same connexion Mr. Sidney, who is not very methodical in his remarks, takes occasion to observe, that Mr. Hill was always exquisitely pleased on being asked to preach in a church,\* and proportionally mortified when not allowed to do so. On the

\* Some of our readers may forget that in England, the very name church is monopolised by the established sect.

same principle he indignantly disclaimed the title of dissenter. "The church turned me off, not I her. I confess I like a little more liberty than she allows, and thank God, I can ask great Dr. Chalmers, and great Dr. Morrison and others, when they come to London, to preach in Surry Chapel. I suppose they would not let St. Paul, if he was to come upon earth now, preach in his own cathedral."

As the personal habits of such men are worth recording, we add from this same chapter, that even after having preached four times, with great exertion of voice, he would entertain his friends with lively conversation until late at night, and then retire, saying, "It is time for Methodist preachers to be in bed, I am sure," but only to renew his labours at the dawn of day.

After spending several months in London, Mr. Hill commenced a preaching tour in Gloucestershire and Wales. A favourite practice with him was to preach at fairs and shows, and other gatherings of the common people. His favourite text on these occasions was, 'Come out from among them.' In Wales he preached regularly twice a day, and often four times. He was followed from place to place by thousands, and was struck with the fact, that the change of the weather had no influence at all upon his Welsh conventicles. He used to say in England, "If you loved the Gospel as the Welsh do, you would not mind a shower." He was not so well pleased, however, with the jumpers whom he here encountered, and on one occasion, when a number of his hearers were reduced to this extremity, he cried out, "Let us have no more of this mummerly and nonsense!" His biographer adds, that he could never tolerate the least approach to fanaticism.

In 1775 Rowland and Richard Hill took part in the controversy between Toplady and Hervey on the one side, and the Wesleys on the other. It has often been said that the asperity was all upon the Calvinistic side,\* a statement which Mr. Sidney contradicts, not denying that there was unnecessary acrimony, but alleging that it was common to both parties.

During this year Hill preached in Kent and Gloucestershire, his head quarters being at Wotton, where he had built a house and a chapel, called the Tabernacle, in a delightful situation. The latter part of the year he divided between London and Bristol. In the former city he organized a *Societas Evangelica*, to aid settled ministers in itinerating near their homes.

At this, as well as other periods of his life, Mr. Hill was con-

\* "Never," says Southey, "were any writings more thoroughly saturated with the essential acid of Calvinism than those of the predestinarian champions."—*Life of Wesley*.

stantly rejoiced by attestations to his ministerial usefulness. Remarkable statements of this kind were often presented to him in writing, before public service, and read to the congregations. On one of these occasions a characteristic incident occurred. A paper was laid upon the desk just before the prayers commenced. He took it and began—"The prayers of the congregation are requested for—umph—for—umph—well, I suppose I must finish what I have begun—for the Reverend Rowland Hill, that he will not go riding about in his carriage on a Sunday. If the writer of this piece of folly and impertinence is in the congregation, and will go into the vestry after service, and let me put a saddle on his back, I will ride him home instead of going in my carriage."

In 1776, Mr. Hill became acquainted with Sir Harry Trelawney, then a very young man, just dismissed from Oxford, on account of irregularities similar to those committed by himself at Cambridge. It is melancholy, though not surprising, to find the clergyman of thirty encouraging this novice in a foolish imitation of himself. Here again immediate good may have resulted; but the means were more than questionable.

The readers of biographies are so accustomed to see copious extracts from religious diaries, that they are apt to be surprised when this ingredient is wanting. Up to the period which we have mentioned, Mr. Hill recorded merely the texts from which he preached, with a few words of occasional remark. In 1777 even this was discontinued, and supplied by a reference to the texts in his pocket Bible. In this year he was again involved in controversy with Wesley, during which he was obliged to repel the charge of disloyalty, founded on his preaching in favour of the American colonies.

The death of Toplady in 1778 was deeply felt by Hill. Mr. Sidney gives a letter from Mr. Matthews, father of the celebrated actor, containing an account of Toplady's last hours, while he was in attendance. This sufficiently refutes the rumours current at the time, which cast a shade over Toplady's departure, and which were attributed by some to Wesley. Richard Hill made two attempts, by letter, to obtain a disavowal from Wesley but without effect and a personal application by two of Toplady's friends was equally unsuccessful.

Rowland Hill preached often in St. George's Fields. During the riots in 1780 he addressed assemblies of near twenty thousand people. Several men of wealth who had been converted through his preaching, and were anxious to save others, formed the plan of erecting a chapel in some neglected and depraved quarter of London, of which Hill should be the minister, with liberty to



travel in the summer, and to invite men of all denominations to the pulpit. The site selected was St. George's Fields, and the name of the building, Surry chapel.

On laying the corner stone of Surry Chapel, in June, 1782, Mr. Hill preached a sermon, a pretended copy of which was given to the world soon after. This forgery annoyed him not a little, and induced him to adopt the precautionary measure of publishing himself, the sermon which he preached at the opening of the Chapel in the summer of 1783.

The control of the Chapel was vested in trustees, among whom were Mr. Hill and his eldest brother, now Sir Richard Hill. The direction of the pulpit was committed to the Minister alone, "so long as he should preach agreeably to the doctrinal standards of the church of England and not give the use of the pulpit to any one who was known to preach otherwise." The liturgy was strictly adhered to in the public services, and the Chapel became famous for its music, which attracted many hearers. Benevolent institutions soon sprang up in connexion with the Chapel, among which were thirteen Sunday schools, containing above three thousand children.\* Prayer meetings were zealously encouraged, but kept entirely subject to the minister's control. At this time he described himself as "Rector of Surry Chapel, Vicar of Wotton-under-edge, and Curate of all the fields and commons throughout England and Wales." He continued his itinerant labours from time to time, and frequently exchanged with clergymen of congenial sentiments.

Soon after Surry Chapel was erected, Mr. Simeon commenced his public services in Cambridge, an event which forms an era in the religious history of the University. Mr. Hill entertained a profound respect for Mr. Simeon, though the latter was well known to disapprove of all irregularity, and by his example condemned the juvenile exercises of Mr. Hill himself.

In 1795 Mr. Hill took an active part in the formation of the London Missionary Society, to which he was always devotedly attached. In 1796 he visited Ireland, and in 1798 Scotland. At Edinburgh he preached in the circus, till it was no longer able to contain the audience, when he exchanged it for a platform on the Calton hill. After paying a visit to the West of Scotland, he returned to Edinburgh, where his congregation soon arose to twenty thousand, and many persons were supposed to be converted. The General Assembly published a pastoral letter, warning the people against extravagance and censuring itinerants.

\* Mr. Sidney states that Mr. Hill has the honour of being the first to introduce Sunday schools into London.

This led to a controversy between the Assembly and Rowland Hill, whose whole attention was absorbed by the affair. On his second visit to Scotland, this was the theme of his discourses, in consequence of which, not a soul is known to have been converted by his preaching. The charge against him was that he 'rode upon the backs of order and decorum,' to which he replied that he should like to ride such order and decorum to death. He afterwards named two of his horses *Order* and *Decorum*, by way of perpetuating the jest. He lived however to regret the course which he pursued in Scotland. In 1799 Mr. Hill assisted in the formation of the Religious Tract Society. He was the chairman of its first committee, and always took a lively interest in its affairs. About the year 1800 he conceived the plan of his "*Village Dialogues*," a work which has passed through thirty editions and been translated into several languages. Some of his friends were of opinion that it contained too sweeping an attack upon the clergy, and others were doubtful as to the copious admixture of the humorous with its serious contents. The book however has undoubtedly received the seal of rich success.\* His "*Sale of Curates*," was published in opposition to the wishes of his most judicious friends and the urgent entreaties even of dissenters. The consequence was, that he was forthwith excluded from the pulpits of the establishment to which he had been admitted, and expressed a wish himself that this ill-judged publication could be recalled.

In the British and Foreign Bible Society from first to last, Mr. Hill felt the deepest interest. Its founders were his personal friends, and Lord Teignmouth was a connexion of his family. He watched its progress with delight, and was especially rejoiced at its triumphant introduction into the Universities. The contrast was indeed remarkable between the prevailing sentiments in Cambridge when he resided there, and those which were expressed by some of the highest academical dignitaries forty years later.

One of Mr. Hill's personal friends, was Dr. Jenner, and one of his favourite employments, that of vaccinating the children of the poor. In the course of a few years, he had bestowed this favour on above ten thousand.

In 1808, he lost his beloved brother Richard, who left him a handsome addition to his income, which enabled him to multiply his charities. In the same year he laid the foundation of a

\* Most of the dialogues were written on separate slips of paper, after Mrs. Hill had retired for the night; and Mr. Hill said that after writing some of the pathetic passages, when he read them over he "used to burst out a crying."

chapel in Cheltenham, on the plan of his own in London. Here he often preached in the winter of 1810-11.

Mr. Hill took an active part in a contested election. This drew upon him much animadversion, and he resolved to repeat the experiment no more. In the autumn of 1811, two of his ribs were broken by a fall from his horse, in consequence of which he was confined for weeks to bed, and while convalescent, was attacked with an inflammation in his eye, which disabled him to preach for several months. This affliction seems to have been sanctified to his spiritual benefit. On escaping from confinement he visited Cheltenham for his health, and though his eye was still affected, preached almost incessantly.

The laurels won by his gallant nephews in the peninsular war, were a source of much delight to Rowland. In the public manifestations of respect to Lord Hill on his return to England, the old man took the liveliest interest. He attended at Guildhall when a sword was presented to his Lordship, by the city corporation. At the close of the ceremony, when Rowland Hill came out, the populace cried out, "Here comes the good old uncle!" and followed him with huzzas, as he departed. He could not help contrasting these expressions of respect, with the contempt and obloquy which he had once experienced. Nor was he less affected by the change in his private relations. Walking in the family grounds at Hawkstone, then the seat of his brother Sir John Hill, he said to a friend: "you see now I am how received here. In my youth I have often paced this spot bitterly weeping, while, by most of the inhabitants of yonder house, I was regarded as a disgrace to my family. But," he added, the tears trickling down his aged cheeks, "it was for my God." As if to check any undue tendency to worldly gratifications, which might have resulted from the honour of his kindred, Mr. Hill was visited soon after these events by a severe disease, which much alarmed his friends. By medical assistance of the highest order, he was through God's blessing, soon restored, to the great joy of his people. The account which Mr. Sidney gives of his first appearance after this confinement, is very affecting. Multitudes who met him, wished him joy of his recovery, and tradesmen left their shops to bid him welcome.

In 1816, Mr. Hill was much perplexed and agitated by an attempt to assess his chapel to the parish rates, an affair which, interesting as it was to him, is nothing to our readers. About the same time, he obtained a valuable assistant, in the person of Theophilus Jones, a Welshman, by trade a cabinet-maker, but endowed with unusual preaching gifts. Mr. Hill himself, though more than seventy years old, preached always, at least four

times in the week, while in London, and five at Wotton, besides other public services. Nay, he actually performed at this advanced age, a missionary tour in Wales, and preached twenty-one sermons in a single week. Such was the force of habit, and such his attachment to his office, that he was always disconcerted on coming at a place where he could not have the opportunity of preaching. To friendly invitations, he would frequently reply, "I will come, if you can find me a place to preach in."

Mr. Hill was an active member of the Village Itinerancy Society, founded in 1796, and designed to furnish religious instruction to destitute or neglected districts. Since 1803, there has been a theological school in connexion with it. Mr. Sidney takes pains to show, that Mr. Hill was much opposed to all encroachment on the sphere of any faithful parish minister. We can hardly suppose, however, that his explanations would be very satisfactory to a rigid churchman, inasmuch as the Society aforesaid assumed to itself the power of deciding who are faithful ministers.

Another object of Christian benevolence, in which Mr. Hill felt a lively interest, was the moral improvement of Seamen. He was among the first promoters of a floating place of worship, and took much delight in preaching to the sailors, among whom he was a favourite.

In 1819, just before his usual time of quitting London for the country, he fell through a trap-door in Surry chapel, and injured his leg severely. Considering his age, it must be regarded as a signal providence, that, in the beginning of the following year he was quite recovered. This misfortune, like the one already mentioned, appears to have exerted a happy religious influence upon him.

As we pursue the history of Rowland Hill, our astonishment at his activity increases. He was already in the seventy-eighth year of his age, when he undertook a journey of more than four hundred miles for the London Missionary Society, during which he preached every day, with much success. Nothing can evince more clearly the original strength of his constitution, than the fact, that in 1822, he again broke one of his ribs, without permanent injury, or a long suspension of his labours. Nay, his vigour seems to have increased as he grew older, for in 1823, his seventy-ninth year, he performed another long and arduous missionary tour; and in the following spring revisited Scotland, preaching daily to overflowing congregations. At Liverpool, where he preached for Dr. Raffles, on his way home, a man said, "It is no use trying to get in, they run over like

peas from a bushel." Though sometimes exhausted during these exertions, he reached home improved in health both of body and soul.

In 1824, Mr. Hill was tried by the sufferings of his wife, who aged as she was, submitted to a painful and dangerous operation. The same kind providence which had brought him through so many perilous casualties, restored his partner to health and temporary comfort with astonishing rapidity. In 1825, Mr. Hill performed his usual routine of services in London, and paid a visit to the West of England, where an incident occurred, which evinced that his spirit was yet unimpaired. After a sermon, in which he had assaulted the Socinians, one of that persuasion was heard to say, "Poor old gentleman! it is a pity he does not leave off." This came to his ear, and he related it on another public occasion, at the close of a very spirited address, abruptly adding, "The poor old gentleman will never leave off, till the power to refute error leaves off him."

In the spring of 1826, Mr. Hill performed a preaching tour in Kent, and in the autumn of the same year did the like in Devonshire. In January, 1827, Mrs. Hill wrote respecting him,—“He is still able to preach twice on a Sunday, though he says in the evening of the day, ‘I am very tired.’ But he is thought the wonder of the age, to do what he does, at eighty-two.” His voice was not yet at all impaired, and though he was troubled with a cough, it seemed rather to annoy than injure him. It is worthy of notice, that his sermons were now free from all admixture of the ludicrous, and that rambling declamation was exchanged for logical method, yet without a diminution of vivacity and freedom. It is probable, indeed, that these were his best days as a preacher, in point of permanent effect. In the year 1827, a young lady of Gloucestershire, Miss Sheppard, offered to execute a likeness of Mr. Hill, in order to raise money for the erection of an infant school. The plan was carried through with great success. The portrait found such sale, that before the end of the year, she laid the foundation stone of a spacious room at Uley, where instruction is given daily to a hundred and sixty infants, and fifty larger girls, and on the Sabbath to three hundred scholars.

During this year, Mr. Hill pursued a course of astonishing activity. He visited Brighton, Kent, and Sussex, and later in the year went on a preaching excursion into Wales! It is pleasing to learn that while his active habits were adhered to, he visibly increased in spirituality of mind, looking forward with solemn cheerfulness to the time of his departure.

Outward circumstances were extremely favourable to the

comfort and usefulness of Rowland Hill, in his declining years. From temporal cares he was entirely exempt, and his happiness was much enhanced by the affectionate attentions of Lord Hill, now resident in London, as commander of the forces. The places of the friends whom he had followed to the grave, were filled by a new generation of devoted Christians. His regard to one of these, (Mr. Broadley Wilson) he expressed by wishing that he might be long kept out of heaven, he was so much wanted on earth.

We must not forget to add, that his buoyancy of spirits still continued unimpaired, and still contributed to the enjoyment of the public. His appearance at a meeting was greeted with delight, crowds pressing forward to hand him from his carriage, and assist him to the platform. On these occasions, Mr. Sidney tells us, all seemed equally delighted, save the coachman, now and then, when he was pointed out and stared at, as the celebrated highwayman whom Rowland Hill was said to have taken into his service. When told of this, his master used to laugh and say, "What swallows people must have, to believe such stories."

The wild speculations about prophecy, which at this time became rife, met with little favour at the hands of Rowland Hill. Those who were afflicted with this monomania, he beheld with great compassion, wondering especially, that some of them who were not without understanding, "should prefer to have such wind-mills whisking about their heads." At a later date he wrote to Mr. Sidney: "What a number have got addle-headed about the personal reign of Christ." "—— may keep his maggots, and fine flourishing style to himself. I like Paul's plain style best." "May you and I never be the retailers of such whipt-syllabub divinity." "Good brown-bread preaching is the best after all."

In 1828, we find this wonderful old man still active. Besides preaching at Bristol and Cheltenham with augmented, rather than diminished vigour, he occupied the pulpit of his friend Mr. Jay, of Bath, who had for many years supplied his place in Surry chapel during a part of his absence from London. There is something very interesting in the close attachment of two so unlike in mind and habit. Mr. Hill used to characterize the style of preaching in which Jay excels, by saying, that he blew the silver trumpet.

On his eighty-fifth birth-day he preached at Wotton from the text, *Death is swallowed up in victory*. He was under a strong impression that his years were numbered; and from Mr. Sidney's statement, this interesting exercise must have been full of

solemn grandeur. Some of his old parishioners were touched with grief at their anticipated loss, and one said, with the simple pathos which belongs to humble life, "I wish we could *put him back* about forty years." During a journey which he made this year in Gloucestershire, he experienced the heavenly joy of hearing from the lips of many, that his own ministrations in years long past had been the means of their conversion unto God. This was indeed a solace for declining age.

The only indication of decline yet visible, was increasing dimness of sight, in consequence of which he was obliged to employ an amanuensis. Notwithstanding this infirmity, his labours were continued with relentless ardour. In the spring of 1830, with a bad cold upon him, he set out for Kent, and after preaching for a fortnight, returned in better health than when he went. Soon after, he attended the anniversary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, where, as soon as he appeared, he was unanimously greeted with enthusiastic plaudits.

In no situation does this venerable minister appear to more advantage, than in the deep affliction into which he was brought down by the death of his wife. A union of nearly sixty years was not to be dissolved without a pang; nor is it possible to view without sympathy a childless man left alone by the companion of his life, at such an age. Mrs. Hill was, in all things, except piety, unlike her husband. Strangers thought her too reserved; but that reserve was the index to a calmness of temper and a sobriety of judgment, which for more than half a century held Rowland Hill's erratic mind and hasty spirit in salutary check. It was agreed between them, before marriage, that she should never interfere with the discharge of what he thought his duty. This promise she religiously performed. But her superior judgment taught her how to control and modify his very views of duty, so that a timely operation on his plans beforehand, superseded the necessity of vexatious interference at the point of execution. There can be no doubt, we think, that much of Rowland Hill's real usefulness may be ascribed, so far as human agency assisted, to the wisdom of his wife.

To relieve his mind from the pressure of sad recollections, he withdrew from London to Leamington, in Warwickshire, where a chapel was established on the Surry plan. He met with unexpected opposition in relation to the use of the Liturgy, from obstinate dissenters. Mr. Sidney expresses his surprise that forms should be objected to *in toto*, when the adoption of the words of extemporaneous prayer by those who hear it, makes that prayer a real form. There is some truth in this, and we would venture to suggest the quere, whether too much argument

is not expended against forms *qua tales*, when the true ground of objection is the scantiness and sameness of the forms. Zealous as we are for Presbyterian order, we prefer the English liturgy to many forms of prayer in use among ourselves, especially to such as are disfigured by low slang and gross offences against purity of language. But how strange the notion, that the Book of Common Prayer exhausts the petitions which are proper and desirable in public worship. Why not have a form of preaching—not a book of Homilies—but a single sermon, with a few moveable passages to be inserted or omitted on particular occasions? Because preaching has relation to a multitude of topics, says the Episcopalian. So has prayer, say we.

Mr. Hill felt much solicitude in the last years of his life respecting a successor in Surry chapel. He was very desirous to procure a clergyman attached, like himself, to the church of England, but, like him, desirous of more liberty than the church would grant. The state of things, however, was entirely changed, since he began his course. The established church, instead of being one lifeless mass, had now a little host of true evangelists, men who perhaps have never been surpassed in purity and fervour. But these men had added patience to their faith, and sober judgment to their patience. They believed that so long as they bore office in the church of England, they were subject to its rules. They could not therefore enter into Mr. Hill's place, unless the chapel were subjected to canonical authority. This Mr. Hill declined, nor could he have done otherwise, for the house had been erected, not with episcopal money, but with sums contributed by Christians of almost every name, and the freedom objected to had been a prime condition in soliciting their aid.

Rowland Hill protested against the lamentable schism in the British and Foreign Bible Society, which took place in 1831, but lived to see it healed. In the same year he attended the London Missionary Society for the last time. Though the loneliness of his situation frequently depressed him, he was quite as frequently in a lively humour, delighting and delighted with his characteristic pleasantry. One subject of his jests, as well as his lamentations, was the pretended gift of tongues.

As he was getting into his carriage after one of the anniversaries, he struck his leg against the step. This at first merely smarted a little, but resulted in a violent inflammation, which confined him to the house. Before he was recovered he went into Warwickshire, where frequent preaching and anxiety about his chapel at Leamington, brought back the inflammation. Still, he continued to preach, until disabled and subjected to considerable suffering. As soon as it was possible, he resumed his



labours and again relapsed. Yet strange to tell, he returned to London in the winter, wholly free from any symptoms of his recent illness. He began, however, to exhibit premonitions of decay, though his mind retained its vigour unimpaired.

On the 7th of May, 1832, Mr. Hill left London and repaired to Wotton, where, though weaker than at any former time, he preached repeatedly and always with apparent benefit. To Mr. Sidney, who was with him on a visit he said, "I wish your church-rules would let you preach for me this evening." "Sir," said he, "I am contented to obey them as they are." "Ah," cried Hill, "good old Berridge used to give notice, 'Mr. Gwin-napp (one of his lay assistants) will preach upon my horse-block this evening. I wish I could ask him to preach in the church.'"

One of Mr. Hill's last acts was to publish an exhortation to the due observance of the Sabbath, a religious duty upon which he laid much stress.

In the beginning of 1833, debility compelled him to relinquish all his labours, excepting one sermon on the Lord's day. This he would not forego, being resolved, as he himself expressed it, "to die harnessed." On the 31st of March he preached for the last time on 1 Cor. ii. 7, 8. and felt so well that he engaged to preach to the Sunday School teachers of Southwark on the following Tuesday. On that day, however, he was so languid that another took his place, but no sooner was the sermon ended, than he ascended the pulpit and pronounced an affectionate and fervent valedictory. This was his last visit to Surry chapel. On Easter Monday and Tuesday the Sunday School children came as usual in procession to the chapel, but he could not meet them. He prayed for them fervently, however, in his family, watched them from his window, and listened with delight as thousands of young voices sang the beautiful hymns which he had himself composed for them.

On Easter Tuesday, his death was evidently near. At this solemn period he declared, "Were I to live my life over again, I would preach just the same," adding with unfeigned lowliness, "I shall creep into heaven through some crevice in the door." Both when asleep and awake he had often upon his lips his favourite lines,

And when I'm to die,  
Receive me, I'll cry,  
For Jesus hath loved me, I cannot tell why.

To a friend who asked him whether he would renounce his hope for all the world, he replied, "No not for ten thousand worlds." His reason wandered occasionally, but his thoughts, when rational, were all in heaven. It is worthy of remark that his last words

contained a solemn protest against Antinomianism. He died in the evening of April 11, 1833, without a groan or sign of agony.

His funeral was attended by a vast assembly. He was buried at his own request under the pulpit of Surry chapel, and was followed to the grave both by clergymen and dissenting ministers. One of these was his assistant at Wotton, Mr. Jones, who died a few weeks after. The chief mourner was Lord Hill. In the close of the burial service the word *father* was substituted for *brother*, which produced a simultaneous burst of grief. The burial was followed by a sermon from Mr. Jay of Bath. His text was, *Howl fir-tree for the cedar is fallen*.

The residue of his property including his chapels at Wotton and Leamington, was left to the Village Itinerancy.

Rowland Hill's personal appearance is well known to have been attractive and commanding in a high degree. In the prime of life his nobility of aspect won respect and admiration, and even at the age of eighty years his form remained unbent.

His character is so fully developed by the incidents of his life that we think it needless to assist the reader's judgment.

The literary merits of the life before us are but slender. It has been said, indeed, that the worst biographers, in this sense, are the best in every other, because they make their subject prominent alone, and spare the reader needless flourishes. But the work before us exhibits marks of haste in the construction and a want of tact in many points, which tend to mar its excellence. The specimens of Rowland Hill's wit, are either so ill selected or so awkwardly presented, that they seldom do credit. We doubt however, whether this is altogether the fault of the biographer. Wit seems scarcely to have had a place among the attributes of Hill: his pleasantry consisted very much in manner, and in a certain hearty, but far from delicate humour. We must do justice however to the piety and candour manifested in this pleasing volume. Of the latter a striking instance is the distinct admission made by the biographer of his aged relative's infirmities and errors.

Our object in this article has been to present the leading points of the biography, for the entertainment of those who have not opportunity or leisure to peruse the work at large. We shall conclude with a few detached particulars noted in perusal, which we could not introduce into the tissue of the narrative.

Notwithstanding Rowland Hill's vivacity and ardour, he was always noted for equanimity of temper. Mr. Sidney, who was his relative and ward, bears witness to the fact, that he never knew him to give way to uncontrolled irritability under the most trying excitement.

His favourite amusement was gardening, which enabled him to contribute to the comforts of the poor. He was often seen,

early in the summer, with a basket, gathering the few ripe strawberries for some sick parishioners. He was also fond of looking at prints exposed in shop windows, during which employment he attracted much attention from the crowd. When the increasing dimness of his sight forbade much reading, he amused himself with making play-things for the children of his friends. "Some folks," he used to say, "appear as if they had been bathed in *crab verjuice* in their infancy, which penetrated through their skins and made them sour-blooded ever since, but this will not do for a messenger of the Gospel."

A certain minister excused his dry mode of preaching by the quaint remark, that Samson slew the Philistines with the jaw bone of an ass. "True," said Rowland Hill, "but it was a moist jaw bone."

Mr. Hill appears to have been very faithful in pastoral visitation, always performing that service as a religious one. He never failed however to exhort the poor to neatness in their household. "Here mistress," he would say, "is a trifle to buy soap and a scrubbrush. There is plenty of water to be had for nothing. Good Mr. Whitefield used to say *cleanliness is next to godliness*."

He was noted for the skill with which he measured his instructions and reproof by the character and wants of those whom he instructed and reproved. To the humble Christian he was very tender, but showed little mercy to hypocrisy or cant. He once rebuked an Antinomian who was given to strong drink. The man flippantly asked, "do you think, Mr. Hill, that a glass of spirits will drive grace out of my heart?" "No," said he, "for there is no grace in it."

Long speeches were his abomination. His own were always short; and on one occasion, at an anniversary in London he administered a dose of friendly advice to an offender of this kind, which delighted the audience, and for that time remedied the evil.

The great charm of his preaching, next to its unaffectedness and ardour, was the richness of his illustrations from external objects. For these he was continually on the watch and treasured up his minutest observations for this hallowed use. Mr. Sidney gives some pleasing specimens of this kind, and records a saying of Robert Hall, that since the days of our Saviour no man had in this respect exceeded Rowland Hill.

The last point of view in which we shall exhibit him, is that of a religious poet. Some of Mr. Hill's hymns will be coeval with the English language, having a principle of life within them even when detached from the delightful music by which they were accompanied in Surry chapel. In December 1803, he

preached to the volunteers, and introduced his noble hymn to the tune of "God save the king," the first stanza of which is as follows :

Come thou incarnate word,  
Gird on thy mighty sword,  
Our prayer attend !  
Come and thy people bless,  
Spirit of holiness  
On us descend.

Some of his hymns composed for Sunday Schools are distinguished for simplicity and pathos. But of all his poetical effusions, none perhaps is more interesting than the beautiful hymn which he repeated on his death bed, and a part of which we here transcribe, as it appears in Mr. Sidney's volume for the first time.

Gently, my Saviour, let me down,  
To slumber in the arms of death,  
I rest my soul on thee alone  
E'en till my last expiring breath.

Dear Saviour, let thy will be done,  
Like yielding clay I humbly be,  
May every murmuring thought begone,  
Most peacefully resigned to die.

Bid me possess sweet peace within,  
Let child-like patience keep my heart,  
Then shall I feel my heaven begin,  
Before my spirit hence depart.

Then shall my raptured spirit raise,  
Still louder notes than angels sing,  
High glories to Emanuel's grace,  
My God, my Saviour, and my King.

For a Christian, this is epitaph and elegy enough.

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**ART. VII.—*Hints towards a more Complete Organization of Particular Churches, with Reference to Christian activity.*\***

WE have few more prolific writers than Dr. Sprague, and none whose productions are more uniformly popular and instructive. In composition, as in music, that is found to be agreeable to the unsophisticated taste, which flows most readily, and naturally

\* Hints, designed to regulate the intercourse of Christians. By W. B. Sprague, D. D., Pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Albany. Albany: Packard & Van Benthuyzen, 1834. 12mo. pp. 269.

from the performer. The works of our author are very remarkable for their gentle fluency of thought and diction, and for the absence of those pangs of preparation, and overwhelming loads of ostensible erudition, which characterize many otherwise good books. We are not aware that Dr. Sprague has given to the world, any production of a merely theoretical kind; it has been his aim to address the mass of our intelligent population, upon topics of universal interest and practical moment. To justify our remark we need only refer to the Letters to a Daughter, the Lectures to Young People, and more particularly, the able work upon Revivals of Religion.

The modest title does not invite attention so strongly as the contents would warrant. These *hints* are much more than hints, forming as they do, a popular system of the Christian Ethics of Social Life. They are designed to raise the standard of religion, and so to add strength to the church. Beginning at the fireside and the circle of home, the author contemplates the believer in all his social connexions, and expounds the scriptural precepts which relate to each. The great ends of religious intercourse are first held up to view; the improvement of the individual, and the salvation of his fellow-men. The basis of this intercourse is laid open, as consisting of the sameness of relation, character, pursuits, and destiny. The hinderances are detailed, whether arising from the mock politeness of the age, and the want of moral taste, or from the deeper evil habits of the soul. The humble Christian is taught *how* he must meet and move among his brethren, with frankness, with fraternal kindness, with dignity and with devotion. And the occasions on which these tempers are to be displayed in fit action are well described, as well the public as the private cases. The case of a believer in a state of apathy, or of despondency, or of temptation, or of grief, is presented, with its appropriate rule; and also the more general occasions of social duty. The family connexion, and the intercourse of high and low, rich and poor, the exchange of epistolary tokens, or of argument, all have their place. Christian intercourse is shown to have its abuses, and due cautions are well and truly interposed. And the motives and duties which are peculiar to the present age are pointed out in a lucid and satisfactory manner.

But every believer has a class of duties, which he owes to the unconverted world; with the statement and inculcation of these, the second part of the work is occupied. The whole is admirably clear and practical, and adapted to the use of true Christians in every branch of the church. In a word, we are happy to commend it, as a work well fitted to be presented to pro-

fessors of religion, and a useful directory in regard to those claims which religion is making upon them—not at distant intervals or solemn occasions—but every hour that they live.

But we are not ready to yield unqualified praise, even where we greatly admire. The faults of the book are chiefly negative, and they are apparent in all that proceeds from the accomplished author. There are no sins against correctness, delicacy, purity, or propriety; all is fluent, harmonious, fair and smooth. But we feel that Dr. Sprague is sometimes too smooth, too flowing, and that his gentle manner approaches at times to monotony. His thoughts are given too fully, and the reader is not often enough left to fill up links in the discussion. We could desire the gifted author sometimes to give vent to strong feeling, even at the risk of a roughness or a discord. Greater condensation, and an occasional descent to the racy, idiomatical phraseology of common life, though they might cause a ripple in the glassy current, would awaken attention, and penetrate the heart. As it is, the impression of the work is that which proceeds from the aggregate of its excellencies; what we desire is, that more effect should be given to single passages. And the power to do this is abundantly possessed by the author; for in many cases the simple hinderance to force is undue amplification. The excision of many parts, in themselves unexceptionable, would, in our judgment, increase the weight of what remains, in the direct ratio of its density. None of us, indeed, seem sufficiently willing to transfer to prose what Waller has said of verse:

“Poets lose half the praise they should have got,  
Could it be known what they discreetly blot.”

We regard the whole subject of this practical work as highly important, since a great part of true religion consists in the due performance of the social offices, as we may learn from the extent to which scriptural precepts and exhortations on these topics are carried. It is true, that the frame-work of right action in the Christian life is to be sought in the genuine affections of the renewed heart. It is no less true that the basis of all gracious affections is the system of doctrinal truth revealed by inspiration. But nevertheless, it is necessary that all Christian teachers should be much employed in directing believers into particular paths of duty, and that they should even descend to the specialties of ordinary intercourse, and its resulting obligations. As the universal church was instituted for the furtherance of universal piety, to embody and manifest the holy plans of grace in the hearts and lives of saints, so we find it to be the appropriate func-

tion of each particular church to secure and foster and set forth the piety of its members. And as we hold the organization of the church, so far as it is carried out upon scriptural principles, to be a lovely example of simple order and well balanced energy, so we think it desirable that in every congregation of believers, there should be a like organization for the same purposes.

In these observations we have no reference to judicial or disciplinary measures; with regard to these our form of government affords all which could be desired. But there are in every community of Christians a multitude of arrangements which are left very much to the discretion of the church-officers and members, and which vary with every change of place or persons. It is right that cords should not be drawn too tightly, and that this discretionary power should be lodged where it is; nor would we argue for any iron code which should force the churches into a formal routine of service. At the same time, we believe it is found in the experience of every pastor and church session, that much good, which might be accomplished within the bosom of single congregations, is wholly omitted, simply because there is no general directory, or model scheme, for this class of fluctuating duties. There are churches among us, whose energies are pressed to the utmost point of tension, which are constantly and systematically working nobly in every good cause; and there are others, of equal power, which are lying utterly torpid. The one has a plan, and acts upon it: the other has no such plan. And the cases are numerous, and within the recollection of many pastors, in which the mere news of successful effort, carried from one of the former to one of the latter class, has had the effect of transfusing life into the dead. Better than mere intelligence from one would be the digested results of intelligence from many churches; or what is the same thing, a wise directory for the internal organization of all; so drafted as to avoid the extremes of unprofitable vagueness on the one hand, and pragmatical dictation on the other. Far be it from us to endeavour to sketch such a plan. To be what we have imagined, it must be the mature fruit of wise delay; the grand result of many experiments, counsels, prayers, and labours. The field is very wide. On one part of it the book before us throws a pleasing light; and in the desultory remarks which follow, we wish to be understood as simply presenting hints, which we hope may be seeds of thought and action in the minds of pious and practical men.

All the comparisons used in Scripture to shadow forth the church, convey the idea of a fair and regular arrangement. As Christ is the Head, so in him, the whole body, *fitted joined together*, and *compact*, συναρμολογούμενον καὶ συνβιβασμένον, by that

*which every joint supplieth*, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, making increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love. The whole idea is beautifully developed, and we rejoice in our own scheme of polity as admirably consonant with this divine arrangement. Yet, as has been observed, when we descend to the actual operations of the church in its smaller divisions, as it regards Christian effort, we are struck with the total absence of method. Not that our form of government has left particular churches without organization. Besides the pastor, we recognize ruling elders and deacons, as necessary to the full and faithful operations of every church; the former as assessors in government, the latter as organs for charitable communications, and helpers in temporal things. As to ruling elders, it is observable, that even where the ecclesiastical theory of any churches would seem to exclude them, they are often virtually introduced under another name. The early English Puritans valued their services as "associated with the ministers in the spiritual government;" many Independents held the same opinion; and they were recognised among the Puritans of New England, not merely by individuals, but by public bodies. See Dr. Miller's *Essay on the Nature and Duties of the office of Ruling Elders*, chap. vii. 'The duties of ruling elders are found also to demand the services of vestry-men, church-wardens, and standing-committees, among the two sects which most strenuously repudiate the *name*. But we mention these officers at this time not so much in their character of rulers, as in that of spiritual assistants.

All the charities, and some of the temporalities of the church, were at an early day committed to *Deacons*. "The apostles (says Fuller) sometimes conceived that the very distribution of alms to the poor, had something of worldly drossiness therein, (called by them *serving of tables*) as if only the preaching of the word were a spiritual employment."\* We lament to perceive that in so many churches there is a practical denial of our principles manifested in the neglect to appoint such officers; and that some ignorantly imagine that they differ from ruling elders only in name: there is no church in which there is not a call for that specific service which is enjoined upon these officers; no church in which there are not many objects of benevolence, or in which the care of temporalities might not be advantageously resigned to men possessing the scriptural qualifications of *Deacons*.

So much for the officers of particular churches. As far as the

\* Fuller's Church Hist. B. III. p. 81.



system was intended to reach, it answers every end. But the church may be reduced to greater regularity of action, in all that pertains to the things of God. In the great works of benevolence, for instance, is it not evident that the energies of the church are not fully brought out? Is it not evident, that the greater part of what is done, is done by a few churches? and that even in many of these, the effect is produced by a few individuals? And is there any one who does not perceive, that the change would be immense if, by any regular system, the whole of our churches were going forward with the alacrity and efficiency which characterize a few? Mere organization, however perfect, cannot, we allow, accomplish this; for the most exquisite mechanism of wheels and springs, requires a primary power to give it motion. But organization will accomplish all that it ever does accomplish in any department. The power already exists, though latent; all that we need is the mechanism which shall give it an outlet.

There is something beautiful in systematic arrangement; and it is as useful as it is beautiful. In moral enterprises, as in arts, it economizes power, and gives concentration to forces which, taken singly are inapplicable. Every church is a school, and should have its arrangement, in which each should find and retain his place. Or we may compare an assembly of Christians to an army, in which every individual should proceed in his due order and to his proper task. Who can calculate the waste of strength and the endless confusion which would result if the soldiers of a battalion should promiscuously rush to the onset without direction, mutual understanding, or method? Yet something like this takes place in the benevolent but blind and fruitless impulses of many churches. As there is a well-defined and common end, towards which all Christian endeavours converge, so there should be, and there may be, regular and united action among the members.

In addition to the common claims of social life, there are duties incumbent upon every individual member of the militant church, towards the whole body, and towards the family of man. These duties, wherever they may branch forth, are all contained in the golden rule of love. The demand on every church member is a most reasonable one—nothing beyond the strength, circumstances and office of each, and the divine favour is vouchsafed accordingly: for it is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that he hath not. Yet every member is bound to act constantly and fully according to his place and capacity. Because one is a private Christian, it does not by any means follow that he has no duties to perform

in connexion with the general welfare, but the error is too extensively cherished, that there are some who may pursue their pilgrimage with scarcely a thought of personal exertion. Some plan should be attempted which might demand of all such persons the service which they owe, and stimulate them to the performance of what they are prone to overlook. At the present day the departments of benevolent action are so widely spread, and so happily divided, that every one may readily find his place of usefulness. There is no living stone which may not find a place where it shall contribute to the beauty or the strength of the spiritual temple.

The single business of Sunday-School teaching calls for many thousands; and there is no instructed Christian who may not discover some opportunity for the exercise of his gifts in this work.

The work of alms-giving, of temporal relief to the distressed, of consoling the bereaved, and of assisting the sick, should not be exclusively performed by a few. Neither should it be left to the mere promptings of individual piety; because the very poverty which occasions suffering often renders the sufferer unknown. Many languish and even die, in the very heart of large congregations, without having been once touched by the hand of gentle condolence. There ought to be a constant vigilance in this particular, and a regular plan which may secure prompt and effectual assistance to every one who is sick or disabled. And how many are there, whose piety languishes for need of such exertions, and who might be usefully and delightfully employed in such a work of love.

The schemes of public benevolence, which have originated during the last half-century, require the services of a great number as collectors, agents, distributors and the like. And even the work of writing for the press, which is entirely left to the spontaneous endeavours of a few, might be rendered tenfold more effectual if pains were taken to invite to this labour those in all our congregations who possess the requisite qualifications.

Now, although these suggestions propose no definite plan, they are sufficient to show that much labour is wasted and much power left unemployed, and that a more complete internal organization of Christian communities for these objects is needed. It is practicable; inasmuch as a great part of what we propose would at once be attained if in every congregation there were a mutual understanding upon these subjects. The truth is, that at present, there is in most places a lamentable want of concert. One half is ignorant of what the other half is doing. The same object is aimed at by different sets of persons, in two or three

different and conflicting methods; while a large proportion of the intelligence and strength is unemployed. To remedy this, we could desire to have all the Christian operations within a parish fully and deliberately spread before the whole of the people. Monthly, or even weekly meetings for this purpose might be introduced with good results.

We are happy to observe that something of this kind already exists among us, though not to the extent which we desire. Through the efforts of a few zealous men, a plan has been carried into effect for organizing every congregation into an association auxiliary to our Boards of Education and of Missions. The partial success of this scheme should not only render it universal with reference to these great objects, but should suggest the expediency of a more thorough organization, which might systematize and strengthen the whole array of benevolent efforts. And here we are again gratified to know, that in a few churches of distinguished liberality, something even of this complete organization has begun to take effect. The whole business of contribution for whatever object is thrown into one system. Every member is a contributor, and each is educated in the belief that this is no less required, than the performance of the ordinary and acknowledged social duties. The monthly concert of prayer for the spread of the Gospel is found to be a valuable auxiliary, for here the appropriations to the several objects of benevolence are voted, while the minds of those present are enlightened by Christian intelligence, and animated with the glow of devout affection. Every one gives something, and at a certain rate determined by himself, and the consequence is that each one gives far more than he would do, if the matter were left to be done at random. For if those who are forever complaining of the multitude of calls for their charity, and who make this their apology for denial upon every solicitation, would only sum up the total of their donations for a year, they would be astonished to find that it falls short of what even the niggardly would allow to be a reasonable annual subscription. The best of all plans for contribution, we think, is that of the apostle Paul; we mean a weekly appropriation, proportionate to the weekly success of each. This prevents the vexatious "gathering" by agents and collectors, secures a purely spontaneous liberality, and connects the believers' alms with the prayers and affections of the Lord's day. It was the direction of Paul to the churches of Galatia and Corinth, and perhaps to many others: "Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come."

After all that has been done towards the diffusion of religious intelligence by means of journals, and other works, there is in every congregation great need of some regular method of showing to the people the necessities and the progress of the great enterprise. For this reason, we deem it indispensable that all the animating facts of a missionary character should be communicated, at least in a summary, to the congregation. We have witnessed the signal efficacy of this in awakening the missionary spirit, creating an avidity for Christian news, and preserving the monthly prayer-meetings from the dulness and ill-attendance which are sure to prevail, where they are enlivened only by the common routine of pulpit exhortation. Instead of superseding the use of public journals, they create a taste and demand for the latter. Let every church have a clear mutual understanding, and a simply efficient arrangement, with reference to public charities, and contributions will be more than tripled, pastors and agents will be relieved, vexatious solicitation will cease, prayer will be intelligent and fervent, and a multitude of new ministers and missionaries will be called out from the bosom of our congregations.

The last chapter of Dr. Sprague's volume is upon "the Christian's intercourse with the unrenewed sinner in respect to his salvation." It abounds with wise and seasonable counsels upon this neglected subject. The author, however, in conformity with the plan of his work, treats of it with reference to the feelings and conduct of the individual Christian. The inquiry would be interesting, how far the endeavours of church-members in this branch of duty admit of being reduced to system. The conversion of souls is, undoubtedly, committed primarily to the charge of the session; but no one will deny, that all, without exception, should be engaged in it, according to the ability and relations of each. Some do nothing at all; and others, in what they attempt merely thwart the wiser efforts of their brethren, crossing their path, and neutralizing their influence. The urgent admonitions of Dr. Sprague, with regard to an obligation which all are ready to set aside, may be profitably read by every one who has a heart to love his fellow-men.

In the work of systematic instruction, we are not cheered with those tokens of advancement which appear in most parts of religious duty. The efforts which are made seem too often to be made at random. It is a delightful truth to the pastor, that his church, taken collectively, is his pupil, and as such may be *educated*, no less than his child. To do this there must be a plan; there must be a regular gradation of scriptural instruction; the whole scheme of truth must be gradually unfolded. Not only

must the babes have milk, but the mature must have strong meat. Hence the deplorable consequences of a merely hortatory style of preaching; exciting feeling without the basis of sound knowledge. Hence also the injurious effects produced by a frequent translation of ministers; as no man can *pursue* his wise plan of gospel instruction with a new flock; or *continue* it with equal advantage where his predecessor has left off: while time is lost, both to pastor and people, if he *begins* it anew at each successive removal. All should be under instruction. Besides the preaching of the Gospel, and the stated exposition of the word, resort must be had to the catechetical circle, the Sunday school, the Bible class, and the religious lecture. But why may not *all the members of the church* be engaged in this kind of labour? The principle of *mutual instruction* admits of a most happy adaptation to the wants of the church in this respect. Under the direction of the pastor and elders much might be done, and much remains to be done, which is demanded. In addition to the communication of doctrinal knowledge, there should be a discipline to which every young professor should be subjected, the object of which should be the cultivation of the heart. If it were practicable to have every individual taken under some stated supervision and spiritual care from the first moment of his dedicating himself to the Lord, much of the defection which we now lament might be prevented. We have strong objections to the system of class-meetings, as they are conducted and abused, but to the principle of such a thorough organization we yield a most cordial assent. The course pursued with the ancient catechumens has gone too much into disuse; we might here advantageously take lessons of our forefathers. Such a course would go far to remedy that ignorance which cannot escape our observation in the majority of young converts; to humble pride and correct forwardness, to encourage mutual love, reveal errors and abuses, direct pastors in the choice of subjects, and prepare a community of well-furnished Christians. We should rejoice in the proposition of some well digested plan, to secure these ends. As it is, we believe the church has suffered just in proportion as she has receded from the methods pursued in the reformed churches of Holland and Scotland.

Without some provision of this kind, it is absolutely impossible for a minister, in these days of multiform distraction, to know his flock individually, and without such personal acquaintance, it is out of his power to give each a portion in due season. Instruction on experimental and casuistical subjects requires an arrangement of this nature. The very idea of superintendence, the appropriate work of the *bishop*, implies it.

And only where it happily exists can the school of Christ be considered as duly organized.

Many of these observations have a forcible application to the various social meetings which have been instituted for the culture of piety. Over some of these it is necessary that the pastor should preside in person; but there is no reason why a large number of praying circles may not be simultaneously engaged. And where this is the case weekly, there would be a manifest propriety in having a convocation of the whole at longer intervals. At such meetings the minister will always be more able to feel the pulse of his flock than in the more solemn services of the Lord's day.

Yet no meetings of any kind, however wisely or faithfully conducted, can take the place of family and personal visits or interviews. The value of pastoral visitation seems to be more generally acknowledged than it was a few years ago; and no pulpit services are reckoned an indemnification for the want of this. Visits of religious instruction and inquiry, should be frequent and regular. Unless they are pursued statedly, and with reference to some system, they are apt to be neglected, are unequally distributed, and degenerated into mere "calls" of friendship. For let it be observed, that the life of a minister is too precious and too short to be frittered away in the exchange of ceremonious courtesies. These visits must be strictly *religious* visits; otherwise they are not purely *pastoral*. But our object in broaching this apparently foreign subject, is to suggest that these duties are not so intimately connected with the ministerial office, that they may not be performed by laymen. Not only the elder or the deacon, but the pious private Christian may, and ought to exercise his gifts in this way. There are few congregations in which such gifts do not exist in some humble believers; often more remarkably than in the pastor himself; and where there are such talents in the church, they should be drawn out and improved. Is there no plan by which in every congregation a number of helpers in this indispensable work may be associated for regular action, in aid of the session? While it is true, that some ministers culpably neglect this duty, it also true that the demands of the people are sometimes exorbitant. More is required than it is possible for frail humanity to render. The requisitions of the age upon a minister are greater than they ever were before. Besides his pastoral work, there may be said to fall upon him "daily, the care of all the churches;" inasmuch as he is *ex officio*, the link of union between his people and the grand benevolent associations for the propagation of the Gospel.

Upon this subject there are some forcible remarks of the late Dr. Mason, in a discourse on the resignation of his pastoral charge. Without feeling at liberty to adopt his sentiments in all their extent, we quote them as well meriting the candid attention of our churches. "There are two things (says he) in which the state of the churches now, differs materially from their state in primitive times. In the first place, they had inspired teachers; who could, therefore, spend the whole week in exhorting, confirming, and consoling their converts, without infringing on their preparations for the Lord's day. Our situation is quite different: close and habitual study is necessary for us. And if we cannot get time to attend to it, our ministrations grow uninteresting, and our congregations lean. In the next place the primitive churches never permitted themselves to suffer for want of labourers. *Our* economical plan is, to make one pastor do the work which was anciently done by three or four, and the very natural consequence follows; the work is badly done, or the workman is sacrificed. If we were to visit as much as our people are good enough to wish, and unreasonable enough to expect, we should not have an hour left for our proper business; we could make no progress in the knowledge of the Scriptures; and not one would be able to preach a sermon worthy of a sensible man's hearing."

These opinions may be abused—they are however just and reasonable. And the inference we would deduce is, that the pastor of every church should have an organized assistance in this part of his labours.

In short—for we must hasten to cut short these desultory and protracted observations—the principle of organization, so far as the circumstances allow, should be carried out into the details of church-operations. The great object should be, the advancement of the collective church. For every supposable emergency there should be a plan devised. Every individual and every work should be under supervision and control; every thing should be governed by mutual counsel and animated by mutual knowledge. New and important measures should not be left to the heat of sudden emergencies, but should be dictated by the choice results of safe experience. These results should be thrown into the common stock, by being communicated to the public. Thus, (as in science and arts the happy inventions of a few infallibly become the methods of the whole philosophical world,) we should see a unity of efficient action prevailing in all the congregations of true believers.

With these reflections, suggested by the excellent work before us, we commit the whole subject to the meditation and prayers of the reader.

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ART. I.—*Guerike's Manual of Church History.\**

THE rapidity with which this work was sold, is a sufficient proof that it was wanted. The German press teems, it is true, with valuable books in this department, nor are there wanting in that language convenient manuals for the use of students. But research is continually adding to the stock of knowledge; and the favourable change, which has occurred of late years, in the religious views of many, has created a necessity for a compendious work, which should not only furnish the results of recent investigation, but present them in a form consistent with evangelical belief. This task Professor Guerike has undertaken in the work to which we now invite the attention of our readers. He is *Professor Extraordinarius* of theology in the University of Halle, and is well known as a strenuous adherent to the creed of Luther, but at the same time as an humble and devoted Christian. Some of our readers may perhaps recollect him, as the author of a life of Francke, which was reviewed in a former volume of this work,† and from which the late lamented Rezeau Brown

\* *Handbuch der Allgemeinen kirchengeschichte.* Von H. E. Ferd. Guerike, a. o. Professor der Theologie zu Halle. Halle, 1833. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 1190.

† See Bib. Rep. for July 1830.



prepared a succinct biography for the American Sunday School Union.

Professor Guerike is not to be considered as belonging to the highest rank of German theologians; nor is it on account of his celebrity at home that we think the present work entitled to attention. We notice it because it is the kind of book, precisely, which is wanted in America, and because upon perusal we have found it to be, in some important points, decidedly superior to any other work which we have seen upon the subject. These points we wish to bring before the reader.

We may premise, that there is no branch of theological learning upon which the modern Germans have expended more successful labour, than the science of church history. It is a singular fact, that, with all their characteristic wildness in matters of mere feeling or of mere speculation, they are unsurpassed as accurate, laborious, and sagacious workmen in the vaults of archaeology. With respect to the foundations of historical truth, and the credit due to historical evidence, they have run, in certain cases, to the extreme of skeptical extravagance. But when once the fundamental principles are settled, they erect the superstructure with unrivalled skill. The world has seldom seen such sifting scrutiny, such scrupulous attention to the minutest points of evidence, as the German writers upon history exhibit. This arises, in a great degree, from their invariable practice of resorting, so far as possible, to primary authorities. Plagiarists and second-hand dealers may be found in Germany as elsewhere. But the fact is certain, that their writers of distinction cannot venture to construct their works, as too many works are constructed among us, by picking shreds and patches from the handiwork of others, and combining them anew. The very rage for novelty compels each new aspirant to employ the raw material, in the hope of developing some undiscovered attribute or evolving some fresh product. And the law which public sentiment and practice have enacted, is relentlessly enforced by the unsparing critic. Any attempt to palm off stolen wares upon the public, is instantly detected and exposed to general scorn.

There can be no doubt, that this perpetual recurrence to the elements of knowledge has its disadvantages. Where every man begins at the beginning, there is not much hope of ulterior progression; and accordingly we find, that those who carry out the process of improvement and discovery to new results, do it, not by taking up a subject where their predecessors left it, but by spending such a vast amount of time and labour on it, as to overtake and outstrip those who went before them.

It must, however, be admitted, that this evil is counterbal-

anced by the signal profits which accrue to science by means of this continual agitation of the elements. This is particularly true of history. While English and French writers on this subject are, for the most part, satisfied with copying the citations of some other modern author, with no further change than that of language and arrangement, and sometimes without even the correction of mistakes, the German throws aside all secondary means of information, interprets the original authorities *de novo*, and when this is done, combines them and applies them for himself. In doing this he often makes himself ridiculous by misplaced ingenuity and wanton deviation from the beaten track. But the method he pursues imparts a life and freshness to his treatment of the subject, which atones for many errors, and is in itself conducive to correct conclusions. While with us error is frequently perpetuated by a sluggish reference to unread authors, such appeals expose a German writer, not to censure merely, but to laughter and contempt.

What we have said of history in general, may be said with special emphasis of the history of the church. While we repose upon the dicta of Mosheim as the ultimate results of historical research, his countrymen regard him as a venerable milestone on the road to knowledge, useful in its proper place, but now left far behind. Nor is this a mere symptom of their morbid taste for change. It is unquestionably true, that since the days of Mosheim, much has been accomplished. The process of research has been continued, by a succession of laborious scholars, in an unbroken series from the chancellor of Göttingen to Neander of Berlin. The last named writer is admitted to the highest rank in this department, by the united suffrages of the German literati; nor have foreign nations any pretext for dissent. His great work, now in progress, will certainly be an invaluable addition to the treasury of truth.

After what we have said, it will be needless to attempt to show, that American teachers and students neither can nor ought to be contented with a book like Mosheim's, if a better can be had. Dr. Murdoch, it is true, has enriched his new translation with a multitude of addenda drawn from later writers. But the form of notes into which he has thrown them, is entirely at variance with the object of a text-book. In spite of all that may be said and done, the reader will regard mere notes as something less important than the text, and will be fain to avoid distraction by letting them alone. To accomplish their design they must be wrought with skill into the body of the work, and meet the eye as ingredients of the general mass, not as supplemental patches or misshapen excrescences.

For the preparation of a manual or text-book, which should furnish the results of late researches, and especially Neander's, Professor Guerike is the better qualified, from having studied history himself, under that celebrated teacher, at Berlin. What he there acquired has since been brought to a repeated test, and no doubt much augmented, in the discharge of his own academical duties as a lecturer at Halle, for above nine years. As might have been expected therefore, he has introduced into his manual many improvements with respect both to method and matter, which distinguish it from former works. The plan of Neander has in fact been adopted, on a reduced scale, and the first part of the work before us may be regarded as, in some sort, an abstract of Neander's history, so far as that work has yet appeared. In the remaining portion, which is much the largest, the author could of course do no more than carry out the method in his own compilations and researches.

To those who are acquainted with the writings of Neander, it may possibly occur as an important question, whether that distinguished writer can be followed as a guide, consistently with what we are accustomed to regard as orthodox belief. We need scarcely say again, what we have said so often, that there is no individual German whom we could adhere to as a trusty guide in all things. The revolutionary chaos of opinion must be first subjected to a plastic influence. At present there are floating fragments well worth fishing for, and sometimes these are found in novel and fantastic combinations. But coherent systems of religious truth are not to be expected from that quarter, till the reign of idea shall give place to common sense. With respect to Neander, in particular, we must say, that in some points we believe him to be greatly over-rated. For the merits which we have already mentioned, he deserves all praise. His intimate acquaintance with the sources of church history, and his diligence in drawing from them are beyond dispute. The fidelity and clearness too, with which he places the results before the reader, give an extraordinary value to his published works. We are not prepared, however, to assent to all that we have heard and read, respecting his philosophic depth, and his masterly development of principles and causes. No one can study him without surprise at the extraordinary theory which seems to be the basis of his speculations, by which we mean his reasoning and deductions, as distinguished from the facts on which they rest. Look at his uniform attempts to do away with all essential distinctions of opinion in the ancient church, and to exhibit every heresy as a peculiar form of truth resulting from the idiosyncrasies of some distinguished teacher. Look at the constantly recurring notion

of a gradual *entwicklung*, or developement of truth from age to age, which is such a favourite hobby with him, that the very term has grown into a bye-word and been coupled with his name. Look at his most unmeasurable efforts to reduce the fundamental truths of Christianity, as it were, to a single point, and we may even say to a single word; a scheme for which he is so zealous, that he regards with abhorrence all contention for the truth, and is even more disposed to harmonize with infidel skepticism than with orthodox rigour. It is easy to call this Christian liberality, but call it what we may, the question still recurs, is this truth? There are some no doubt to whom Neander's laxity and latitudinarianism are extremely welcome, and who therefore represent them as arising from the depths of his philosophy. For our own part, we regard this as precisely his weak point, and while we set the highest value on the products of his industry, we hold his speculations, for the most part, very cheap. We are not among the number of those who believe, that all which grows in German soil is either totally corrupt or wholly perfect. Here, as elsewhere, to distinguish is the only safe expedient.

Entertaining such views of Neander's merits as a church historian, we should not have thought so highly of the work before us, had it blindly followed him in all his singularities. We are happy to state, that Professor Guerike, so far from doing this, has essentially departed from his model in a number of particulars. And the points of difference are precisely those in which we think Neander an unsafe authority. While the author of the manual has taken full advantage of Neander's researches, and we may even say discoveries, he has carefully avoided that spurious philosophy which takes away the land-marks between truth and error, that spurious liberality which makes a stern attachment to the doctrines of the Gospel worse than unbelief, and that spurious simplicity which almost does away with all external institutions, and reduces the organization of Christ's body, not to a skeleton, but to a very shadow. In other words, Professor Guerike is not ashamed to own that he has a creed, and that he holds some doctrines to be strictly fundamental. That he grossly errs in one point, will be seen anon; but in the principle, that Christianity is not a vague abstraction, but involves certain definite articles of faith, we are sure that he is right. If this be bigotry, we glory in being bigots.

From what we have already said, without any particular description of the book, our readers will be prepared to find, that it surpasses Mosheim in two important points. In the first place, it presents the subject in accordance with the last results of scientific investigation. In the next place, it is animated by a

truly Christian spirit. From beginning to end this manual exhibits that impress of piety which defies all counterfeit. No one who reads the book can, for a moment, doubt that the author, whether right or wrong in his opinions of the church, is an humble follower of Him who is its head. The tone of religious feeling which pervades the work, is truly refreshing in comparison with Mosheim's frigid orthodoxy, if such it may be called; while to Calvinists at least, there is a pleasing contrast between the unevangelical bias of the one, and the cordial attachment to the doctrines of grace apparent in the other.\*

As the work before us is a manual of Church History in general, it is of course impossible to give the reader a minute description of it. With respect to the plan, we shall merely state that, instead of the arrangement by centuries, the subject is divided into seven great periods. 1. From the foundation of the church to the end of Diocletian's persecution. 2. From the end of Diocletian's persecution, to Gregory the Great (A. D. 311—590.) 3. From Gregory the Great to the death of Charlemagne (A. D. 590—814.) 4. From the death of Charlemagne to Gregory VII. (A. D. 814—1073.) 5. From Gregory VII. to Boniface VIII. (A. D. 1073—1294.) 6. From Boniface VIII. to the Reformation, (A. D. 1294—1517.) 7. From the Reformation to the present time.

Under each of these periods, the author describes, first, the progress and extension of the Gospel, together with the assaults upon the church. 2. The successive changes with respect to church government and discipline, under which he comprehends the history of the Pope and the monastic orders. 3. The state of religion, and the forms of worship. 4. The state of the theological opinion, including the history of heresies and sects.

We have already stated, as the prominent merits of this manual, its evangelical spirit, and its scientific accuracy, or in other words, its conformity to the latest results of historical research. All that is needed farther to characterize the work may be found in the following observations :

1. It is not a mere collection of the raw materials of church history. The matter has obviously been digested, and carefully wrought into one consistent mass.

2. Though in some sense a popular work, it is nevertheless a learned one. We mean to say, that while an ordinary reader may derive from it a clear and impressive view of the fortunes

\* We may remark, by the way, that Professor Guerike, though a zealous Lutheran, is a no less zealous Predestinarian, and maintains that on this point the Reformers were unanimous.

of the church, the theologian and the scholar will find in it a copious index to the bibliography and literature of the whole subject. The primary authorities are carefully referred to, and even the best editions of the standard writers are distinctly pointed out. This is a kind of learning which the Germans cultivate above all other nations, and which no doubt contributes in a very high degree to the value of their critical writings. No lecturer is there thought to have done justice to the science which he teaches, unless he has laid before his hearers a sketch of what is called the *Litteratur* of his department. This is a catalogue of the standard writers on that subject, with a concise account of their respective merits, and the progress of the science. In the department of Church History this statement must extend to the different editions of the writings of the Fathers, and their critical value. Nor is this designed merely for the amusement of the students. In one university at least (that of Halle) we know that the candidates in theology are examined strictly on Patristic-Bibliography. Whatever may be thought of this arrangement, as a part of theological education, there can be no doubt, that a correct enumeration of the standard authorities is of the highest value to the reader of a book like that before us, as it informs him precisely where he is to look for the proof of every statement, and where he may find that proof presented in the most advantageous form.

3. While the view here given of the history of the church before the Reformation, is as clear and as minute as a compendious statement could perhaps be made, the remaining part deserves still higher praise, as being not only accurate and perspicuous, but impressive and interesting in a rare degree. The author was not merely familiar with his subject. He felt it—he was full of it. So that some of his sketches have all the peculiar interest of historical romance. This is the case with his history of Luther, and account of the Lutheran Church, from the Reformer's time to ours, which is the best that we have seen within such limits, and is drawn from the best authorities. We must not forget to mention, among the merits of the work, that it brings down the history to the time when it was written, and includes all branches of the Christian Church. To the churches of this country and the missionary enterprise, the author assigns a conspicuous place.

We have not forgotten, in the course of these remarks, that the book is written in German, and that consequently few of our readers can feel an immediate interest in it, until it is translated. From the high praise bestowed upon it in the present article, the reader may possibly expect us to recommend an English version

of the work for the American market. There are two or three things, however, which conspire to render it doubtful whether this would be advisable. They are as follows :

1. The rigidly systematic method of arrangement, which would be very convenient in an extensive history, gives a manual like this a sort of skeleton air, which is not a little repulsive. The effect is aggravated, in the present case, by the formal inscription over every chapter, paragraph, and section. This is a German foible. The writers of that country seem to think that the *lucidus ordo* of a work consists in the multiplicity of its subdivisions, and the complex fulness of its nomenclature. They ought to know, that excess in the mere formalities of method tends to frustrate its design, whereas real perspicuity is promoted by a skilful concealment of the apparatus by which it is secured. Would the harmony of parts, and exactness of proportions, in an edifice, be any more apparent, if the nails, and pegs, and nice articulations were exposed to view ? We are much amused at the blind servility, with which translators from the German sometimes copy all the faults of their original, not excepting those which are entirely formal and dependant upon taste, an attribute in which, we are bold to say, the Germans are as far behind their neighbours, as before them in some others.

2. Another circumstance which tends to make it doubtful whether the book would bear translation, in the proper sense, is its deficiency in point of style. We refer not merely to trivial faults in diction, but to the author's fondness for complex and sesquipedalian sentences, and his frequent use of idioms quite incapable of transfer into lawful English. These faults are not conspicuous in all parts of the book, but they affect so large a portion of it, that the task of 'doing it into English,' would require an uncommon share of taste and judgment, an accurate acquaintance with the idioms of both languages, and an entire freedom from that servile spirit which disfigures many versions.

3. Lastly, there is one point in the author's creed, to which he attaches such importance, and allows such prominence in his history of the church, as to give the book a peculiar tinge throughout. We refer to the doctrine of *consubstantiation*, which the evangelical Lutherans of the present day in Germany have restored to its former bad eminence, and almost coupled with justification by faith alone, as the test of a standing and falling church. With the theological question we have nothing here to do ; nor can we suppose, that for American readers there is any need of proving, that if Luther had begun with the Scriptures, as Zuingli did, and reasoned from them as the supreme and sole authority, instead of beginning with the creed of a cor-

rupted church, and rejecting only what he could not keep, this mongrel doctrine would never have been heard of. We doubt whether any honest reader of the Bible would ever have thought of the Popish or Lutheran interpretation of the passages in question, unless they had been previously suggested, by scholastic speculations. The difficulty complained of is a factitious one. The subject, however, is not so viewed in Germany, we mean by the beloved few who really love the truth. While a small number, even among the Lutherans, (as, for instance, Tholuck,) hold the sentiments of Calvin, with respect to the Lord's Supper, the majority of real Christians, not excepting some who have been brought up in the *Reformed* communion, are disposed to look upon consubstantiation as a test of orthodoxy. Professor Guerike mentions, with the liveliest satisfaction, that such men as Hengstenberg and Theremin, though not educated Lutherans, are helping to unfold the "truth of the Lutheran doctrine of the sacrament," as a lofty banner on the field of theological dispute.\* Guerike himself considers the rejection of this dogma, by the Swiss Reformers, as the first step towards neology and deism; and with the utmost gravity, traces to this source the modern infidelity of England, France, and Germany!

This unfortunate infirmity is of course not without its effect upon his history. He strives to show the existence of the Lutheran doctrine in the ancient church, and the effects of Zuingle's heresy in that of modern times. He is, however, very far from being despondent. On the contrary, he entertains the pleasing hope, that all evangelical denominations will be ultimately brought to confess the real presence of the Saviour's body in the sacramental elements. This is the third and last particular which we designed to mention as detracting from the merit of the work before us. We are not afraid of any effect upon the doctrinal belief of the American reader; but we are afraid that this unhappy weakness would impair his respect for the real merits of this valuable manual.

In justice to the author, we must guard against any misconception, with respect to the spirit and temper of his work. Nothing could be more truly Catholic. Almost every page bears the impress of that wide-armed charity which embraces all who embrace the Saviour. With all his mistaken zeal for consubstantiation, he is far from making it essential to salvation, or to real union with the household of faith. His doctrine is, that no church can be perfect in its constitution, though it may exist, without acknowledging this solemn truth. It may have a divine

\* Vol. II. p. 956.



charter, but the charter is not sealed, or only sealed imperfectly. He does not, therefore, really attach so much practical importance to this doctrine, as bigotted prelatists attach to the imaginary pedigree of their bishops. He thinks his own views of the sacrament necessary, not to the existence of a Christian church, but to its symmetry, completeness, and security from error with regard to other doctrines. Instead of abandoning his fellow Christians to "uncovenanted mercy," because they do not symbolise with Luther, he hails them as members of the body of Christ, and prays that God would strengthen them wherein they are infirm. At the same time he is earnestly opposed to the amalgamation of those churches which, on this point, differ. He denounces, in particular, the darling project of the present King of Prussia, for the union of the Evangelical and Reformed, or as we should call them, Lutheran and Calvinistic churches. This measure, in our author's judgment, only tends to generate indifference with respect to important doctrines, and to effect a compromise between truth and error, without in reality promoting peace. On this principle he acts, as well as writes. The external union of the Prussian churches may be considered as accomplished. The ministers of both now form one *clerus*, and are appointed promiscuously to the vacant churches. A few, however, of the strenuous Lutherans still protest against the coalition. Among these is Professor Guerike, who refuses to do any act which can be construed as expressing approbation of the change. In this he differs from many of his best beloved friends, and the staunchest advocates of truth, who regard the union of the two communions as a token for good to the ancient desolations of the German Zion.

In this we think them right, and our author clearly wrong. We feel, however, that we cannot do him justice by this hurried statement, and take leave of him, therefore, for the present, with a determination to lay before our readers, at an early opportunity, his own account of this interesting matter, as well as other specimens of the work before us. From these the theological public will be able to decide, whether a translation of the manual is expedient. Our own judgment, after a perusal of the whole, is, that a work of about the same dimensions, founded upon this, and embodying all its valuable matter, yet without adopting all the author's sentiments, or retaining his expressions, would be a welcome addition to the store of our theological literature.

ART. II.—*Brief Memoir of the late REZEAU BROWN, A. M.*

THIS memoir of a young preacher of the gospel, distinguished for piety and learning, was written for the purpose of being read before the *Society of Inquiry on Missions*, in the Theological Seminary at Princeton. At the suggestion of several respected friends, it is now offered to the public. Though the name of Mr. Brown may be new to some, into whose hands the memoir may fall, it is believed that none can fail to be interested in the lovely traits of his character, however feebly depicted. To young ministers, theological students, and instructors, it will perhaps be useful; and in order to adapt it to the wants of youth, the utmost simplicity and brevity have been attempted.

The writer has avoided, rather than sought, embellishment; and claims no merit beyond that of a mere biographer; for which character he has felt conscious of one important qualification, as having been for years intimately acquainted with the subject of the narrative.

As an attestation to the faithfulness of the sketch, the author is happy to subjoin one or two communications with which he has been favoured.

*From the Rev. Isaac V. Brown, of Lawrenceville, N. J.*

## EXTRACT.

"*Reverend and dear Sir,*—With much interest have I read over the Biographical Sketch of my departed son, which you recently put into my hands. The facts are believed to be accurately and judiciously stated. Many more might be introduced, but these are sufficient for the brief outline intended.

"The simplicity of the style employed is well fitted to convey truth, and peculiarly adapted to biography, whose office it is, not to form and embellish character, but to exhibit real life. Should you, in accordance with the wishes of friends, and in the hope that it may do good, give it to the public in a neat little volume, I shall be gratified.

"*Lawrenceville, June 23, 1834.*"

*From the Rev. Dr. Miller, Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton.*

"*Reverend and dear Sir,*—I have read your sketch of the life of our lamented friend, Mr. Rezeau Brown, with mournful pleasure. I can recollect very few young men with whom it has

been my happiness to be acquainted, at any period of my life, whose character I should so much desire candidates for the ministry to study and imitate. When I first noticed him, as a member of his father's academy, I know not that I ever admired a youth more. When he became pious, he appeared to me simplicity and loveliness personified. And when amidst the delicacy and decline of his health, I witnessed his growing devotedness to the cause of his Master, and remarked how much he was "strengthened with might, by the Spirit, in the inner man," I could not but consider his early removal from his chosen and beloved work, as a most mysterious dispensation.

"But he was removed by Him who loves the Church, and understands her true interests infinitely better than you or I. 'The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord!'"

"Allow me to say, that I thank you for this monument to the memory of a precious young man; and that I hope it will prove useful to some who never enjoyed the privilege of seeing his face in the flock, as well as to many who can, from their own knowledge, testify to the truth of what you have stated.

"Very sincerely and respectfully, your brother,

"SAMUEL MILLER.

"*Princeton, July 12, 1834.*"

*From the Rev. Dr. Alexander, Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton.*

"As you request me to express my opinion respecting the character of the late Rezeau Brown, of Lawrenceville, I cheerfully comply, although I do not think it necessary to use many words.

"The piety of Mr. Brown appeared to me—and I have had much intercourse with him from the commencement of his religious exercises—to be sincere and genuine. Its tendency was to make him humble, conscientious, benevolent, and zealous for the honour of God. I have seldom known a young Christian who gave more satisfactory evidence of zeal, consistent and fervent piety. His views of divine truth were, from the moment of his first religious impressions, clear and scriptural. His convictions of sin were deep and pungent, and his faith in the Redeemer lively and joyful. I fully believe that, from that moment, love to the Saviour become the predominant affection of his mind, and the governing principle of his life. There was habitual seriousness on his mind, which produced a becoming gravity in his deportment, without rendering him gloomy or austere; and in all religious exercises of a social kind, he manifested a solemnity

and tenderness, which indicated that these things were not mere matters of form, but privileges in which his soul took a deep interest, and from which he derived the purest pleasure.

“His ardour in pursuing knowledge, and his capacity of acquiring it rapidly, were probably possessed in a higher degree by none of his acquaintances. His field of inquiry was so comprehensive, that he could not be expected to excel in every department of literature and science. Yet when he appeared before the Presbytery of New Brunswick to be examined on his academical course, I could not but remark his uncommon correctness and proficiency in every branch; so that I have often said, that I never heard an examination of the kind, in which the candidate appeared equal to Rezeau Brown. On each branch he might have superiors, but taking the whole cyclopaedia, I knew none who excelled him.

Yours, &c.

“A. ALEXANDER.

“*Princeton, July 12, 1834.*”

It is the wish and prayer of the writer that this humble endeavour may be instrumental in promoting the cause of Christ.

J. W. ALEXANDER.

*Princeton, 1834.*

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## MEMOIR.

REZEAU BROWN was born September 30, 1808, at Lawrenceville, Hunterdon county, New Jersey. It was his happy lot to be the eldest child, not only of intelligent and pious parents, but of one who was a minister of the Gospel, and an accomplished instructor of youth. This gave a colour to the whole of his life, and is therefore worthy of note.

Not long before the birth of Rezeau, his father, the Rev. Isaac V. Brown, had assumed the pastoral charge of the congregation, and a few years after added to his other duties the care of a classical school, which still exists as one of the most flourishing preparatory institutions in the country. Rezeau began to attend the instructions of a common English school in his native village at the age of four years. His friends remember that his precocity was remarkable, and that he made rapid advances; being especially distinguished for his aptness in acquiring the knowledge of arithmetic. He was fond of study, but even at this early period was feeble in constitution, and subject to frequent attacks of quinsy. It was observed that he was never

much addicted to the common amusements of boys, but seemed to derive his chief entertainment from intellectual pursuits.

After a suitable time, he was admitted to his father's classical seminary, where for a number of years he enjoyed the direction and judicious care of this affectionate parent. The facilities here afforded were not wasted upon him. He was very soon distinguished in every branch of study. Especially in the various lines of mathematical pursuit, he displayed a quickness and a maturity of understanding which are rare; passing through the details of arithmetic, algebra, and geometry, not only with ease, but with delight, in no case requiring to be urged, and in scarcely any to be assisted.

This kind of genius seldom fails to be accompanied by a thirst for information, such as leads to various and discursive reading. It is happy when the cravings of a youthful mind are at once gratified by abundance of books, and regulated by rigid discipline, as was here the case. At this time, the greater part of those who were connected with Mr. Brown's academy were from the south, and were young men approaching to manhood, and some of them adult age. Yet even these were accustomed to look up to Rezeau for assistance, while he was yet a child. The effect of this was for a time not altogether favourable. It could scarcely fail to happen, that his mind should be inflated; and an undue self-esteem gave to his boyish manners a tincture of conceit, and an air approaching to dictatorial consequence. This, however, like diseases arising from too rapid development in the physical constitution, wore away with the increase of real power. The period was most interesting; and there are few of sufficient age, in this vicinity, who do not remember the pleasing appearance of this promising boy, his symmetrical form, his manly grace of motion, and that beauty of countenance which arises from the light of intelligence playing upon features of perfect regularity.

In the autumn of 1823 he was admitted to the junior class in the college of New Jersey, at Princeton, being then fifteen years of age. During the two years which he passed in this institution, he was much absorbed in the appropriate studies of the course, was uniformly in the first rank of distinguished scholars, and received the highest literary honour at the close, though a number of his competitors were young men more advanced in years. The minute particulars, however, of his college life are beyond our reach, and the most which we can say is, that he was remarkably attached to the mathematical and physical sciences, and that his deportment was such as to win the regard of his friends and teachers.

It was of not a little advantage to him, that he was at this time

domiciliated in the family of his uncle, the late Dr. John Van Cleve, who will long be remembered in New Jersey as a skilful practitioner of medicine, a proficient in science, a citizen of probity and talent, and a church officer of wisdom and piety. Dr. Van Cleve was at this time delivering a course of lectures on chemistry, and Rezeau Brown was employed by him for two successive winters, in those manipulations which were required by the train of experiments. This tended to develope his taste for the natural sciences, and that manual tact for which he was always distinguished; and these circumstances contributed largely, no doubt, to awaken in him a desire to enter the medical profession.

A course of study so long and arduous as he had been pursuing, would very naturally give life to the hidden germs of disease in his constitution; and such was the debility which now manifested itself, that it was thought necessary by his physicians for him to interrupt his scientific pursuits. He therefore set out, in company with a college friend, upon a tour to Ohio and Kentucky, where he passed the autumn of 1825 and the following winter, in active travel. He traversed this western region with the vivid curiosity of a naturalist and an antiquary, every where exploring the forests, searching into the antiquities, productions, geological and mineral formations, and the natural phenomena of the country.

On his return, in the spring of 1826, he was seized with a violent affection of the lungs, which reduced him to the brink of the grave. The instructions and associations of early life, and the constant influences of a religious society, had hitherto failed to awaken him to a due sense of divine things; and even now, imminent as was the peril, and well fitted to break the spell of Satan, the most that it seemed to produce was mere alarm. He still remained, what he had always been, a seemingly correct but really irreligious youth.

In March, 1826, having recovered his common health, he proceeded to act upon his long cherished purpose of studying medicine, and entered the office of his uncle with this intention. At no time of his life was he able to pursue any object by halves: he threw himself into the subject with enthusiasm. It was his toil, his entertainment, his meat and drink. And it is the unanimous conviction of all competent judges who knew him, that he was wonderfully fitted for this profession; possessing sagacity, tenderness, unflinching determination, singular dexterity, and an amount of chemical and medical knowledge which together must have made his way to eminence.

Providence had other paths marked out. In March, 1827, a

change in his spirit took place which gave a new character to his remaining years, and on which, even from his present mysterious seat in the unknown world, he looks back as the crisis of his eternal destiny. It was then that he believed himself to have been converted to God. His friends have never doubted that this was the case; and though it is best to infer the reality of the change from the effects, yet it may not be uninteresting to refer to his own account of the impressions which issued in that event.

Among his posthumous papers, is found one, entitled, *Meditations on my religious character and exercises*; the date is uncertain. It contains the following observations:

“There has, no doubt, happened a great change in my character, which I date in March 1827. I was before that a mere worldling, careless of eternity, thoughtless of my own eternal interests, and of those around me, a profane swearer, Sabbath-breaker, and every thing else that is wicked; though only to that degree which was quite consistent with a decent exterior, and what were considered quite regular and moral habits in a young man. At the time mentioned, I was led in a most sudden and surprising way, when I was alone one evening, to look upon myself as a deeply depraved and guilty sinner, and to experience, in a lively manner, the feeling of my desert of hell. But in the course of a few days, I was enabled, as I thought, to cast myself on the Lord Jesus Christ as my Redeemer, and I felt through him a sweet sense of forgiveness and reconciliation with God.”

This is a brief and simple account, but what more could be said in a volume? It is an epitome of the saving exercises of every renewed soul. It contains all that is essential, and nothing more. We may however add a few particulars from other sources. At the time of which he speaks there was a great prevalence of awakened feeling in the congregations at Lawrenceville and Princeton. There is reason to believe that young Brown was not only exempt from serious conviction, but proudly averse to the whole subject, and opposed to the instrumentality which was used. Among the labourers in this good work, Mr. Robert Gibson, a zealous and active licentiate, was the most prominent; a man of uncommon fervour and Christian energy, who, notwithstanding the enfeebling influence of a mortal disease, daily went about doing good, among all classes of society. Against the efforts of this good man, Rezeau Brown was particularly aroused, so far indeed as to declare, that if he attempted *his* conversion, he should be met with marked insult. It is not known with any degree of certainty whether Mr. Gibson was

eventually made the instrument of his conviction of sin, but it is well remembered that Rezeau was very soon brought to feel the power of divine truth, so that his opposition yielded, and the result was such as has just been recounted in his own words. Such indeed was his apprehension of the mercy of God in Christ, that, suddenly overwhelmed, he sank to the earth.

The Rev. Mr. Brown was ignorant of this signal change, being himself engaged in active labours at home, until he was informed that his beloved son was taking part in the public exercises of religious conferences. A most intimate and affectionate intercourse continued to subsist between the subject of this memoir and the Rev. Mr. Gibson, until the closing scene of the latter; at which Rezeau Brown waited and watched with unusual love and assiduity, as the dying bed of him whom God had made the instrument of such mercy to himself. He was admitted to the communion of the church in his native village, in June 1827.

The following winter he passed in New Haven, his principal inducement for seeking this delightful literary emporium, being the advantages offered by the lectures of Professor Silliman; a gentleman from whom he received the kindest attention, and for whom he retained through life an affectionate respect. As he had not yet relinquished his intention of becoming a physician he attended the lectures of the Medical Department, and particularly the course of chemical and mineralogical instruction. At the same time, the example and aid of Professor Gibbs strongly incited him towards the pursuit of Oriental languages. From his correspondence it would appear that he was usefully and happily employed in New Haven, constantly applying his mind to study, but at the same time using such gymnastic exercises as tended to corroborate his frame. And what was more important, he was evidently making advances in piety, becoming more familiar with Christian experience, and studying the interior of those blessed revivals which the New England churches enjoyed at that period.

“I find myself (says he,) at this time very pleasantly situated. Chemistry, Anatomy, Hebrew and Greek are heterogeneous studies to be sure; but I manage to find some place for each of them. I am considered a Theological student, which is here a very honourable character; and I consider Theology as the main object of pursuit, although the other subjects are very useful and pleasant to me, and I try as far as possible to bring all my knowledge to bear upon the great work which is before me. It adds a charm to all knowledge, to think that by it we may glorify Him, who is the kind preserver and author of all good; and the



study of natural science, if it has its proper effect, will lead the mind from 'nature up to nature's God.'"

In another letter, addressed to his father, of date Jan. 29, 1828, he thus describes his situation. "I desire to remain until May, in order to hear Professor Silliman's lectures, and become grounded in Hebrew. If I go to Princeton, I shall be able then to follow out the studies which I have commenced; but if not, Professor Gibbs would take me as a private student, through the summer, when I might get a more complete knowledge of Oriental language. I wish to lay a broad foundation, so that I may be prepared for whatever station in the church God in his Providence may call me to fill."

In reply to a friend who suggested a query whether his pursuits were not too numerous, he writes: "My miscellaneous studies lasted only through the vacation, and I have now returned to the laborious investigations of the session. I looked at two or three kindred dialects of the Hebrew, and I shall now be able, from what I know, to pursue them alone when occasion may offer. My time is well occupied; chemical lectures last three or four weeks more, and also anatomy; I attend the former always, the latter when there are dissections, which are frequent. From my acquaintance with them, however, they are rather relaxation than otherwise. I take the spare time offered for History and German. I can already read Luther's Bible with profit, and Latin has become like English from the constant use of Latin books. I have translated most of a Syriac grammar, which was beneficial. It is a language which I wish to know, as being the vernacular tongue of our Saviour and his apostles; and because many *Syriasms* are found in the New Testament, as are *Hebraisms* in the Septuagint."

These details are not the signals of a vain ostentation, but the effusions of affectionate confidence into the ear of a solicitous father. The extracts which have been given, evince an uncommon thirst for knowledge, and also reveal the gradual leaning of his mind towards the Christian ministry. On his return in June 1828, he settled this great point, by clearly determining that it was his duty to preach the gospel; for which he cheerfully abandoned secular prospects which could scarcely have been more bright, in the line of another profession. The summer was spent in some preliminary studies, particularly that of the original Scriptures, the importance of which he felt in the most lively manner till his dying day.

In the spring of 1828 he received the appointment of Tutor in the College of New Jersey, in which situation he continued two

years and a half. It was a seclusion favourable for the culture of his intellect and his heart, and fitted to create habits of decision and promptitude in action. During this period, it was pleasing to his anxious friends to observe that he steadily increased in grace, becoming at once more tenderly devout and more warmly active. Yet his religion was no hinderance, but rather a spur to his research into all subjects connected with ministerial qualifications. And it was with a zeal almost passionate, that he gave himself up to the pursuit of the Hebrew, Arabic, French, and German languages, and the more strictly theological studies; availing himself of every aid from teachers and associates.

One of the very interesting traits of his correspondence during this period, and one which was characteristic of the man, is his anxiety for the spiritual good of his unconverted friends, and his faithfulness in remonstrating with them. To this we shall revert more distinctly in the sequel. For the present it must suffice to give an extract from a letter to a young female acquaintance, who made no profession of faith in Christ. It will serve to show how easy the transition in his mind was from literature to religion, and is a fair specimen of his untrammelled correspondence.

“Let me again advise you to follow what I know to be your inclination—to redeem time for reading, meditation and writing. I have often been struck with the manner in which those men, who have made the greatest attainments, recommend this last. Their example alone is sufficient. There are, it is said, remaining at this time *bushels* of the manuscripts of President Edwards, one of the greatest philosophers and divines of this or any other country. He wrote *always*. It was the practice of Gibbon, the great historian (though bad man) to make an abstract of every book he read. I am astonished at the amount he daily read and wrote, as recorded in his diary. He frequently remarks, ‘Read again, and meditate thoroughly such a book,’ or ‘I make no further remarks here, because I intend to make an abstract of it.’ *‘Le seul précepte général que j’ose donner,’* says he in his journal in France, *‘est celui de Plin, qu’on doit plutôt lire beaucoup, que beaucoup de choses; se faire un choix de vos ouvrages et se les rendre propres, par des lectures réfléchies et répétées.’* I think with him and with you, that no reading is so unprofitable, as that which we undertake just to say, ‘we have read’ such a work, without reflection, or any scrutiny of its sentiments. Reading improves only when it excites the mind of the reader. If it fail in this, the ideas received are soon lost—and the habits of the intellect injured. It is well remarked, that

‘too much reading without meditation is like turning upside down a lamp, which goes out through the very excess of that which gave it life.’

“I was indeed happy to find that you had read and reflected on *one* book—to wit, the Evidences of the Christian religion. I sincerely hope and pray that the clear and powerful argumentation of that little volume may ever remain fixed in your memory; that you may recollect also that the difficulties and mysteries of religion are such as arise out of man’s weakness and ignorance; that light sufficient to save is given, and that our duty is to receive it humbly and obediently, and not complain that Omniscience has not admitted us to share the councils of his throne. No stronger test of the divinity of our faith is necessary than its going forth ‘conquering and to conquer,’ translating man from sin and misery to holiness and happiness, and forming the highest blessing of every country where it is enjoyed. Upon it, if I am not deceived, I have rested my eternal all—if I have—I *know* that I am as secure as though I ruled an universe.

“Scepticism is man’s natural character. We are proud, selfish, and perverse, and love not the humbling doctrines of revelation, but choose rather to be our own guides, and believe our own way to be the best. This principle and these feelings must be eradicated before we can find favour with God. You know not the deep, settled hatred of your heart to God, or it would weigh upon you like a mountain. Seek this knowledge, I entreat you, by prayer, by meditation, and self-examination, and go to be washed in the fountain of a Saviour’s love.”

In the spring of 1831, Rezeau Brown renounced his literary employments in Nassau Hall, from the conviction which was deepening in his soul, that he ought, without further delay, to enter upon the work of the ministry. He had been for a year or two engaged in the studies pursued by the classes in the theological seminary, among whose students his name was enrolled. He revolved in his mind the great question of devoting himself to the work of Foreign Missions, and his laborious attention to modern languages was chiefly with reference to the contingency of his going abroad. But his constitution was even then radically impaired, and his spare frame, and mild but bloodless countenance were signals of distress by which nature seemed to warn him from any longer seclusion. Indeed, his friends often told him that his feeble body was unfit to endure the labours of the sacred office. To this his uniform reply was, that he longed for the service, and could never be satisfied that he had done his

duty, until he had made the trial. All his studies had this object ; and it is worthy of remark, that he appeared always to *study for God*. A sentiment of Coleridge was inscribed in one of his books ; ‘An hour passed in sincere and earnest prayer, or the conflict with, and conquest over a single passion, or ‘subtle *bosom* sin,’ will teach us more of thought, will more effectually awaken the *faculty*, and form the *habit* of reflection, than a year’s study in the schools without them.’ He felt the force of Luther’s adage.

Bene orasse est bene studuisse ;

yet he did not pervert it to mean that any degree of fervour could justify idleness, or miraculously supersede the necessity for application. “How momentous (says he) is the holy ministry! Every moment may give birth to a thought or a feeling which may be the means of saving hundreds. I have felt under some circumstances, that for certain objects even prayer was less important than study. How awful then my responsibility for the employment of every moment! Oh! for grace, grace!”

A few rough and hasty notes in a little memorandum-book seem to have been penned about this time, and manifest very clearly the complexion of his thoughts respecting the evangelical work. They are such as become one on the threshold of the ministry.

“No defect is so prevalent as that of duly estimating the ministry.

“The *qualifications* for it are :

“1. Proper views and feelings in relation to it : and

“2. Ability and disposition to realize them in action.

“I find that I have come utterly short of any adequate views of this solemn ambassadorship of heaven, upon which I propose so soon to enter. My mind has been delighted and attracted by its grandeur, and my hopes elevated by the prospect of success in the world. But I have entirely forgotten that the present measure of usefulness is to be far surpassed by the coming generations of ministers; and that even the moderate calculation of ordinary success cannot be expected in my present state of mind and heart. In addition, the world demands all that I can possibly do; and it is proved that the moral influence of any one man is far above any thing commonly realized.

“We are too prone to look at the success which has attended the efforts of such men as Howard, Clarkson, &c. as moral phenomena, rather than what might be perhaps secured by any one of us. I have suffered myself to float along thus far with the

current on which I chanced to be thrown, with scarcely any thing more of an evangelical desire to glorify God, than a general wish that my course might be directed in a way to do good. I have never resolved, and in the strength of God endeavoured, to *spend and be spent* for Christ. I have had some general purpose to be a very active and zealous minister, and promoter of revivals, but my heart has been far from right in approaching this sacred office, and now I desire to pause upon the threshold, and to call myself to a strict account, to settle in my mind some appropriate impressions of its magnitude, and of my need of proper views; and, if possible, to secure some better fitness for the work before me.

“To this end, I would attend,

I. To the affairs of my soul.

II. To the affairs of my body.

III. To the affairs of my mind.

I. 1. To be much engaged in reading the Bible, in meditating and in prayer.

2. To improve opportunities of Christian intercourse.

3. To cultivate a Christian temper, and do every thing as conscious that the eye of God is directed to me, as well as the eye of the world.

4. To gain proper views of duty, and to act up to my convictions.

II. 1. To take regular exercise, morning and evening.

2. To be moderate in eating, &c.

3. To ‘keep my body under.’

III. In regard to *objects of study*.

1. The Bible.

2. Theology, as a science.

3. Books to aid the intellect, by their power of thought or some effective quality.

B. In regard to *method*,

1. Read *twice* every good book.

2. Read *carefully*, not caring so much to finish the volume as to gain knowledge.

3. Read *pen in hand*, noting striking thoughts, and recording such as throw light on points not hitherto understood.

C. In regard to *writing*. I wish to gain some *facility* as well as *correctness* in my composition for the pulpit and the press.

1. Analyses of Sermons.

2. Sermons.

3. Presbyterian Exercises.

4. Notes on remaining topics in Didactic Theology.”

These records need no comment; they indicate a mind jealous of itself, and awake to the importance of rigorous self-control.

It would be injustice to the memory of Mr. Brown if some notice should not be taken of his labours, in public and private, during the period of his connexion with the college. As an officer he was conscientious, faithful, and acceptable. But he found time for other services out of doors, especially for assisting in various social meetings in the vicinity of Princeton. In one of these, his prayers and exhortations, and private admonitions, were made instrumental to the awakening of souls.

He also exercised himself in compositions of a religious nature, frequently contributing to some of our first periodical works. The cause of Sunday schools was particularly dear to him, and in its behalf he wrote and laboured extensively. Among other important services, he prepared for the American Sunday School Union the *Memoirs of Augustus Hermann Francke*, which has proved to be one of their most popular and useful works. It is a book which may be recommended to the perusal of every Christian, as an unassuming volume, but judiciously compiled, and fraught with narratives of thrilling interest. It was completed in the autumn of 1830, and published early in 1831.

In the month of April, 1831, he was licensed to preach as a probationer for the Gospel ministry, by the Presbytery of New Brunswick. In the months immediately following, there was a great awakening and revival in the region of Rocky Hill, Somerset, and as many as one hundred and twenty-five persons were supposed to be converted. The instrumentality of Mr. Brown in this work of grace will long be remembered by many of these affectionate converts, who regard his youthful labours as the means of their restoration to God. Day after day he laboured publicly, and from house to house, and it is evident to all who knew him, that the experience of this favoured season gave an impulse to his Christian feelings, and a mould to his character, which were discernible throughout his few remaining years. Some of his associates in this sacred employment have since gone to foreign countries; and it is remarkable, that a large number of those whom congeniality of feeling had made his intimate friends, have become missionaries.

In October, 1831, he received an appointment from the Board of Missions of the General Assembly, to preach the Gospel in Virginia. The place assigned to him was the village of Morgantown, Monongalia county. Of his employments there for seven months, our information is only of a general character. He preached steadily at three different places, about fifteen miles apart. Constant exercise on horseback was advantageous to his

health, or at least suspended the morbid action of his system; and his services were highly acceptable and accompanied with the divine blessing. Among other effects of his assiduous labour, a church was organized in a very destitute spot on Laurel Mountain, about eight miles from Morgantown. The people contributed about two hundred dollars towards the erection of an edifice, and Mr. Brown collected what was further necessary among his friends in New Jersey and Philadelphia. This place of worship has received the name of *Brown's church*.

Letters received from that region since his death, dwell with tender esteem upon his piety, meekness, activity, and holy example. "During my acquaintance with him, (writes one of a different Christian persuasion) I never knew a conversation of five minutes duration, in which some religious or moral maxim was not thrown out, and that with an aim so certain, as never to fail of more or less effect." That he still thought sometimes of a wider field of action, is manifest from such expressions as the following, addressed to a female friend:

"I rejoice much at the movement in behalf of Foreign Missions in the Synod of Pittsburg. That cause is dear to me, and believing as I do that the spirit of Missions is identical (*now* at least) with *true religion*, I cannot but hope that it may be the beginning of blessings to the churches in this region. I shall take an early occasion to interest the people of Morgantown in that cause, and if possible to obtain contributions to your funds. I do not know that I shall ever be a foreign missionary, but I think I should be willing to go; and if I were not, I should judge myself unworthy of the ministry of our Lord Jesus Christ. Shall not these desolated churches be visited this winter with showers from heaven? Will not God be entreated to return to west Pennsylvania, and revive his work? What say the good people of Pittsburg, and the servants of God in that centre of influence? Oh that I and all who preach the Gospel might feel our responsibility, and implore unceasingly at the mercy seat, and labour untiringly among our fellow men for this great end."

Some of his letters to young Christian friends, written about this time, are indicative of growing zeal and heightened affection; more love for souls, and humble distrust of self; but it would unduly protract this sketch to give them an insertion. A single extract, from a book of memoranda, will exhibit the temper of his mind on a solemn occasion.

"Monday, January 2, 1832. Another year is gone! Let

me be excited by the remembrance of my failures in duty, sins, waste of time, slow advancement in piety and knowledge—let me be stimulated to future diligence in every good thing.

“I would, in dependence on divine aid, this morning resolve,

“1. To be more diligent in the pursuit of piety. And as I have most failed by the neglect of devotional reading of the scriptures, by wandering thoughts in prayer, and by permitting unholy thoughts and tempers to gain admission to my mind, I would resolve to pay special attention to these things.

“2. I resolve to be more faithful in every public and private duty of the ministry. Especially in bearing such an exterior as to exhibit the influence, and commending the nature of religion; and in private and public admonition.

“3. I resolve to attempt to do some good to some individual every day.

“4. I resolve to study the Bible more than I have done, both *critically* and *practically*.

“5. I resolve to press forward towards perfection, as much as possible here below; or in other words, to *grow in grace*.”

About the same time, he writes to a valued relative, who had just been admitted to the communion of the church:

“In regard to personal piety, I find (as you will do) that *prayer* is the chief means of growth. *Days* devoted to prayer are very profitable; seasons of fasting and humiliation equally so. To pray much and yet be a cold Christian, is an anomaly I have never seen in the dealings of God with his church. The scriptures should take up much of your attention. Religious biography, and other religious books, are also worthy of regard and perusal. There is no royal road to manhood in Christ Jesus: we must grow by degrees, which will be greater or less in proportion to our diligence in the use of the means. Read *Ephesians* vi. 10—18. *Philippians* iii. 12—14. *Romans* xii. 1—21. for some inspired directions.”

In June, 1832, Mr. Brown returned from his missionary work to his father's house. Although the constant exercise of these labours had given him reason to hope for an entire restoration of health, yet it was the opinion of his judicious friends that this advantage had been more than counterbalanced by exposure to the rigours of a winter which is memorable for its inclemency, and which he passed in a bleak and mountainous region. Shortly after his return, he again connected himself with the Theological Seminary in Princeton, and sat down to study with an intensity



of application which could scarcely be justified in his condition of body. His pursuits were various. He renewed his critical study of the original scriptures, and daily read large portions of the Greek Testament with Mr. J. Read Eckard, now a missionary in Ceylon. He availed himself of the instructions of a European gentleman, to perfect himself in the German language. He wrote sermons and essays, and entered upon the laborious work of compiling, principally from German authorities, a *Scripture Gazetteer* for the American Sunday School Union. By these literary pursuits, and frequent preaching in vacant congregations, he again enfeebled his health. Various flattering invitations were tendered to him, and among the rest a professorship of chemistry in a southern college; but he was unwilling to accede to any of them.

Nothing was more evident to his pious friends than the steady, healthful growth of his religious character. The false flame of a zeal which he now acknowledged to have been unwise, was giving place to the genial glow of settled Christian love, without noise, and without asperity. Some of his exercises may be gathered from a devotional composition which is subjoined.

*“A prayer for July 26, 1832, being a day of Fasting and Humiliation.*

“ETERNAL and ever glorious Jehovah! I adore thy great and holy name! Thou art He that is, and was, and is to come. Thou art the Creator of the Universe, and its Supporter and Governor. Thou art possessed of every possible perfection. I see the wonders of thy wisdom and power in the works of nature around us, and read the exhibitions of thine amazing goodness and mercy in thy Holy Word. All around, and all within me, call upon me to bow with the deepest reverence before thee!

“I would present myself, Lord, at thy footstool this day in the name of thy dear Son, our Saviour, through whom alone I can hope for acceptance with thee! Teach me to rely with implicit confidence on Him, and through Him to come boldly to the Throne of Grace!

“I would confess my sins before thee. I would, with sorrow and shame, recal to mind my various and aggravated transgressions. Oh God! I have broken thy holy law in all its parts. I have indulged in secret and in open sins. I have suffered my evil passions and corrupt desires to rise and gain the mastery over me; and thus I have, instead of growing more and more in love with thy commandments, remained as careless, or more so, of obedience than before. I have neglected many solemn duties. I have neglected prayer, stated and habitual. I have often been

satisfied with vain apologies for the neglect of secret devotion, penitent confession of sins, and devout reading of thy word of truth. I have often neglected opportunities of doing good. I have not been so watchful over my deportment as I should have been, that I might be a 'light of the world.' My desires have not been strong for the glory of Jesus Christ, and the conversion of the Heathen. I have been exceedingly unbelieving, proud, envious and foolish. And oh! God, I have been all this, and done all this, whilst I was surrounded by the means of instruction and improvement, and followed by peculiar manifestations of thy love.

"Oh thou righteous Lord God! I deserve thy judgments. Thou wouldst be just in bringing on me the heavy scourge which has visited many of my fellow men, and hurried them into eternity!

"I would also bewail before thee this day, oh Lord, the sins of my people and nation. We are exalted to heaven in privileges, but not proportionably obedient to thee. We have sinned: yea, this whole nation. We have rioted in thy bounties, yet forgot the giver. We have been unfaithful in duties to God and man. We have disregarded thy holy Sabbaths, and slighted acknowledged obligations to our fellow creatures. We have oppressed the Indian and the African in the midst of us, and the cry of their bondage and misery has gone up to heaven. Thy people too, oh God! have been unfaithful and negligent. They have not been as diligent in the discharge of duty as was required of them at thy hand. They have suffered means of usefulness to be unemployed, and brethren have wickedly striven with brethren.

"And now, oh! thou merciful Sovereign, I would presume to ask of thee forgiveness, through the blood of Christ, for all my sins and those of my nation. Oh! bring us to repentance. Thy judgments threaten us on every side. Internal dissension, and the fierce passions of men, are excited within us, and enemies on our borders, and in our States, long for our destruction. The wasting pestilence, too, has come nigh, and is pouring out its fury upon our great city. Oh! avert these threatening calamities. Oh! send abroad thy spirit to awaken a general inquiry after the causes of these evils, and give us all a disposition to come and humble ourselves before God, and confess our sins in sincerity, and bewail them in truth.

"Grant, most merciful Father, to thy people a deep sense of their obligation. May thy ministers meet between the porch and the altar, crying, 'Spare thy people, oh God!' May every professed Christian return to the performance of his duty, and

with earnestness call for thy blessing. And oh! send it down abundantly. In thine own way and time visit this nation. Withhold thy hand from smiting us, and make us to rejoice in thy salvation.

"Oh! God of mercy, visit me with thy rich blessing. For Jesus' sake, I would pray thee to send thy Spirit down, to write thy law upon my heart. Purify me from every sin of every kind, and enkindle within me the flame of true and acceptable love to God. Show me my duty. Oh! give me light as to the field where thou wouldst have me labour, and give me a disposition to give up every thing for the glory of God, if I may but promote it.

"Bless, thou gracious Saviour, my brethren in the ministry, and those preparing for it. Bless my brothers according to the flesh. Oh! convert them unto thyself by the operations of the Holy Spirit, and save them in thy kingdom at last.

"Fill the world with thy glory. Send thy Gospel to the uttermost parts of the earth, and let all flesh see thy salvation.

"Hear me, this day, oh God, and bless me abundantly, for Christ Jesus' sake. Amen! Amen!"

A more full account of his religious exercises is contained in a paper which is entitled, "Meditations on my religious character," and which we refer to the summer of 1832. Part of it is as follows :

*"Meditations on my religious character and exercises.*

"1. That which I find of good within me.

"Here I do not wish to flatter myself, but only to come to some kind of a decision as to the state of my soul. There has no doubt happened a great change in my character, which I date in March, 1827."

[Here follows the account of his conversion, already introduced into this narrative.]

"Since that time," he proceeds, "my feelings have fluctuated constantly, but I have had a prevailing sense of the importance of religion, the vanity of the world, the desirableness of holiness, and the sufficiency of God alone to satisfy the cravings of the soul. Sometimes I have had what was to me great enjoyment in the exercise of my nobler feelings and powers; but in the general I have had so many corrupt feelings, and have been burdened by such tendencies to evil, that I have been rather a "mourner," than a happy spirit, as a Christian ought to be.

"Especially since last October, (1831,) when I went forth to preach the Gospel, do I remember to have been weighed down

by a sense of my weakness, corruption, and disobedience. So that I have often been led to ask, 'if there be religion in the world, *can I possess it?*' Does my present state of mind indicate any thing like the existence of *grace* in me? Have I that *faith* which overcomes the world? Or am I not rather in a state of nature just as before, except with an enlightened and scrupulous conscience which leads me to desire to see and do good?

"These inquiries I have often made. And I have prayed, as I thought, most fervently, for that faith of which I felt the need, and which must be the gift of God, but have not, so far as I know, received any answer to my prayer. I should be afraid to die, with no more evidence of piety, no more feeling of the friendship of God than I now have, no more clear and satisfying views of Christ, and no stronger hopes of eternal life.

"I wish to decide this question, painful as may be the struggle necessary for it; deep as may be the wounds which shall be made, by searching carefully the wound which sin has made upon my soul.

"Almighty and most merciful God! thou art my creator, and thou hast been my constant preserver and benefactor! May I not dare, encouraged by thy past goodness, and thine abundant promises of mercy, to ask thee to look down with an eye of compassion on me, and grant me the assistance and direction of thy Spirit in this inquiry? Oh Lord! for Christ's sake, deal graciously with me, unworthy, and wayward, and guilty as I am, and lead me in the way everlasting, to the praise of thy glorious grace, in Jesus Christ, my only hope, Amen!

"And now, as to my exercises, I am conscious of a dislike to sin, nay more, a *detestation of it*. Yet I cannot say certainly that it is *merely* owing to its being a hateful thing in the sight of God. I do know, indeed, that *much* of my hatred to sin is of the *same kind* which I had before (what I have been in the habit of calling) my conversion; nothing more than the pain of conscience wounded, or self-dependence mortified, and pride cast down; and I have thought, sometimes, that I could detect a secret wish in my heart, that the law of God were not so *strict*, so *holy*, so extensive, or, perhaps, it was rather a desire that it were not so hard to live up to.

"Yet I admire and approve of holiness, and can rejoice in the piety of my brethren, and can think with delight of the holiness of Christ and heaven, and can try sincerely to help others to grow in grace.

"My moments would seem to glide happily along, if no sin encumbered me, and I often ask for a 'closer walk with God.'

"I have had, I am sure, a *peculiar* love to Christians. Yet I am not quite certain that it was not, in part, a kind of *party-feeling*, like that of the freemason, when he joins the mystic fraternity. I think I do meet an humble, devoted Christian with sincere regard, even though they are not the *noble*, nor *wise*, nor *rich* of this world. But, at the same time, I am conscious sometimes of dislike to some who appear true Christians, on account of some defects of character, and my attachment is strong only to those whom I would, it is likely, love, had they no grace.

"I have had a desire to see sinners converted, *strong* desire sometimes. But *moral* men have the same. My desires have not been strong enough to lead me to venture to offend for the sake of doing good; or to obtrude religion upon those whose 'ease in Zion' ought not to have been left uninterrupted.

"I sometimes think it is a mere *professional* thing, and that if I had no *responsibility* in reference to their salvation, I should feel but little desire for it. God knows, I have never felt as David did when he wrote, 'Rivers of waters run down mine eyes, because they keep not thy law;' and yet, I think it gives me real joy sometimes to hear of the conversion of men. The prospect of a universal prevalence of piety certainly does.

"But this is no *evidence* of grace.

"I feel deeply my own sinfulness, and desert of banishment from God's presence and mercy, and could not but say, Amen! to the sentence of my condemnation, if it were this day to be executed; yet I do, I think, cast myself upon the mercy of Christ, believing his ability and willingness to save, and desirous, if saved at all, to be saved through him.

"I have sometimes seemed to perceive an excellence and glory in this plan of salvation through Christ, which passed all understanding, and felt a trust that I had embraced him as he is offered to me in the Gospel.

"Of one thing I am certain, and that is, that 'I have no other hope.'

"I think, too, that I have a desire to see God glorified. I can remember few times when the thought that Jehovah, the Triune Jehovah, should be honoured by every heart, did not give me joy, and a strong desire for that great and blessed result arise in my mind.

"Yet this may have been a mere wish to get rid of the painful thought of sinners going to misery; or to avoid the conviction, that I ought to do much for their salvation.

"But were they all to be saved, and God and Christ dishonoured still, my joy would not be complete. It seems to me that if I could this day know that every heart on earth had

acknowledged God as its rightful Sovereign, and that every tongue was engaged in proclaiming his praise, it would be the happiest day of my life.

"And I think I feel willing to devote myself to the work, in which I may best promote so glorious a consummation. Yet, alas! my willingness is not so complete as to lead me to walk in the path of duty, without deviating often and sadly from it.

"As to the world, I see its empty and unsatisfying nature, and the impossibility of deriving real happiness from its highest pleasures and pursuits. I should be happy at any moment to leave it, if I felt that my calling were sure, and if I could do no more good while I lived.

"And yet, I know that my heart is not completely released from the fetters of worldly cares and joys."

He then proceeds in a manner equally frank, and at much length, to adduce the evidences on the other side, and concludes thus :

"Great God! *Thou* knowest my inmost soul. *Thou* canst search and see, in deepest shades of night, the workings of my heart, and under the thickest covering I am in thy view.

"Oh! show me, show me the hidden iniquity of my soul. Holy Spirit come down and enlighten me, and above all, by thy gracious influences, purify and sanctify me.

"Make me like thyself, oh God! Renew a right temper within me—an humble and holy temper, and teach me to believe thy truth, without hesitation or reserve.

"Help me to overcome my evil propensities, my pride, my worldliness, my fear of man, my passions of every kind. Teach me to think soberly of myself, and oh! make me meek and humble. May I see the loveliness of holiness, and make daily progress towards it. And may I rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no other hope or trust."

Such was the path of humble self-examination, by which the Lord was at this time conducting this beloved young man to the end of his earthly course.

Mr. Brown ended his regular studies with the summer of 1832, and after preaching with much acceptance for some weeks in the city of Trenton, he was prevailed upon by the solicitations of an intimate friend, who was the editor of a religious journal, to assist him in this work. For this purpose he repaired to Philadelphia, and for a number of months persevered in the faithful and assiduous performance of the duties which he had assumed.

The friend whom he came to aid can never forget the generous ardour with which he wore himself down in this employment; nor the pious principle by which he seemed to be actuated. Even those minute drudgeries of the editorial life, which are almost mechanical, seemed to be conducted by Mr. Brown with a direct view to the glory of Christ. Often did he groan in spirit at the responsibility of the Christian press; often did he admonish all who were associated with him, of the importance of using this channel to convey pure truth, to promote the cause of revivals, and to awaken the spirit of missions. His prevalent feelings are expressed in the sentences following: "It is now a crisis in our church. A new spirit of enterprise is waking up, and I hope the Holy Spirit is likely to abide in the hearts of ministers, more than in times past. Who can measure the good of a dignified, yet warm defence of revivals; a constant presentation of primitive models of ministerial fidelity; a kind discussion of prevailing errors, and, above all, the manifestation and inculcation of the genuine spirit of true religion—the charity that *hopeth all things*?"

There were several churches in the city at that time destitute of pastors; and no Lord's day passed in which Mr. Brown did not preach—sometimes more than once. In the Second Presbyterian Church, and in what has since become the Central Church, his ministrations were frequent, and were highly prized. As a preacher he improved daily, and the serene gravity and cheerful dignity of his whole demeanour in private, won the respect and affection of a numerous circle of Christian acquaintances. The language of a venerable elder, whose praise is in all the churches, expresses the estimation in which this young minister was held: "My dear young friend, we should all rejoice to see you here, and I do not say too much, when I add, that our people are attached to you in stronger ties than can well be expressed. Daily prayer has gone up to the throne of grace on your behalf."

His constitution may be said to have been already undermined by an invidious disease, as was manifest to many of his friends. On this subject, admonitions and remonstrances were not wanting, though they proved unavailing. Some extracts from them may, however, be serviceable to others.

"We are troubled (writes a female friend of eminent talents and piety) about the affection of your throat, and fear it may result in something more serious than you seem to imagine. Do, we entreat you, be careful. Take moderate exercise. I fear the editorial concern is not the thing for you; it will tempt you to be too sedentary in your habits. You will become torpid and

sluggish; your blood will 'loiter in unelastic tubes;' the vital principle will be cramped, and the fine machinery robbed of its play. Take warning before it be too late."

In the same strain, a Professor in one of our theological seminaries, for whom Mr. Brown entertained a filial respect, thus writes to him in terms worthy of universal regard from those in like circumstances:

"The situation in which you are placed is full of danger. There must be a *balance* between the mind and body, between the agent and instrument. If the agent be strong and violent, and the instrument weak, the latter must give way. Your spirit is ardent and active. The sight of much to be done around you, awakens your zeal; but *your body is too frail* an instrument to accomplish half that your zeal would undertake. You will break it in your enterprises. I beseech you, have a care for your machinery. 'She hath done what she could,' is high enough approbation from the blessed Master. There is no more common and ruinous mistake, as I find by observation and experience, among the disciples of Christ, than the supposition that duty must be measured by *the work to be done*, not by the *power given*. And hundreds are constantly the victims of this mistake. This would make our Lord 'a hard master, gathering where he had not strawed.'"

Notwithstanding all this, Mr. Brown continued to study, to write, and even to preach. Towards the end of March, 1833, he was seized with a catarrh, and while under its pressure conducted two public services on the Lord's day. In the interval of services, he was observed to lie upon a sofa, pallid and exhausted. The next day a hectic flush mantled his cheek, and his pulse was alarmingly accelerated. There was no time to be lost, and he hastened to his father's house. The pulmonary disorder was evidently seated and confirmed. It was no small aggravation of his solicitude that he had just matured a plan for a voyage to Europe, in company with an early and most intimate friend. For such a visit he was eminently prepared by his course of study, his avidity in pursuit of knowledge, and his acquaintance with the French and German languages. His object was to travel through the most interesting literary fields of Europe, and to repair to the chief universities of Germany, to acquire the languages, and to complete his familiarity with biblical and classical antiquities, Oriental letters, and the natural sciences. There was every reason to believe that on his return he would have received



a professorship in one of our most distinguished colleges. His passport was already obtained, his companion was awaiting his recovery, and letters of recommendation were furnished. In some of these letters, kindly furnished by Professors in Yale college, he is characterised as a 'young man of extensive scientific and literary attainments, well skilled in the Hebrew language, and otherwise learned.' But Providence was opening his way to "a better country, even a heavenly."

From this time forward his symptoms became gradually more alarming. His body wasted away, and his strength was prostrated; his visage assumed the hue of death, and he was visibly marked as the victim of pulmonary consumption. Every means was used for his restoration, in the way of medicine, regimen, exercise and change of scene; but in vain. He was favoured with a general exemption from acute pain, and complained chiefly of a lassitude which was almost insupportable. The nature of his disorder precluded him from much conversation, yet even if this had been needed as an index to his experience, enough was said by him to evince that he was prepared in spirit for his change of worlds.

In the month of July, he set out in company with a younger brother, on a visit to the Red Sulphur Springs of Virginia, which have been famed for specific medicinal efficacy in pulmonary cases. Just before his departure, an intimate acquaintance, with whom he cherished a confidential intercourse from childhood, embraced a last opportunity of drawing from him a statement of his religious views. The *Memoirs of Thomason* had just then been published, and from this work a passage was read which gives an account of the dying exercises of the Rev. David Brown, missionary in India. Rezeau Brown was much interested, and though he lay panting for breath upon the sofa, entered into a free conversation. His friend addressed him thus: "Tell me frankly, Rezeau, what is the prospect which you entertain of recovery?" He answered much as follows:

"I have no expectation of recovery. I am fully acquainted with the nature of my disease, and aware that I am a dying man. Sometimes an illusive hope plays about me; but my prevalent judgment is, that I am not long for this world."

"And now, my dear R., what effect has this expectation on your feelings? Do you regard death with terror?"

"Not at all," he replied; "I am relieved from all fear, and entertain a calm hope of heaven."

He then proceeded, in words not now remembered, to give a clear and satisfactory account of his trust in Christ, and his resignation to the will of God. There was no rapture, nor any strong

excitement of feeling ; indeed this seemed, in his case, to be precluded by the sedative and benumbing influence of the disease ; but every word indicated a serene waiting till his change should come. It is highly probable that while he felt himself to be labouring under a fatal malady, he did not anticipate so speedy a dissolution as actually took place.

From the springs of Virginia he returned without benefit. During this journey he often spoke with composure of his approaching end. To his friends he said, that in the review of his life, he had but one thing to wish, namely, that he had been still more devoted to the cause of God ; that life did not consist so much in length of days as in abounding usefulness, and that thus a few years might be equivalent to the longest life. He returned on the 4th of September, and during the few remaining days was too ill to speak. He declined the visits of any friends, except two, with each of whom he conversed a few moments. To a brother who inquired after his spiritual frame, two days before his departure, he replied : " I have experienced some seasons of fluctuation and depression, but my prevailing state is that of established confidence and hope."

Although he had been for some time exceedingly weak, his dissolution was somewhat unexpected both to his mother, who was with him, (and as is supposed) to himself ; and after a night of unusual exemption from coughing and of calm repose, he awoke about 3 o'clock on the morning of September 10th, in an exhausted, sinking state, and in a few moments was joyfully surprised by the messenger, and entered into rest.

There was no visible indication of the change until a short time before he fell asleep in Jesus. His departure was then without a struggle or a groan.

His friends have since regretted that they had not watched for opportunities to draw from him much more respecting the great change towards which he was hastening. They find consolation, however, in the remark which the pious John Newton used to make, when he heard any inquiring about the last expressions of eminent saints : " Tell me not how he *died*, but how he *lived*."

The solemnities of Mr. Brown's funeral were attended by a large number of friends from the immediate vicinity, and from the literary institutions of Princeton. A discourse was delivered by the writer of this memoir, from Revelation xxii. 3—5. Upon this sad occasion, every thing manifested the respect and affection in which the deceased was held, as well as the deep impression produced by this bereaving dispensation of Providence.

The following letter, from a gentleman of Morgantown, was

addressed to the Editor of the *Presbyterian*, shortly after the death of Mr. Brown. It is a simple but affectionate tribute of regard:

*"Morgantown, October 8th, 1833.*

*"Mr. Editor,—*A few days since I noticed in your paper the death of Mr. Rezeau Brown, with a sketch of his character; the notice of his death was written by one who was acquainted with him, and is faithful as far as it goes. In one place it is observed that on quitting his studies 'he repaired to Morgantown in Virginia, where he laboured with apparent success.' It is true his powerful ministry was felt here before he left the place, but the additions to the church were not very numerous, yet rest assured he was a faithful steward, and well improved the talents entrusted to him. The seed has been sown deep in the hearts of the people, and the word dispensed by him through the spirit of God has taken root, and though nothing signal was immediately visible as the effects of his labour, there is a gradual growth of grace that he was no doubt instrumental in causing to put forth. His unaffected piety, his holy walk, his solemn countenance, and impressive manner are still before us; and his love for sinners, his strong and active exertions to bring them to a knowledge of the truth, how he followed them with entreaties, prayers, and exhortations, and mourned, after all, that he had done no more. It was not in the pulpit alone that he was useful, but feeling his high calling in all things, and at all times filled with the mild graces of a Christian, he would draw into all his conversations some useful religious instruction. During my acquaintance with him, I never knew a conversation of five minutes duration, that some religious or moral maxim was not thrown into it, and that with an aim so certain as never to fail of more or less effect.

"One leading characteristic, which was the fruit of that grace which was so richly shed abroad in his heart, was his love for the followers of Christ in whatever church they were found. True to his principles, but liberal, charitable, and affectionate towards Christians of all denominations, he met them as brethren, he associated and worshipped with them as brethren, and elicited in turn their warm and heartfelt love. No railings, no heart burnings, no strifes were ever manifested between his church and any other while he was among us. And even those who were not professors of religion, seeing how the churches harmonized, were constrained to exclaim: 'Behold how good and how pleasant a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.' The church of God seemed to put on new charms, and invite the lovers of peace into its borders.

"Can we forget him? The writer of this article would feel himself faithless to the memory of one who had been more faithful to him, were he to say nothing of his worth. He would feel that he had poorly requited that solicitude which this young but gifted herald of Christ had manifested for his individual salvation, where he to shed the tear in silence, or stifle the gratitude of a heart that he knows to be too ungrateful. No, as long as talents of the first order, devoted to religion in early life, are admired; as long as the Gospel that he preached, and the sentiments expressed in a letter now before us, written from the place where he died, that showed a heart still alive to our welfare and precious in our sight, so long will we remember him. When we go to the church and hear from Sabbath to Sabbath, the story of our Saviour, we shall remember him. When we hear it proclaimed from God's holy word, that 'we ought, therefore, to take the more earnest heed to the things which we have heard, lest at any time we let them slip:' we shall remember him. And some of us, we trust, in eternity, will bless the day that Providence in divine mercy, directed this young missionary to Morgantown."

In taking a brief review of the life and character of our interesting young friend, it will not be necessary to protract our remarks much further. It may not be out of place to say that with regard to personal appearance, Mr. Brown possessed every advantage. Though slender, he was above the common height, and had the appearance of greater strength than he really possessed. His whole exterior was marked by graceful dignity; and his calm and somewhat pensive countenance, in which regularity of feature was joined with an expression of intelligence and gentleness, was highly prepossessing of his manners; it is enough to say that he was in every sense of the term a Christian gentleman.

His *intellectual traits* have been already exhibited to some extent. Quick and discursive, rather than profound or commanding, his mind attempted almost every department of literature and science. Indeed, such was his inquisitiveness with regard to all useful knowledge, that we may doubt whether his reigning fault was not the diffusion of his powers over too vast a field. Languages, both ancient and modern, belles-lettres, criticism, chemistry, physics, anatomy and physiology were his favourite pursuits. In the acquisition of these he manifested a readiness which was astonishing. The versatility of his genius made every subject soon familiar; and the tenacity of his memory rendered these stores available. \*

This was strikingly exemplified in his examination for licensure before the Presbytery of New Brunswick; on which occasion those who were present were astonished at the compass and precision of his knowledge, and the promptness and pertinency of his replies on every subject.

As a preacher, he was hindered in some degree by constitutional frailty, from becoming eloquent. Yet it is not here meant that he was not both acceptable and impressive. Indeed, his improvement in pulpit exercises was rapid and constant, even until his latest public performances. And there was in all his addresses a solemn sincerity, and sometimes a natural pathos, which endeared his ministrations to all who enjoyed them.

His adversaria and common-place books attest the care with which he made collections for future labours. Epitomes, criticisms, abstracts and reflections form the greater part of these manuscripts.

But it is to his character as a Christian, dedicating all his talents and acquirements to the service of Christ, that we turn with most satisfaction. There are instances of professing Christians, not without fervour and activity, who are yet so variable and inconsistent as to leave their friends sometimes in doubt as to the reality of their experience. Such was not Rezeau Brown. There was no moment of his religious life during which any pious friend could harbour such a surmise. He always bore, in every company, the appropriate manifestations of sincere devotion to God.

His piety was *intelligent*, founded on the word of God, and drawing daily sustenance from established means. Especially were *self-examination* and *prayer* made obligatory by his resolutions. And his multifarious pursuits were seasoned with devotion. Some instances have been given. It will illustrate our judgment of his character, to add a few more. On a day of special humiliation (Jan. 10, 1831) he thus records his exercises:

"Spent this day in fasting and prayer. It has, I trust, been to me a good day, I have been enabled to gain a clearer view of my character, and to give myself away to Christ with more unreserved consecration, than I remember to have done before. Still, oh! what a work is to be done! Sins to be avoided—depraved passions to be mortified—unholy desires to be subdued. That I am not entirely sanctified, witness my disposition to avoid speaking with my unconverted neighbours on religious subjects; witness my fearfulness in determining and doing any thing special for Christ.

"I think I can say, *I long to be with Christ, which is for*

*better*; since, however, it seems to be my lot to abide in the flesh, help me, O God, to live with supreme devotion to thee, and with a reference, constant and wise, to the judgment day."

Again, (February 15.) "Review of my exercises during the past week. 1. I am confident that since the day of fasting I observed this week, my thoughts have been more turned to serious things. 2. Prayer has become more pleasant and more habitual. 3. I feel a greater calmness of temper. 4. I feel a greater willingness (I think) to spend my powers of every kind for Christ. These are truly gratifying advances, but oh! what a work of sanctification is yet to be carried on!"

(March 17.) "I feel a determination rising within me, to live hereafter *exclusively for God*, and I have asked his grace, and do now implore it, to enable me to put this resolution into effect. Father of mercies! help me! Lord! what wilt thou have me to do?"

His piety was *symmetrical* and *consistent*. By this we do not intend any thing like an exemption from fault. The defects of his temper and life were manifest to himself. No one saw more clearly, or condemned more severely, than himself, these blemishes. He grieved over an irritability and petulance of temper, a fickleness of purpose, and a rashness of expression, and he laboured to mortify these evils. Yet they were mere spots upon a very fair tablet. And the general tenour of his religious life was uniform, elevated, scriptural, without intermission, without enthusiasm, and without eccentricity.

His piety was *progressive*. We believe that all piety is such, but in the case of our departed brother the advance was undeniably visible. He grew from month to month, from year to year. His elders in the service of Christ looked with pleasing wonder on his speedy ripening to spiritual constancy. And it was often remarked, how grace was working without interruption to soften the asperities, correct the errors, and supply the defects of his character. More especially was this observable during the last year of his life.

His piety was *active*. Benevolence was the principle, and daily beneficence was the fruit which he aimed to produce. The good of souls was his determinate object. His mind was always teeming with plans of usefulness. Among these, a favourite one, was a happy scheme for the printing and circulation of religious books, which he warmly advocated in private conversation and in public addresses, and which is spread out in a manuscript found among his papers.

Liberality towards all objects of benevolence marked his

character. Besides considerable sums of money supplied by his father from time to time, the most of his salary, as a tutor in the college, and his earnings elsewhere, were devoted to the cause of education, missions, and the publication of evangelical books and tracts.

In the still more difficult and rare duty of fraternal admonition he began very early to be exemplary. He had in a remarkable degree surmounted his natural repugnance to admonish his unconverted friends, acting upon the principle: *Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart: thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour, and not suffer sin upon him.* Lev. xix. 17. In order to show how he performed this duty, some extracts from his correspondence shall be added.

To a female friend, whom he always valued highly, he writes, Feb. 5, 1830.

"As usual, in dating letters in a new year, I have the mistake of writing 1829 for 1830, as if unwilling to acknowledge that time could fly so fast. How soon since 1820 has 1830 come! And how rapidly will another ten years glide away! What scenes may we pass through during that period! How fast such reflections rush upon the mind when we suffer ourselves to recal the events of our past life, or to anticipate the future: and how fruitful a subject for the moralist is here presented, you seem to have felt in the letter for which it is now my duty to thank you." "It is true that 'no plenitude of enjoyment' can secure our happiness, unless we can calculate on something for the future; and you and I can join in testifying our conviction of its truth."

"You have tried the path of gay pleasure—of affluence—of taste—of self-gratification in every shape; and so have I to some extent, and the way of wickedness and depravity further than you, and our experience coincides as to the main fact, that the world, in whatever form it may be enjoyed, cannot fill up that insatiable desire for 'something sure'—some *immortal* possession—which, while the desires of the soul shall ever expand, will be capable of meeting and answering their demands. There is only one affection in the universe which answers this description and that is the 'love of God;' an emotion, under the control of which the whole man is elevated and sanctified and blessed; which will be a solace in adversity, a joy in prosperity, a 'hope that maketh not ashamed,' when death shall come—and a possession which cannot be taken away. Why then is my friend overwhelmed with sorrow at experience of the thankless unkindness and insincerity of a treacherous world? or oppressed with

‘mental maladies’ of any kind? I would she should seek that which shall raise her above these evils, and which shall bloom throughout eternity.”

Again, to the same friend, March 20th, 1829, being a much earlier date.

“Your candour interests, while it pains me. It is painful to me to see you so attached, as you tell me, to what experience has told us in most solemn words, will never satisfy the soul. No! this and ten thousand other worlds could not minister one single comfort to the disembodied spirit; and could we command the universe, it would not support in the hour of dissolution. Look forward to that hour, and ask yourself how you will part with these idols, upon which you have depended for your happiness; for no matter how gaily the voyage of life is now hastening on, that hour of dismay must come—how unexpectedly often, you well know. It is the part of reason to set out in such a way that the end may be prosperous. Have *you* a surety that yours will be such?”

Then after dealing at great length with a number of ingenious objections which had been presented by his accomplished correspondent, he goes on:

“But I would not leave this solemn subject here. I would appeal to the convictions of your own heart. Can you not love God? Your affections to parents and friends are warm and vigorous. Have you no power to love the greatest and best of Beings? You know it is your duty to love him above all things else; and believe me, the reason you do not, is that you are not inclined. Have you prayed for a new heart, daily and hourly? Have you avoided every sin of heart and life? Nay, you have deliberately, wilfully, and constantly chosen what was directly against the warnings of the gospel and the dictates of conscience, and you cannot give up—what? a bubble—a toy.”

From a pious and intelligent gentleman of Morgantown, we have the following statement concerning Mr. Brown’s deportment: “His gentlemanlike conduct, and his plain but refined manners, procured for him a favourable reception in every society, and his general information and attainments as a scholar ensured him respect. The same unaffected solemnity which appeared in the pulpit, accompanied him wherever he went, banishing all levity from every company where he was present. He



possessed a happy facility of directing conversation into a profitable channel; and in every circle, without infringing upon the civilities or courtesies of life, he could introduce some important religious admonition. Indeed, I have never known any one who could more faithfully warn and rebuke, without ceasing to be courteous and kind. He was, in a preeminent degree, useful in gaining the affections and good will of his Methodist brethren in Morgantown. This he accomplished by his Christian deportment, and the manifestation of a benevolent spirit, without sacrificing any of those doctrines which he believed; for it was known that he was truly a Presbyterian in principle, and a strict adherent to the doctrinal standards of the Presbyterian church. His object was to cultivate among the professors of different religious denominations, peace, good-will, and Christian kindness; and in the accomplishment of it he was in a good degree successful."

We must now close our extracts. It only remains to be said, that Mr. Brown's great desire was to spend his powers in preaching the Gospel. He looked with yearnings of heart upon the heathen world, and was much exercised upon the subject of a foreign mission. But his feebleness of lungs almost forbade his preaching even at home. In his pulpit addresses, he aimed mainly at the awakening of the impenitent; and he accustomed himself to practise those pungent appeals which might most effectually arouse the conscience. Having been converted during a revival, and having been instrumental in the turning of a number of souls to God, it was with him a fixed principle to labour for this specific blessing, wherever he was; and having the opportunity, while in Philadelphia, of spending much time with the Rev. Asahel Nettleton, he took great pains to learn practical wisdom from the counsels of that highly-favoured servant of Christ. Young as he was, and brief as was his career, "his works do follow him."

As a preacher, he was engaged for a longer period at Morgantown, than at any other place. One who there enjoyed his ministrations, thus writes: "His solemn manner in the pulpit, and the reverence and awe with which 'he handled things divine,' made the impression on every hearer, that he who addressed him was in earnest, and that he felt the importance of his message. This unaffected solemnity had the most happy effect, as it removed every unfavourable surmise, and secured an attentive hearing. Again, there was apparent in his public services a freedom from any desire to preach himself. So far as the eye of man could penetrate, he felt it to be a paramount duty to point

out to the sinner the error of his ways, and to direct him to the Saviour; and in the accomplishment of this, every consideration of self seemed to be swallowed up.

"Of the spirit and character of his preaching, as truly as of any man's that I have ever heard, I think the description of the apostle Paul's preaching to the Corinthians may be used: 'For I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ and him crucified!' His labours were incessant—too great for his debilitated state of health. It is well known that a desire to do good, and a love to his Master's work, would not allow him to enjoy the relaxation which was necessary. A respectable number were added to the church during his six months' labour, and many—even the most lawless and thoughtless—were occasionally made to feel and reflect, under his discourses."

When we see the young and active servant of God, in the midst of fruitful labours, snatched away from the midst of us, we are too ready to suppose that he is lost to the kingdom of Messiah. Oh no! he has gone to "be ever with the Lord," to that city where "there shall be no more curse; but the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it, and *his servants shall serve him*." In a higher sphere, and with nobler powers, he gives his tribute of obedience to the Master whom he loved. There, no error misleads his understanding, or drops from his lips, no inconstancy or lukewarmness checks his service, no unhallowed fire is mingled with the incense of his praise; all, all is knowledge and love and rectitude, without a blemish or defect.

**ART. III.—***Memoir of Roger Williams, the Founder of the State of Rhode Island.* By James D. Knowles, Professor of Pastoral Duties in the Newton Theological Institution. Boston: Lincoln, Edmands & Co. 1834. 12mo.

Our nation is one of the very few, whose origin is not involved in darkness. That which, in other countries, is the subject of obscure tradition or epic fable, is with us matter of sober history and official record. On the early inhabitants of such a country, it is incumbent to provide succeeding ages, with an abundance of historical instruction. Had we and our fathers felt this obligation in a due degree, many a chasm would have been filled up, which now must yawn forever. It is unfortunately true, that those who colonized America, while ready enough to repu-

diate abuses of a certain sort, adhered with much tenacity to some European notions which might well have been discarded. Coming as they did from a little nook of the smallest continent, into a new world of gigantic limbs and features, it might have been supposed, that their exterior arrangements would be accommodated to the change of scene. It might have been supposed, that in laying off their towns and building houses, they would take advantage of their newly acquired elbow-room, and exchange smoke and pavements for green grass and wholesome air. And yet, to the astonishment of later generations, and especially of visitors from the old world, our worthy fathers chose to live in narrow, crooked, crowded streets, though surrounded by a continent running to waste for want of occupation. This preposterous attachment to ancestral usage, at the expense of comfort, and in spite of altered circumstances, has continued, in a measure, to the present time, and as may be seen from the construction of the towns and villages, even in our newest settlements. It is, indeed, a most extraordinary fact, that there are more green plots and open squares in London than in New York, to the shame of the Dutchmen who contrived the latter city.

Analogous to this blind imitation of the old world, is the way in which our fathers and ourselves have left the history of the country to take care of itself. They knew, and we know, that the want of light respecting early English history, is much to be lamented. But they also knew, that it was a want which could not be supplied, and therefore, wisely left our own deficiencies to become equally irreparable. We are far from meaning to deny, that much has been accomplished, but in comparison with what might have been done, that much is almost nothing. The treasures which we do possess daily increase in value, and what we neglect to gather, will be more and more regretted by succeeding generations to the end of time. The great uses of history are becoming more apparent. It is no longer a pastime, one degree above romance. Like other branches of knowledge, it has been pressed into the service of religion, and by Christian alchemy its meanest elements are transmuted into gold.

We of the present age have much to do in this way. We should fix what now is only floating on the surface of tradition. We should combine what is scattered. We should perpetuate what is vanishing from the memory of man. We should complete the links of that important chain, which is to connect posterity with the original settlers. And that, not merely because we have the opportunity; not merely because it is easier to go back to the beginning of our nation than of any in the old

world; but because the fathers of this country are more worthy of remembrance than those of any other. The American colonies did not owe their existence to the prowling of ambition after power, to the thirst of conquest, or the *auri sacra fames*. If the character of the subject gives value to the history, surely our early annals have a title to preeminence, especially in the eyes of those who love the cause of truth.

As this historical dignity belongs especially to the settlers of New England, so the records of that region are the most complete. And yet from various causes, there are chasms even there. Among these causes we are sorry to enumerate intolerance and bigotry. Those who were convicted of dissent from an inexorable standard, were not only disapproved, but thrust aside as unworthy of remembrance, or remembered only to be scoffed at and condemned. Those who know how the freedom of conscience was dispensed by the very men who fled to seek it from a garden to a wilderness, will not wonder, that historical injustice should have befallen Roger Williams. The best thing said of him by Cotton Mather is, that he *may* have had the root of the matter in him. No early writer thought him worthy of a memorial, and the moderns have been baffled by the want of materials. We are glad, at length, to see his life in print, and glad to see it written by Professor Knowles. Not merely because a native of Rhode Island has anticipated Southey, who had formed the same design; nor merely on account of the biographer's ability and established reputation. We have still another reason. When the current of history and traditional opinion has set in favour of an individual; when the best construction has been uniformly put upon his questionable acts, and a full allowance of applause has been bestowed upon his real merits; truth often gains by the appearance of a writer, who inclines the other way; one who suspects where others praise, and condemns what others labour to palliate or excuse. Such a biographer may be unjust; but his want of charity corrects mistaken kindness; and between the hostile parties, public sentiment is settled on a reasonable basis. The same results must follow when the case is turned about, and when a man who has been vilified by a series of historians, falls at length into the hands of a partial friend. It may not be safe to go all lengths with such a friend, but it is surely wise to take advantage of his efforts to detect mistakes and falsehood. On this ground we are better pleased, that Roger Williams should be painted by a Rhode Island Baptist than by a Boston Unitarian, or an English Poet-Laureate.

In pursuance of a plan which we have heretofore adopted, we shall furnish our readers with a succinct biography of Williams. Our object is not to abridge the work before us; but so to present its striking points, that some may be induced to read it, and others comforted for the want of opportunity.

The known history of Roger Williams begins with his arrival in America. Tradition makes him to have been born in 1599, and educated at Oxford, under the patronage of Sir Edward Coke, whose attention he drew upon himself, when a boy, by taking notes of what he heard in church. According to the same doubtful authority, he commenced the study of law, but relinquished it for that of theology, took orders, and obtained a living. For these statements Mr. Knowles has found no satisfactory vouchers. We must be content to take them as matters of tradition, incapable of proof, but not improbable enough to be rejected as mere fables.

The well known causes which expelled so many good men from the English church and shores of England, in the reign of the first Stuarts', led also to the emigration of Roger Williams, who embarked at Bristol with his wife, on the 1st of December, 1630. He arrived in the following February, and found the corner stone of the American church already laid.

The Plymouth Pilgrims, who arrived from England, December 11th, 1620, had belonged, in the mother country, to the strictest sect of Independents. Before they came to America, they had been settled in Holland, where they were organized as a church. In New England, this organization was of course received; but it deserves to be remembered, that in one point they were honourably distinguished from their brethren in the other primary settlements. We refer to the principle, which they adopted, that ecclesiastical censures are wholly spiritual, and not to be enforced by civil penalties.

The settlers of Salem and Boston, who came over eight years later, professed to be members of the church of England, though they solemnly abjured its alleged corruptions. On leaving England, they expressed their sorrow on account of this compulsory secession from the mother church, and their ardent wishes for its thorough reformation. This class of emigrants had higher notions of ecclesiastical authority, and indeed, proceeded on the principle, that the state is but a handmaid to the church.

Salem was settled in September, 1628; and on the 6th of August, 1629, thirty persons entered into solemn covenant, as a Christian church. Mr. Skelton was ordained *Pastor*, and Mr. Higginson, *Teacher*, the two officers being regarded as dis-

unct, but equally essential. They were inducted into office by a vote of the church, and by imposition of the hands of a ruling elder, as the organ of the church. Several of the settlers were dissatisfied with the rejection of the liturgy, and formed a society in which the prayers were read. This schism was healed, in a summary way, by sending the schismatics back to England.

Winthrop, the first Governor of Massachusetts Bay, removed the seat of government from Salem to Charlestown, where a church was formed July 30th, 1630. John Wilson was constituted Teacher, by imposition of hands, "but with this protestation by all," says Winthrop,\* "that it was only as a sign of election and confirmation, and not of any intent that Mr. Wilson should renounce the ministry he received in England."

The system thus commenced, and afterwards completed under the influence of Cotton, coincided essentially with that of modern Congregationalism, but distinguished between pastors and teachers, and recognized ruling elders. The church was now made the model of the state. It was the obvious intention of the colonists to establish a theocracy. In May, 1631, it was enacted by the General Court, that no one should be admitted to the privileges of a freeman, unless he was a member of some church within the colony. At the same time, the law of Moses was adopted, as the basis of their civil code. Idolatry, blasphemy, man-stealing, adultery, and witchcraft, were made capital crimes; and every inhabitant was compelled to contribute to the support of religion.

Roger Williams, on his first arrival, refused to unite with the church of Boston, because, to use Winthrop's words, "they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the churches of England." He also declared his opinion, that the civil magistrate had no right to punish breaches of the first table, i. e. the first four commandments. Notwithstanding the position which he thus assumed, he was, within a few weeks, elected teacher of the church at Salem, in the place of Higginson, who had died some months before. This invitation was complied with, whereupon the court at Boston wrote to Endicott, at Salem, expressing their surprise at this precipitate election, and requesting a suspension of proceeding till a conference could be held. At the same time the law already mentioned was enacted, excluding such as were not members of a church, from civil privileges.

On the very day of these proceedings at Boston, the church in

\* Journal, vol. i. p. 32.

Salem received Williams as their minister, and on the 18th of the ensuing month, (May 1631,) he took the usual oath, and was admitted as a freeman. The colonial authorities could not be expected to remain quiescent, and accordingly we find, that in the course of the summer, he was obliged to leave Salem and withdraw to Plymouth. Here he became assistant to Ralph Smith, the pastor, and for a time was much respected and esteemed. During his stay in Plymouth, he embraced the opportunity of frequent intercourse with the neighbouring Indians. It appears from a statement of his own, that he resided for a time among them, with a view to learn their language.

As might have been expected, the free expression of his singular opinions, with respect to church and state, gave offence at Plymouth. Some also began to apprehend that he would run a course of "rigid separation and anabaptistry," like that pursued by Smith, the *se-baptist* at Amsterdam, so called, because he baptized himself, for want of a suitable administrator. In this juncture, an invitation to resume his place at Salem was cheerfully accepted.

Soon after his return to Salem, his suspicious jealousy of all encroachment on religious liberty displayed itself in a way that must provoke a smile. The ministers of the colony were in the habit of meeting once a fortnight at each others houses, for the purpose of discussing some important question. In this excellent arrangement, Roger Williams and his colleague Skelton, detected the insidious germ—of what? Why, of a Presbytery! On this laughable whim Professor Knowles comments with the utmost gravity, and we may here take occasion to observe, that his decided partiality to Williams, while it has the good effects which we have already mentioned, sometimes exposes him to a little ridicule, by leading him to treat mere trifles with as much solemnity as great events. Another bad effect is, that the biography presents the aspect of a special plea. Little points which might be left untouched, without detracting in the least from Roger's reputation, are laboriously canvassed, and a world of pains taken to make out the case distinctly in his favour.

No sooner was the good man's dread of an inchoate Presbytery partially allayed, than he incurred the censure of the governor and council, in relation to a treatise which he had written at Plymouth, and in which they charged him with calling king James a liar and a blasphemer, on account of certain phrases used by his majesty in the colonial charter. The object of the treatise, which was never printed, seems to have been to show that no royal charter could entitle the settlers to the Indians' lands without their own consent. The principles avowed in it

were truly noble; yet we find him shortly after submitting very humbly to the censure of the government, and offering his book, or any part of it, to be burnt. This, as Mr. Knowles well says, shows that Williams was by no means so intractable and contumacious as some have represented him.

It is well known, that the controversy between Puritans and Prelatists, in England, turned very much upon the use of the surplice, the sign of the cross, and other Popish ceremonies. The repugnance to these relics of a corrupted church which the fathers of New England had been taught to feel before their emigration, was by no means laid aside on their arrival in America. Needless as it might well have been considered, Roger Williams preached at Salem against the use of all such rites as had ever been abused to idolatrous purposes. Such was the effect of his discourses upon Endicott, that he cut the cross from the military colours, an act as ridiculous as it was unlawful. Such rigour is almost as superstitious as the mummary which it labours to destroy.

In 1634, the magistrates hearing of "some episcopal and malignant practices against the country," prescribed an oath to be taken by the inhabitants, in order that such as refused it, might not be placed in any office of trust. This oath Roger Williams declined himself, and persuaded others to decline, on the ground that an oath is a part of public worship, and therefore not to be imposed upon the unregenerate, thereby compelling them to take God's name in vain, no unconverted man being capable of a sincere oath. After some preliminary measures, he was summoned and appeared before the general court, July 5, 1635. There he was charged with propagating four pernicious doctrines. "1. That the magistrate ought not to punish the breach of the first table, otherwise than in such cases as did disturb the civil peace. 2. That he ought not to tender an oath to an unregenerate man. 3. That a man ought not to pray with such, though wife, child, &c. 4. That a man ought not to give thanks after the sacrament, nor after meat."\* These opinions were unanimously condemned as erroneous and dangerous, and the Salem church was censured for electing him to fill the place of Skelton. Time was allowed, both to the church and Williams, to consider the matter, with a requisition to "make satisfaction" at the next general court.

At this same court the men of Salem petitioned for some land in Marblehead Neck, which they claimed as belonging to their town. It was refused because they had chosen Roger Williams

\* Winthrop's Journal, vol. 1. p. 162.



for their teacher! Hereupon the church at Salem wrote to the other churches, complaining of the wrong, and requesting them to reprove the magistrates and deputies, as individual church members, for the sin which they had committed. Endicott was imprisoned for justifying this letter, and not discharged till he acknowledged his error. In the meantime, Williams fell sick, and not being able to speak, wrote a letter to his church, declaring that he would not commune with them, unless they declined communion with the other churches.

In October he appeared again before the general court and justified both letters, as well as the four doctrines for which he was arraigned. Mr. Hooker was appointed to dispute with him, but he was not convinced. He was therefore sentenced to leave the jurisdiction of the court within six weeks. One minister alone dissented from this judgment. The church at Salem disclaimed his errors and submitted to the magistrates. Many of the members, however, accompanied or followed him in his exile. He received permission to remain in Salem till the Spring, but as he could not refrain from uttering his sentiments in private, the court resolved to send him to England. When summoned to Boston for this purpose, he refused to come, and when orders were sent for his apprehension he had been gone three days.

Mr. Knowles very properly directs attention to the fact, that there is no indication of personal hostility in these proceedings. Williams was generally esteemed as a preacher and a man. The two leading men in the colony, Winthrop and Cotton, were on terms of friendship with him, and were ever after treated by him with profound respect. The judgment of the court appears to have proceeded from an honest belief that his opinions were pernicious, and a conscientious wish to save the people from corruption.

About the middle of January, 1636, Roger Williams left Salem in secrecy and haste, and went in the direction of Narraganset Bay. Thirty-five years afterwards he writes; "I was sorely tost for one fourteen weeks, in a bitter winter season, not knowing what bread or bed did mean," adding, that he still felt the effects of these ancient hardships.

His first visit was to Ousamequin, the Sachem of Pokanoket, who resided at Mount Hope. From him he obtained a grant of land on the east bank of the Pawtucket (now the Seekonk) within the limits of the present town of Seekonk, Massachusetts. The place was within the Plymouth territory; but Williams acted on the principle for which he had contended, that the Indians alone were the rightful proprietors.

He had begun to build and plant at Seekonk, when he received

a kind and respectful letter from Winslow, Governor of Plymouth, reminding him of the unpleasant consequences likely to ensue from the position he had chosen, and advising him to remove to the other side of the water, in which case, he assured him, they would be loving neighbours.

With this timely counsel Williams at once complied, embarked in a canoe, accompanied by William Hams, John Smith, Joshua Verin, Thomas Angell, and Francis Wickes. They ascended the river on the west side of the peninsula, to a spot near the mouth of the Moshassuek. To the settlement here founded, Williams, "in grateful remembrance of God's merciful providence to him in his distress," gave the name of *Providence*.

It is probable that this event occurred in June 1636, the same month in which Hartford was founded by a colony from Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Roger Williams' first design was, to go alone among the Indians, learn their language, and labour for their good; in other words, to be a solitary missionary. From this plan he was diverted by the straits to which some of his acquaintance were reduced by the same causes that made him an exile. He therefore resolved to form a settlement which should be an asylum for the victims of intolerance. The negotiations with the native chiefs, however, were in his name and at his expense. The lands were granted to himself exclusively, and on the express ground of personal regard and gratitude to him. While at Salem and Plymouth he had treated with the Narraganset Indians, as if in anticipation of his banishment, and had won their favour by his kindness to Indian visitors and his frequent gifts. Without these preparatory measures, it is highly probable, that no white settlers would have been admitted into Narraganset Bay.

From these facts it is very clear, that Roger had it in his power to become a great proprietor. Nay, he was a great proprietor, owner of Rhode Island, by general grant and particular purchase. Had he retained this great domain as his personal property, and instituted an aristocracy, he could hardly have been blamed. That he did not, is a signal instance of generosity, public spirit, and genuine republicanism. By a deed, bearing date, October 8, 1638, he conveyed to the twelve, who had joined him in his settlement, a perfect equality of right, retaining for himself a simple share as one of the community. The only equivalent that he was to receive for this large cession, was the sum of thirty shillings from each person who should subsequently join the little commonwealth; from the original grantees he exacted nothing. This consistent and disinterested adherence, in a time of prosperity, to the liberal princi-

ples maintained in adverse circumstances, is perhaps unparalleled, and deserves all praise.

In this division of the land, Williams retained two fields, or farms, called Whatcheer and Saxifrax Hill, for which, though included in the Sachem's grant, he made private satisfaction to the natives whom he displaced. These lands he cultivated by his own labour, to obtain subsistence, as his means were now exhausted by the expenses of removal and settlement, and his dealings with the Indians. Such was his necessity, that he records with thankfulness the donation of a piece of gold from "that great and pious soul," Winslow of Plymouth. In one of his published works he says that he was employed much, yet not exclusively, in spiritual labours; "but day and night, at home and abroad, on the land and water, at the hoe, at the oar, for bread."

The little society composed of Roger Williams and his fellow settlers, was soon enlarged by emigrants from Massachusetts and from Europe. Among the latter was his brother Robert. Every inhabitant was required to subscribe a covenant, which we copy, as illustrative of Roger Williams' principles, ecclesiastical and political.

"We, whose names are here underwritten, being desirous to inhabit in the town of Providence, do promise to submit ourselves, *in active or passive obedience*, to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for public good of the body, in an orderly way, *by the major consent* of the present inhabitants, masters of families, incorporated together into a township, and such others whom they shall admit unto the same, *only in civil things*."

When the difficulties commenced between the Massachusetts colony and the Pequod Indians, Roger Williams gave a pleasing proof of his kindly feelings towards the government which had banished him, by interfering to prevent a league between the Pequods and the Narragansets. During the course of the ensuing war, he rendered other services of no small moment to the whites, especially as an interpreter and a negociator. In 1637 a settlement was formed on Rhode Island, properly so called. This event was occasioned by the proceeding in Massachusetts, with respect to the celebrated Mrs. Hutchinson, who, after collecting a female congregation by her eloquence, was convicted of heresy by a Synod, and banished by the government. The excitement produced by this act was met by an order to disarm a number of the inhabitants, many of whom forsook the colony, and went to other settlements. A considerable number of them visited New Hampshire, but the rigour of the climate drove them further south. On their way to Long Island and Delaware Bay, they were kindly received by Roger Williams, who persua-

ded them to settle on Aquetneck, now Rhode Island. Through his intercession land was obtained, first by a grant from the Indian chiefs, and then by bargain with the actual occupants. The first settlement was Portsmouth, on the northern part of the Island. The next was New Port, in the south-west corner. Both towns composed one colony, under a judge and three elders, on the Jewish model, afterwards called governor and assistants. One of the first assistants was the husband of Mrs. Hutchinson. That lady is not known to have created any disturbance in Rhode Island, a natural result of the religious freedom there enjoyed. After her husband's death she removed to the neighborhood of New York, where she was murdered by the Indians.

The misunderstanding that from time to time occurred between the Massachusetts government and the different tribes of Indians, gave a high value to Roger Williams' skill as an interpreter, and his good offices as a days-man. Nevertheless, a law was passed in 1637, virtually excluding the inhabitants of Providence from the bounds of Massachusetts. The ground of this restriction was the apprehension of disorders from what were considered the lax principles of Williams and his party, with respect to civil government. Their only real laxity, however, appears to have consisted in the total separation of ecclesiastical and civil power, in their social system.

Providence Williams, Roger's eldest son, is said to have been the first white native of the settlement, from which he took his name. He was born in 1638, the same year in which Harvard College was organized, and New Haven founded.

One effect of the exclusion of the Providence people from the neighbouring colonies, was a scarcity of all those articles for which they were dependent on the mother country. Among the rest, paper was very scarce, so that the documents remaining of that period are written very closely upon scanty scraps. We need not wonder, therefore, at the meager stock of facts relating to the history of Williams. With respect to his ecclesiastical connexions, there is a great degree of doubt. He and his first companions in the settlement appear to have continued members of the church of Salem until 1639, when he was re-baptized by one Ezekiel Holliman, after which he baptized Holliman in turn, and ten besides. Upon this event, such of them as had been members of the church at Salem, were excommunicated. It is doubtful whether Williams was regarded as the pastor of this Baptist church, during the time of his connexion with it, which was only three or four months, at the end of which period he arrived at the conclusion that his baptism was not valid, that there was no true church on earth, nor any authorised ministry

or valid ordinances. The apostolic succession had been lost on the rise of Antichrist, and could not be restored until that enemy should be overthrown. This doctrine he appears to have derived from the Apocalypse, and he forthwith proceeded to reduce it to practice, by withdrawing from the church which he had just before established, and leaving those whom he had subjected to the vain repetition of a solemn ordinance, completely in the lurch. Professor Knowles has taken no small trouble to discuss the causes of these sudden whimsies. We honour his motives and forensic skill, but we are much afraid that weakness of judgment and a restless disposition, had an undue share in actuating Roger Williams' movements. We are very far from saying this because he became a Baptist. Had he continued one, we should have honoured him, if not for his theology, at least for his uprightness. But the ludicrous velocity with which he left a church of his own formation, and the extraordinary reasons which he offered for his conduct, are to us unambiguous symptoms both of weakness and caprice.

For several years we know scarcely any thing of Williams or his colony, except that he continued, in cases of necessity, to mediate between the whites and Indians; and that his settlement was much disturbed by the proceedings of Samuel Goiton, who was banished first from Massachusetts, then from Newport, and having formed a settlement within the bounds of Roger Williams' purchase, engaged in a quarrel with some previous settlers, which terminated in bloodshed. He afterwards removed to the Indian territory, where he was apprehended, taken to Boston, tried for his life, and acquitted. He then went to England and obtained a sort of charter for his settlement at Shawamet, forbidding the interference of the Massachusetts government. During these commotions, Massachusetts undertook to extend her authority to Providence and Rhode Island, on the ground of a submission to her government by a small number of the colonists. This claim was of course resisted.

The year 1643 is memorable in the history of New England, as the date of the first colonial confederacy. Massachusetts, Plymouth, Hartford, and New Haven, were the contracting parties. Two things about this covenant deserve attention. One is the solemn avowal, so unlike the style of modern constitutions and official acts, that the design of the colonies in their first formation, as well as of the proposed confederation, was "to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the Gospel in peace." The other circumstance is the exclusion of the Rhode Island settlements. The reason given for this uncharitable act, was that they had no charter, and

consequently could not be recognised as a body politic. When this difficulty was removed, however, the exclusion still continued, and indeed there can be no doubt, that it arose from a strong disapprobation of the principles avowed by Roger Williams, and adopted in his settlements.

Before this event took place, the people of Providence and Newport had come to the conclusion, that a regard to their own prosperity required a union of the settlements, and the erection of a regular colonial government. With this view Roger Williams was commissioned as a deputy to England. He wished to embark at Boston, but the old restrictions still remained in force, and he was still an exile. He went therefore to Manhattoes, now New York, and sailed from that port in the month of June, 1643.

Before his embarkation he had an opportunity of exerting his influence with the native tribes of those parts, in favour of the whites. This was an office which he had for years discharged, even in behalf of those by whom he was proscribed. Nor can it be denied that his forbearance and benevolence are conspicuously visible in the favours thus conferred upon the very government which forbade him and his fellows to purchase the means of self-defence within their limits. Happily, Roger was on such terms with the natives, as enabled him not only to dispense with arms himself, but also to protect his uncharitable neighbours.

Roger Williams says in one of his books, that "a grain of time's inestimable sand is worth a golden mountain." On this principle he appears to have acted, during his voyage to England. He relieved the tedium of the passage by composing his *Key to the Indian Languages*, which was printed soon after his arrival, and attracted much attention.

He reached England at a time when the eventful conflict between king and parliament was as yet a doubtful one. About the time of his arrival, Robert, Earl of Warwick, was appointed Governor in Chief of the American colonies, with a council of five peers and twelve commoners. From these commissioners, Williams, by the assistance of Sir Henry Vane, obtained a charter granting ample powers for the erection of an independent government, to the inhabitants of Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport, under the name of *The Incorporation of Providence Plantations in the Narraganset Bay in New England*. A copy of this charter is given by Professor Knowles in his appendix. It bears date March 19, 1644.

Before he left England, he prepared and published his cele-

brated *Bloody Tenet*,\* containing a defence of religious liberty, in answer to a letter by John Cotton, of Boston. Cotton replied in his *Bloody Tenet washed and made white in the Blood of the Lamb*, to which Williams, at a later date, rejoined, in his *Bloody Tenet yet more Bloody by Mr. Cotton's endeavour to wash it white*. In the first of these publications Roger Williams clearly disavows the contempt of civil authority which had been charged upon him.

He landed at Boston, September 17, 1644, emboldened to this step by a letter from several noblemen and members of parliament, exhorting the Massachusetts colonists to receive him as a friend. This letter enabled him to proceed unmolested to Providence, but produced no relaxation of the Massachusetts rigour. Their dread of his loose principles was much enhanced by the growth of *Anabaptistry* even among themselves. This alarming symptom led to an enactment, that whoever should openly or secretly condemn infant baptism, or endeavour to draw others from the practice, should be banished. As Roger Williams was the founder of this dreaded sect in America, they had reason to regard him with distrust, a feeling not abated by the great increase of influence conferred upon him by the ample charter which he brought from England.

At Providence, he was joyfully and honourably welcomed, and began at once to prepare for the erection of a colonial government. This, however, proved no easy task, and he found that time was requisite to bring the three incorporated settlements into unanimity.

Scarcely had he returned before he had occasion again to interpose between the Indians and the whites. The other governments appear to have felt no scruples in demanding his assistance, and he as little in complying with their call. Another general war was soon thus suppressed by Roger's intervention, a circumstance which does him no small honour.

In 1646, or thereabouts, the settlements agreed upon a form of government. The legislative power was vested in an assembly of six representatives; the executive in a president and four assistants for the four incorporated settlements of Providence, Portsmouth, Newport, and Warwick. The first assembly, under this constitution, met at Portsmouth, May 19, 1647. Williams was certainly entitled to expect the highest station in

\* "The Bloody Tenet of Persecution for Cause of Conscience, discussed in a conference between Truth and Peace, who in all tender affection present to the High Court of Parliament, as the result of their discourse, these amongst other passages of highest consideration."

the colony, which owed its first existence and its civil rights to him. The office of president, however, was bestowed, first upon Coggeshall, and then upon Coddington. The rank assigned to Williams, was that of assistant, or magistrate, for Providence.

The infant colony was soon threatened with division, the inhabitants of Portsmouth being anxious to obtain admission into the general New England league, which the confederates refused, unless they would subject themselves to the government of Plymouth. About the same time Connecticut laid claim to a portion of the territory included in Williams' grant. These political difficulties seem to have given Roger some uneasiness, though he still looked at all things in a religious light, and trusted steadfastly in an overruling Providence.

We must not omit to mention, that the colonial constitution, in the formation of which Roger Williams took the lead, contained a most explicit recognition of the principle for which he had suffered and contended. It is thus expressed: "Otherwise than thus, what is herein forbidden, [referring to mere civil and municipal restrictions] all men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his God. And let the lambs of the Most High walk in this colony without molestation, in the name of Jehovah their God forever and ever."

Mr. Knowles has enriched his volume with a series of letters never before published, from Roger Williams to John Winthrop, of Connecticut, son to the governor of Massachusetts, and a highly educated and accomplished man.\* Williams became acquainted with him in England, and there seems to have been a mutual affection. The letters are highly characteristic, and extremely curious, displaying, in addition to the religious tone and pervading quaintness of the Puritan style, several qualities peculiar to himself, especially an odd sort of awkward formality which cannot be described. To those who do not read the book itself we should be glad to furnish samples of this correspondence. We have space, however, for no more than one, and that the first and shortest of the series. It is not so strongly marked as several others, but its brevity entitles it to preference.

" *Narraganset*, 22, 4, 45 (so called.†)

"Sir—Best salutations, &c. William Cheesebrough, now come in, shall be readily assisted for yours and his own sake. Major Browne is come in. I have, by Providence, seen divers papers (returning now yours thankfully) which are snatched from me

\* See his life in Allen's Biographical Dictionary.

† i. e. June 22, 1645.



again. I have, therefore, been bold to send you the *Medulla* and *Magnalia Dei*. Pardon me if I request you, in my name, to transfer the paper to Captain Mason, who saith he loves me. God is love; in him only I desire to be yours ever.

“ROGER WILLIAMS.

“Loving salutes to your dearest, and kind sister. I have been very sick of cold and fever, but God hath been gracious to me. I am not yet resolved of a course for my daughter. If your powder, with directions, might be sent without trouble, I should first wait upon God in that way; however, it is best to wait on him. If the ingredients be costly, I shall thankfully account. I have books that prescribe powders, &c. but yours is probatum in this country.”

The superscription is, “For his honoured kind friend, Mr. John Winthrop, at Pequod, these.”

To this letter we cannot refrain from adding a single sentence, without comment. “My humble desire is to the most righteous and only wise judge, that the wood of Christ’s gallows (as in Moses’ act) may be cast into all your and our bitter waters, that they be sweet and wholesome obstructers of the fruits of sin, the sorrows of others abroad, (in our England’s *Aceldama*) our own deservings to feel upon ourselves, bodies and souls, (wives and children also) not by barbarians, but devils, and that eternally, sorrows inexpressible, inconceivable, and yet, if Christ’s religion be true, unavoidable, but by the blood of a Saviour.”

Coddington, the chief man of the Rhode Island settlements, having failed in his attempt to detach the Island from Providence and unite it to Plymouth, went to England in 1648, to obtain a separate charter. Besides a difference of sentiment on this point, he and Williams were of adverse parties as to English politics, Coddington leaning towards the king, and Williams towards the parliament. In consequence of this man’s absence, Roger Williams was elected temporary president. He appears however, to have been wholly unambitious, with respect to office, so that when the place was permanently filled by a Mr. Smith, he writes to Mr. Winthrop; “This last choice at Warwick (according to my soul’s wish and endeavour) hath given me rest.”

About this time a law was passed in Providence plantations, forbidding the sale of “wines and strong waters” to the natives, except in cases of necessity, which were left to the discretion of Roger Williams.

It is interesting to look back at remote events and see how they affected men of other generations. History, in its regular

systematic form, presents us for the most part with occurrences, carefully purged from every tincture of contemporary feeling. This may be necessary to historical truth, and yet the quality purged out is just the thing which gives to history its charm. It is on this account that narratives written at the time of the events, however imperfect or erroneous, are always more attractive than the finest histories composed in a later age. These reflections are suggested by one of Williams' letters, in which he mentions that momentous incident in English history, the death of Charles the First. Writing to Winthrop, of Connecticut, he says: "Sir, tidings are high from England. Many ships from many parts say, and a Bristol ship, come to the Isle of Shoals within a few days, confirms, that the king and many great lords and parliament men are beheaded. London was shut up on the day of execution, not a door to be opened. The states of Holland and the Prince of Orange (forced by them) consented to proceedings. It is said Mr. Peters preached (after the fashion of England) the funeral sermon to the king, after sentence, out of the terrible denunciation to the king of Babylon, Esai. 14: 18, &c."\*

We are pleased with Mr. Knowles's passing observation on this great event, which is, that all who are not advocates of arbitrary power, must admit that Charles had forfeited his crown, and that all who do not silence the emotions of their hearts by political prejudice, must admit that he ought not to have been put to death.

In this part of his history, Mr. Knowles gives some lamentable specimens of the spirit which prevailed in New England, with respect to toleration. We refer particularly to the case of Clarke and Holmes, Baptist preachers, who were sent by the Baptist church in Plymouth, to visit an old man of that persuasion in the neighbourhood of Boston. Here Mr. Clarke preached on the Sabbath to a private circle in the baptist's house. In the midst of his discourse he was interrupted by two constables, carried to the meeting house, till after public service, and on the morrow he and Holmes were sentenced to be whipped or pay a fine. Clarke's fine was paid without his knowledge. Holmes received thirty stripes, inflicted so severely, that for some

\* Cruel as this ceremony seems to us to have been, no one can help admiring the awful appropriateness of the text selected, "all the kings of the nations, even all of them, lie in glory, every one in his own house. But thou art cast out of thy grave like an abominable branch, and as the raiment of those that are slain, thrust through with a sword, that go down to the stones of the pit, as a carcase trodden under feet. Thou shalt not be joined with them in burial, because thou hast destroyed thy land and slain thy people. The seed of evil doers shall never be renowned."

time he was unable to lie down. He was afterwards pastor of the Baptist church at Newport, as successor to Clarke. Well might Saltonstall, then in England, write to Cotton; "these rigid ways have laid you very low in the hearts of the saints."

In 1651, Coddington returned from England with a separate charter for the islands of Rhode Island and Connecticut, signed by John Bradshaw, and creating Coddington perpetual governor. This division threatened the existing colony with instant ruin. A majority of the islanders themselves were opposed to the new charter, and very anxious to prevent its execution. Newport and Portsmouth appointed John Clarke their deputy to England, and Providence and Warwick\* gave a similar appointment to Roger Williams. As he had never been remunerated for his former agency, he was obliged to sell his house at Narraganset, though something was raised by subscription in the colonies for his support. These proceedings troubled the united colonies. Massachusetts and Plymouth now fell out respecting Warwick, each laying claim to it in the division of the spoil.

It was in November 1651, that Clarke and Williams sailed for England. After some time, they procured an order from the council, vacating the charter given to Coddington, and confirming that of Williams. This decision was sent home by another agent, while Clarke and Williams both remained in England. There the former published, "Ill news from New England, or a Narrative of New England's Persecutions; wherein it is declared, that while Old England is becoming new, New England is becoming old; also four proposals to parliament, and four conclusions touching the faith and order of the Gospel of Christ, out of his last will and testament."

It was during this visit that Roger Williams published *The Bloody Tenet yet more Bloody*, which we have already mentioned. He also took this opportunity to print two other essays, one called *The Hireling Ministry none of Christ's, or a Discourse on the Propagation of the Gospel of Christ*; the other, *Experiments of Spiritual Life and Health, with their Preservatives*.

Much of his time appears to have been spent at the house of Sir Henry Vane, both in London and the country. It was chiefly through the influence of that celebrated personage that he secured the leading object of his mission. This was not attained, however, until after long delays, which, together with an

\* Warwick had been united with the other three settlements after the date of the charter.

"old law suit" that he mentions in his letters, detained him more than two years. During this period he engaged in teaching, as a means of subsistence. There is a sentence on this subject in one of his letters, which will interest the reader, on account of the great name which it mentions. "It pleased the Lord," says Roger, "to call me for some time, and with some persons, to practise the Hebrew, the Greek, Latin, French, and Dutch. The secretary of the council, (Mr. Milton) for my Dutch I read him, read me many more languages."

We were struck with the following sentence in relation to the state of public sentiment in England. We look at the great events of those days in the light of subsequent history. How different must have been the feelings of such as witnessed their occurrence, and could only guess at the catastrophe. "Praised be the Lord, we are preserved, the nation is preserved, the parliament sits, God's people are secure, too secure. A great opinion is, that the kingdom of Christ is risen, and the kingdoms of the earth are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ. Others have fear of the slaughter of the witnesses yet approaching." How different that ferment from the present one in England! 'That, in all its workings, still presented a religious surface. The excesses of that day were fanatical; those of our day atheistical. For even the Christians, who take part in the strife of politics, imbibe more of the unbeliever's spirit than they give him of their own.

The repeal of Coddington's charter was followed by new perplexities. The Islanders and Continentals could not act in unison. So disastrous were the consequences of these new divisions, that Williams returned home in the summer of 1654, bringing a letter from the protector's council, permitting him to land thereafter in the Massachusetts territories without molestation, and an epistle from Sir Henry Vane to the Rhode Island colonists, rebuking their dissensions. Through the influence of Williams, the conflicting settlements were restored to harmony, after which he was elected president of the united colony, Aug. 31, 1654.

Soon after these events the Rhode Island settlers had their principles brought to a decisive test by two occurrences. The first was the attack on civil government of every kind, made by one William Harris, who claimed liberty of conscience, as he called it, in promulging his seditious doctrines. The colonial government made a just distinction between freedom of opinion and licentiousness of action, and proceeded in the case in such a manner as to show, that while no one would be hindered in believing what he pleased, no one would be permitted to disturb society under the pretext of enjoying his natural liberty.

The same just principles were avowed and acted on, in a more serious emergency which shortly followed. The first emigration of Quakers to New England, was followed, as is well known, by a sanguinary law for their suppression in Massachusetts. The other colonies were called upon to join in this proscription. But Providence Plantations, while they engaged to punish all breaches of the peace and all attacks upon the government, refused to sanction such proceedings against any sect, as such, or on the ground of its opinions. In this affair their views appear to have been truly enlightened, with respect not only to the moral principle, but to the question of practical expediency. In their letter to the Massachusetts government, they justly declare that toleration was the surest remedy for fanatical excess, appealing to their own towns, as an evidence, where the Quakers finding no opposition and little notice, either changed their demeanour, or removed to the other colonies, for the purpose of enjoying the agreeable excitement of persecution. The same lesson is taught by all experience. On the death of Oliver Cromwell, Roger Williams wrote to Winthrop, "It hath pleased the Lord to glad the Romish conclave with the departure of those two mighty bulwarks of the Protestants, Oliver and Gustavus." He appears to have entertained a high esteem for Cromwell, to whom he is said to have been distantly related. An address to Richard Cromwell was voted by the assembly of the colony, but never presented. On the 19th of October, 1660, Charles II. was proclaimed in Rhode Island.

Williams' personal relations to the other colonists were much perplexed by the very generosity with which he had conceded his possessions to their use. Through the influence of Harris, already mentioned, a new deed was procured from the Narraganset Sachems, enlarging the grant very much to the detriment of the natives, and declaring that the former deed was given to Roger Williams as the *agent* of the colonists. This attempt to rob him of the credit which he so well merited, seems to have less affected him than the injustice done to the poor Indians, who, as he asserts, assented to the instrument before they understood it.

From one of his letters written at this period, we must extract a sentence which is strongly indicative of a truly Christian spirit. "Sir," says he to Winthrop of Connecticut, "you were not long since the son of two noble fathers, Mr. John Winthrop, and Mr. H. Peters. It is said they are both extinguished. Surely I did ever from my soul honour and love them, even when their judgments led them to afflict me."

In July 1663, Mr. Clarke, the colonial agent in England,

obtained from Charles II. a new charter, which is still the constitution of the State. In their petition the colonists declared, that it was much on their hearts "to hold forth a lively experiment, that a most civil state may stand, and best be maintained with a full liberty in religious concerns." Agreeably to this desire, the charter contains this memorable provision: "No person within the said colony, at any time hereafter, shall be any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any differences in opinion, in matters of religion, who do not actually disturb the civil peace of our said colony; but that all and every person and persons may, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, freely and fully have and enjoy his own and their judgments and consciences, in matters of religious concerns, throughout the tract of land hereafter mentioned, they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and not using this liberty to licentiousness or profaneness, nor to the civil injury and outward disturbance of others."

From the time when Roger Williams left the Baptist society which he had organised himself, he seems to have stood aloof from all ecclesiastical connexions, and to have died without renewing his communion with any visible church. It appears, however, that he continued, till the close of life, to preach occasionally at Providence, and monthly at Narraganset. He was the only Christian preacher whom the Indians of that region would consent to hear, and even his ministrations were attended in appearance by no spiritual blessing.

In his old age he was so unwise as to engage in a public controversy with the Quakers. The refusal of Rhode Island to persecute this sect, rendered it necessary in his opinion, to give some decisive proof that their tolerance did not arise from doctrinal agreement. Hearing, therefore, that George Fox was at Newport, he sent fourteen theses which he offered to defend in public. Fox left Newport for England without seeing the challenge, which was accepted, however, by three of his adherents. On the 9th of August 1672, Roger Williams rowed in a boat to Newport, thirty miles, a remarkable proof of his vivacity and vigour. The discussion was disorderly, and like every other of the kind, without effect, save that of exasperating enmity and confirming error. An account of this debate was published by Williams under the title of *George Fox digged out of his Burrows*, to which Fox and Burnyeat (one of the debaters) replied in the *New England Firebrand Quenched*.

Four years after this event, on the breaking out of the war with Philip, Williams received a commission, and appears upon

the records as Captain Roger Williams, at the age of seventy-seven.

With respect to the last years of his life we know very little, though there is reason to believe that he withdrew from public business, and ended his days in poverty. So scanty is our information as to this period, that the day, and even the month, of his departure are unknown. This much is certain, that he died before the tenth of May, 1683, and that "he was buried with all the solemnity the colony was able to show."

The last chapters of the work before us contain a review of Roger Williams' writings, which is very interesting and, to us, instructive, but incapable of abridgment or analysis.

A few words, at the close, are devoted to his character, which, as Mr. Knowles observes, was so transparent, that those who have traced his history have had ample means of forming their own judgment. The only point on which we feel at all disposed to question the biographer's correctness, is his estimate of Roger Williams' intellectual powers. We feel, however, that we have no right to draw conclusions, in relation to this matter, as the data are not fully before us. His works we have not read, and it is on them that Mr. Knowles' judgment rests. We must say, however, that the specimens afforded by the author of his life, are far from leaving the same impression on his mind and our own. We think too that there is some appearance of a disposition to take for granted, *ab initio*, that he must have been a genius, because he was a champion of religious liberty. We can easily believe that the great principle of freedom of conscience might take full possession of an inferior mind, and rouse it to consistent and effective action. This is in full accordance with the policy of Him who chooses the weak things of the world to confound the mighty. Still, however, we submit to Mr. Knowles' better judgment, and superior opportunities. It is only to an apparent assumption of the fact that these strictures are directed.

Of the execution of the work before us, we can speak in terms of the highest praise. It exhibits proof of an uncommon talent for historical research and composition. Instead of the vague, confused, inaccurate mode of statement, which disgraces too many American works of this class, and even renders them useless as historical authorities, Professor Knowles' volume is marked by scrupulous precision, even in the minutiae of mere dates, as well as by that perspicuous conciseness of expression, which is characteristic of the best historians. We were at first disposed to think that he went back too far, and was too elementary, in the historical sketches which are interspersed. But we

are now persuaded, that to many readers this very circumstance will make the book more useful and agreeable. We must not take our leave of it, without distinctly stating, that it is not so much an article of personal biography, as a contribution to the civil and church history of our country. As such we recommend it to our readers. We earnestly desire to see the history of America treated with skill, with taste, and in a Christian spirit. The concurrence of these qualities in the work before us, leads us to disregard theological partialities, and to urge Professor Knowles to give us more.

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ART. IV.—*Cornelius Jansenius ; and the Controversies on Grace, in the Roman Catholic Church.*

THE limits of a periodical publication would necessarily exclude any thing like a complete history of the Jansenists and their opinions. No controversy among the many which have divided the self-styled Catholic church, has been more fruitful of elaborate treatises and stirring events. The mere citation of authorities which might be named would fill many pages, and the annals of the controversy, whether in its theological or its casuistical aspect, as many volumes. What then remains, but that we should bind ourselves down to a syllabus of the narrative, and a transient survey of the spirited encounter ?

The question concerning predestination and grace, which was first brought out in its whole extent in the Pelagian controversy, was never wholly put at rest. Between the Thomists and Scotists, the Dominicans and Franciscans, the Reformers and Italian Papists, the Jansenists and Molinists, and finally the Calvinists and Arminians—the ball of polemic contest has been kept in active motion, until the very moment when we write. Infallible pontiffs failed to settle it. Decrees of silence, sanctioned by sword and fagot, could not suppress it. And the utmost endeavours of packed Councils, representing or embodying the learning, craft, and power of the Roman communion, secured nothing more than violent opposition or sullen compliance. The reason is plain. It is a question which, in its rudiments, suggests itself to every deep thinker, be he Pagan, Mohammedan, or Infidel ; a question which the Bible determines in one way, and the modern Catholic church in another way. The decisions of the Council of Trent, as uttered in the cate-



chism framed in the name of that synod by order of Pius V., was meant to ensure uniformity of faith, upon this, as well as on other points. No one who has meditated on the operation of arbitrary injunctions will wonder that the result was an increased agitation. The disputes took a new form, the line of division was changed, but the chasm remained the same. And of all the battles which were waged, perhaps there is none more interesting to the theologian than the Jansenian controversy.

It was not until a thousand years after the time of Augustin that the prevailing party of the Romish church deemed it necessary to proclaim its departure from his tenets. During all this period, however, a retrocession towards semi-pelagian opinions had been taking place. It was but in name that this great father was theologically revered. Yet beyond the scholastic ranks of the Scotists there were not many who openly assailed the doctrines of grace; and the influential disciples of Aquinas, the angelical doctor, rallied around the ensign of Augustin. When the Reformation began to shake all the spiritual powers, a new aspect of polemics showed itself. The Reformers stood upon the highest ground of Augustinian doctrine. This was their very fortress. There are indeed those, especially among the Lutherans and Arminians, who are hardy enough to deny that this was the fact. All documentary testimony is against them, as well as the concessions of their own party. The proof would be easy, but we content ourselves with a single quotation from a living divine of the Lutheran church. Guerike says of Luther: "The idea which gave soul to his religious life, as well as agreed with his experience, was that the sinner is justified throughout (and so sanctified) independently of all merit and worthiness of his own, by the free grace of God, for Christ's sake, through the divine operation of faith; and conformably to this he had adopted, with the strength of a deep practical conviction, the doctrine of absolute Predestination."\* This was common to Luther with his fellow-reformers; and this was also the very question between the two great parties of whom we write. Both, however, claimed Augustin, and, stranger still, both sought refuge in the decrees of Trent, which had been drawn up with oracular ambiguity; and in the *Profession of Faith*, which every clergyman was ordered to subscribe.† But the Reformation and the institution of the Jesuits changed the state of affairs. The Thomists and Dominicans were now in

\* Guerike, Handbuch d. A. Kirchengesch. p. 673. ed. Halle. 1833.

† See Staedlin, theol. Wissensch. p. 212. or the document itself in Pfaff. Intr. in. hist. theol. Tub. 1724. P. II. p. 59.

peril of being denominated Calvinists; and their number was lessened: the Pelagian and semi-pelagian hosts were strengthened by the accession of the whole body of Jesuits; and their forces were increased.\*

In order to clear the way for introducing our principal subject, we must recal to the memory of the reader the names of one or two theologians, which have marked epochs, and especially those of Baius and Molina.

Michael Baius, or de Bay, died in 1589, aged about seventy-six years. He was a doctor of Louvain, where he also held the dignity of Chancellor and Inquisitor. His controversy with the Franciscans arose from his attempt to bring the age back to the doctrines and the piety of primitive times, and to oppose the encroachments of semi-pelagianism.† The Franciscans picked out of his lectures seventy-six propositions, which they sent to Rome, and Pius V. at the instigation of the Jesuits, issued a Bull, in 1567, in which, without naming the author, he condemned the alleged tenets, and forbade all further discussion of the subject.‡ In a certain sense, said the Pope, words might indeed be received, but in *what* sense (out of regard for Augustin and Thomas) the holy father did not define. Through this loop-hole Baius very naturally crept out; but in 1569 he was forced to abjure his errors; and in 1579 Gregory XIII. confirmed the decision of his predecessor by a more decisive Bull. The whole list of propositions is extant in Leydecker. They evince the attachment of their author to the Pauline doctrines. Baius was celebrated as a man of learning, a devout, zealous, self-renouncing Christian, and a successful opposer of dialectic intricacies. He escaped excommunication, first by the cautious policy of Rome, and finally by his unhappy submission. In connexion with him is usually named John of Louvain, or Hessels.§

The theological faculty of Louvain, in the Netherlands, was at this era highly renowned. These doctors in 1587 censured,

\* A. Turretine Ecc. Hist. Cen. xvi. § 11. Mosh. l. iv. Cent. 6. sec. 3. p. 1. c. 1. §§ 34. 40. sqq.

† For the assistance of the memory, take the following list of Popes, with the year of their decease:—Leo X. 1521. Adrian VI. 1523. Clement VII. 1534. Paul III. 1549. Julius III. 1555. Marcellus II. 1555. Paul IV. 1559. Pius IV. 1566. Pius V. 1572. Gregory XIII. 1585. Sixtus V. 1590. Urban VII. 1590. Gregory XIV. 1591. Innocent IX. 1592. Clement VIII. 1605. Leo XI. 1605. Paul V. 1621. Gregory XV. 1623. Urban VIII. 1644.

‡ Leydecker, p. 45. Guerike, p. 775.

§ Bayle's dict. art. Baius. Mosheim, cent. 16. § 3. p. 1. Leydecker, p. 295. Guerike, 774. Dupin. Bibl. xvi. p. 144. In which works see other and copious references.

as semi-pelagian, thirty-four propositions from the lectures of two noted men among themselves, the Jesuits Leonard Lessius and John Hamel. Thus the controversy broke out afresh; but with still more animation in the next year, when a work of the famous Jesuit Molina appeared.\* This man was a Portuguese, who died 1600, aged sixty years. He attempted—futile, though oft-repeated task!—to harmonize semi-pelagianism with the scheme of Augustin; but in such sort as to teach that, while man attains salvation by the mere grace of God, and while this grace is obtained only through Christ's merits, nevertheless every man enjoys the gift, who does his part in employing the yet remaining powers of free will; and consequently that the cause of one man's salvation and another man's ruin, is found in the self-determination of each. Molina was at once attacked by the Dominicans, and even the Jesuits are said at first to have opposed his book. Both sides sent delegates to Rome, and Clement VIII. in 1597 instituted a special investigation, known as the *Congregatio de auxiliis*, or Congregation on the Aids of Grace. All Romish Christendom was on the tiptoe of expectation for nine years. In 1607 Paul V. sent the delegates home, assuring them, by way of placebo, that he would publish his decision at a more convenient season: the issue was, that in 1611 he enjoined on the disputants absolute silence.† These statements bring us down to the time when the Jansenian rupture took its origin, and allow us to recur to the biography of Jansenius himself.

It is important to distinguish this great man from another of the same name, a bishop of Ghent, very eminent in his time, and who died at an advanced age in 1576. CORNELIUS JANSENIUS, of whom we write, was born in the village of Accoy, of Leerdam, in Holland, in the year 1585. After the custom of the day he was called Jansen, from the Christian name of his father Jan Otthe. The precocity of his boyhood led his parents to set him apart for the church, in pursuance of which destination he studied first at home, and afterwards at the college of Utrecht, already celebrated as the nursery of Adrian VI. and of Erasmus. Having excelled in these schools, he repaired to Louvain, when about 17 years old, and at this celebrated university was aided from the purse of a young townsman and fellow student, Otho Zilius, who afterwards became a Jesuit. The 'Society of Jesus' enjoyed at this time a just reputation for learning, and with some

\* *Liberi arbitrii cum gratiae donis, divina praescientia, providentia, praedestinatione, et reprobatione, concordia.*

† Aug. le Blanc. *Hist. Congr. de Auxiliis*. Antv. 1709. fol. See abundant authorities in Dr. Murdock's *Mosheim*, Vol. III. pp. 120—130.

of its accomplished members Jansenius cultivated such a familiarity as to imbibe for a season their opinions on liberty and grace. But he became weary of Jesuitical instruction, and transferred his connexion to the college of Adrian VI. in which there were charitable foundations for poor scholars, and where he had access to Jacobus Jansonius, of Amsterdam, a professor remarkable for piety and science, an admirer of Augustin; and an avowed defender of Baius. In consequence of this connexion he learned more fully the true character of the semi-pelagian party. The latter assert that Jansenius left the Jesuits' college, because he was found too frail in body for their purposes. In 1604, he had made such proficiency, that he was ranked first in the philosophical schools. Such, however, was the opposition to this award, that a tumultuous mob, scarcely dispersed by archducal authority, was the result.

Continued study, chiefly of a theological kind, so impaired Jansen's health, as to render necessary a journey to Bayonne; an event highly remarkable as having given rise to his intimacy with his faithful coadjutor Jean du Verger de Hauranne. This man, better known as the Abbot St. Cyran, was a native of Bayonne, where he inherited a large estate. He studied theology at Paris and Louvain, and here, like Jansenius, he first adicted himself to the Jesuits, and under their guidance made himself familiar with the classics, but afterwards, though with great struggles, extricated himself from their toils, rejected their flatteries, and at the instance of J. Jansonius set himself in decided opposition to their corrupt tenets. It is not surprising that Jansenius and St. Cyran should at once coalesce, or that the Jesuits should consider Verger as the founder of Jansenism.\* Having on his way to Bayonne made the acquaintance of Guibert, Gibieuf, and other fathers of the Oratory, he was the more ready to unite in the sacred conflict with the followers of Loyola. In the vicinity of Bayonne, at a village called Champré, these two enthusiastic students of Augustin sat down to enjoy their favorite author. So assiduously were they employed, that Madame Hauranne used to say to her son, that he 'would kill that honest Fleming by making him study so hard.' After about two years thus spent, St. Cyran was made a canon of the cathedral, and Jansenius moderator of the college at Bayonne. Here, say the Jesuits, were concocted between them the offensive doctrines afterwards broached by Arnould, in his book on Frequent Communion. Verger was about this time made abbot of the Benedictine monastery at St. Cyran, and Jansenius, on the ac-

\* Gautrichius, Hist. Sacr. p. 325.

cession of a new bishop to the see of Bayonne, found it expedient, after an absence of almost ten years, to return to Louvain, again to wage war with his old adversaries.

It was not long before he was appointed president of a college recently purchased and dedicated to a certain St. Pulcheria. But the cares of academic discipline did not comport with his urgent desire of usefulness and learning. He therefore both relinquished this post and declined the offer of the philosophical chair; viewing the scholastic finesse with abhorrence, and, perhaps too hastily, denouncing the Stagirite as the patriarch of Pelagianism; while at the same time he was deeply versed in the subtilities which he repudiated.\* In 1619 he was graduated doctor of theology, a title not then bestowed without a fair scrutiny of desert. His enemies have tried to prove that he and St. Cyran were about this time engaged in framing a plot for abolishing the regular clergy, reforming the church, and indeed introducing deism into the communion of Rome:† and this they pretend to corroborate by the fact that Jansenius refused to write against the Archbishop of Spalato. This man, whose name was Antonius de Dominis, was one of the most notable personages of the age. Having been fourteen years a Roman Catholic prelate in Dalmatia, he left all his former connexions in the church, avowing his abhorrence of popish enormities, but secretly actuated by a personal grudge against the pontiff, and came into England in 1616. After being welcomed with the richest favours, he was by the king made dean of Windsor, and master of the Savoy Hospital. In his character of Protestant he wrote a number of pungent works against Romanism. Avaricious, hypocritical, and otherwise odious as he proved to be, he could nevertheless, when a purpose was to be served, make some astounding disclosures concerning his former associates. The mask however fell off, or rather was torn off by Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, who, while the Dean was seeking English preferment, cajoled him with offers of reconciliation with the Pope. This reconciliation was actually effected, Spalato was caught in his own toils, was banished, carried back to Rome, and suffered to die in contempt; for, says Fuller, "such a crooked stick, which had bowed all ways, was adjudged unfit to make a beam or rafter, either in Popish or Protestant church." It is worthy of note, "that Spalato (Fuller goes on to say) was the first, who, professing himself a Protestant,

\* For a condensed history of the scholastic tendency to Pelagianism, see Twisten's *Dogmatik*, vol. 1. p. 100. ff.

† "Pour ruiner le mystere de l'Incarnation, faire passer l'Evangile pour une histoire apocriphe, exterminer la religion Chrétienne, et élever le Déisme sur les ruines du Christianisme." Pascal *Prov. Lett.* 16.

used the word PURITAN to signify the defenders of matters *doctrinal* in the English church: formerly the word was only taken to denote such as dissented from the hierarchy in discipline and church government, which was now extended to brand such as were anti-arminians in their judgments.”\*

In the year 1630 Jansenius was ordered by the king of Spain to read lectures upon the Holy Scriptures, in pursuance of which he expounded the books of Deuteronomy, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Zephaniah. Parts of these commentaries are extant. The Hebrew language is said to have engaged much of his attention during these researches. But next after the word of God he delighted to place the writings of Augustin, and used to say to his acquaintances “that he had, with the greatest attention, perused the whole works of this father ten times, making careful annotations; and had moreover read his treatises against the Pelagians thirty times from beginning to end: also, (so the editors of his celebrated work go on to say) we have more than once heard him say, that he should deem it the most pleasant life, to be shut out in some isle or crag of the ocean from all human converse, with Augustine as his sole companion.”† What his admirers add concerning the aid of his tutelary saint, we omit as superstitious and idle.

The character of Jansenius as given by his friends is truly admirable and lovely. To an acute understanding, sound judgment and tenacious memory, he joined frankness, generosity, diligence and devotion. He is represented as liberal to the distressed, temperate even to austerity in his enjoyments, and accustomed through life to spend a morning and an evening hour daily in the abstraction of religious contemplation. A spark of irascibility is named among his faults; it was lively but transient. Perhaps to moderate this, he was slow to speak, even beyond the wishes of his friends. We may add that when he found it lie in his course against Protestants, this temper became more than a scintillation. It is a delightful trait of his mental habit, that the love of truth—a phrase how sadly prostituted!—seems to have ruled in his heart. When asked what attribute of deity he chiefly venerated, he answered, *truth*; his symbol was *In Veritate et Charitate*. And in the secluded paths of his garden, soliloquies were sometimes overheard, in which his reiterated ejaculation was, *O truth! O truth!* With such a mind, we do not wonder that he learned so much concerning the grace of God, while we lament that he had still so much to learn.

\* Fuller's Ch. Hist. book X. § 6. ed. 1655. fol.

† J. G. Walch. Einl. in d. Religions-Streitigkeiten, P. II. p. 863. ff. Jena. 1734.

We are now prepared, by what has preceded of his history, to rank him as the chief theologian of Louvain, and the arch-enemy of the Jesuits. These fathers were bent upon monopolizing the philosophical chairs, and it was to thwart their schemes that Jansenius travelled twice to the Spanish court as an academical legate. After having been long debarred by papal authority, the Jesuits obtained in 1624, permission to teach philosophy. The embassy of Jansenius procured a royal prohibition, and after his second mission in 1626, the Loyolists were not allowed to profess any thing but theology. It is the less wonderful that they should have endeavoured to blacken the memory of one who was, as long as he lived, a thorn in their sides, and who being dead yet speaketh their refutation. Among other falsehoods, of which the exposure may be seen in Bayle,\* they gave out that he fled from Spain to escape an inquisitorial process for heresy.

In his great conflict he wisely determined to use the writings of Augustin as the chief weapon of defence, inasmuch as the authority of these was not impugned. To give a fair representation of these writings was the darling effort of his life, and though he did not drink the waters of this fountain in that purity with which Luther and Calvin enjoyed them, he imbibed as much as we can conceive to be compatible with *adhesion to Rome*. The tenets of Molina, as sustained by the whole order, were his abhorrence. That this estimation of Augustin's doctrines was not altogether peculiar, or wanting among other Papists, may be seen in the judgment of the famous Father Paul Sarpi, who says, in comparing the two schemes of the Dominicans and Franciscans: "The former opinion (namely that of the Dominicans) embracing a great mystery and secret, humbled the mind of man, and while it looked on the one hand at the deformity of sin, and on the other at the excellence of divine grace, caused it, utterly rejecting self-confidence, to be fixed in reliance on God. The latter opinion (that of the Franciscans) being more plausible, popular, spacious, and better fitted to raise the pride of the human mind, was for this very cause more agreeable to the brethren, who ever professed rather the art of preaching, than the accurate knowledge of theology. It also appeared more estimable to courtiers, as consentaneous with political designs."<sup>†</sup> In correspondence with this Jansenius was accustomed to trace all theological errors to an overweening dependance upon mere reason, and a neglect of the ultimate canon of faith. His language was, that Augustin could be understood not by masters

\* Art. Jansenius, note E.

† Hist. Concil. Trid. lib. II. p. 187.

but scholars, and would certainly mislead such as came to his writings with a preconceived system; that all his tenets depended on a single principle, from which the whole doctrine of grace hung in linked argument.\*

Every thing in the policy of the Romish see contributed to incite Jansenius to the great work of his life. So far as worldly wisdom was consulted, her oracles plainly counselled the popes to suppress all controversy on these vexed questions, as necessarily tending to reveal the variations of doctrine even among successive pontiffs and councils. Hence an awful silence reigned; and the populace listened in vain for any decisive utterance from the seat of infallible judgment. Between 1598 and 1605, Clement VIII. held no less than sixty-eight congregations to settle the differences between the Dominicans and the Jesuits. These taken collectively are the noted *Congregatio de Auxiliis*, of which numerous accounts have been given.† The dispute remained as before. Leo XI. died a few weeks after his accession. Paul V. held fourteen congregations, the beginning of which was in 1605. *Parturiunt montes*; the conclusion was that there should be no further discourse upon the subject. The judge of controversies *would* not, *dared* not, or *could* not, perform that very act of decision, which is, by Roman Catholics, held to be the grand safeguard of mother church, as contradistinguished from the ever-varying Protestants. Each party maintained that the judge was secretly of his side, and the dispute, maugre all bulls, waxed hotter and hotter. Urban VIII. reiterated, in 1625, the decree of Paul V., adding a prohibition of all books on the "Aids of Grace." The decree was regarded as a *brutum fulmen*. Books multiplied beyond all prior example, and there was scarcely a scholastic work issued in France, Belgium, Spain, or Germany, which did not treat of Free Will, Grace and Predestination.‡ In the meanwhile works were published on the part of Jesuits, intended to win the favour of the pontiff by exalting his power above that of all secular princes. The notorious work of Santarelli was one of these. But successive popes found it safer to make no decision than to publish that most uncatholic division of the church, which actually existed. The body was actually rent, and unity existed but in ritual and name. How different the state of the ancient church, when these identical errors (for Pelagius and Molina may be re-

\* Jansen. Aug. Tom. III. lib. ii. c. 30. 31.

† Moab. Cent. xvi. § 3. p. 1. c. 1. note m. Leydecker, l. i. c. xi

‡ See *le Clerc*, *Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire de controverses dans l'Eglise Romaine sur la Predestination*, etc. also "Catechisme sur les Dissensions de l'Eglise, tom I. p. 207. Dictionnaire des livres Jansenistes, tom. I. p. 120.



garded as symbolizing) were held up by ecclesiastical anathema to the abhorrence of all coming time! And even if we are reminded that the contrary tenets of Jansenius were condemned by Urban VIII. and Innocent X., what does this prove, but that the infallible oracle can contradict its own determinations? Such were the circumstances which wrought in the mind of Jansenius, Jansonius, and St. Cyran, the purpose of devoting their whole souls to the defence of truth.

An additional motive was derived from the current of events respecting the Jesuit Leonard Lessius, of Brabant, (1585—1600,) a Professor at Louvain,\* who wrote theological and ethical works in defence of the Pelagian and Molinistic system. A word or two of these events will serve to bring up the thread of the history. When Baius, of whom above, had been condemned by the bulls of 1570, and 1580, his adversaries were emboldened to bring his name and his works very frequently before the religious world, deriving hence a new implement for awakening odium. The Louvain professors, and those who agreed with them, felt themselves aggrieved by this, no less as friends of truth, than as friends of Baius; and issued a number of polemic dissertations, in their character of a theological faculty. They animadverted upon thirty positions of Lessius, the sum of which is thus given by Leydecker: "God, after the foresight of original sin, wills to give Adam and his posterity aids and means sufficient for attaining eternal life. God enjoins on the sinner no impossibilities, and therefore gives them sufficient aid, that they may be converted. Augustin has incorrectly interpreted, 1 Timothy, ii. 4. 5. (*Who will have all men, &c.*) The concurrence of supernatural grace is like natural concurrence, a preparation to natural power. Efficacious grace, such as efficaciously to determine the will, is not required. Even the hardened and the unbelieving have aid from God sufficient for salvation. Absolutely predestinated works† of the righteous subvert liberty. The number of the predestinated is not certain from such a foreordination as would precede all prescience."

Such is a candid and very strong statement of the principles which on the one part were maintained by Lessius, Molina, and the Jesuits and Franciscans generally, and on the other part were denied by the faculty of Louvain, the most of the Dominicans and Thomists, and all the genuine Augustinians. The reader sees that, on which side soever truth lies, this is the old feud between Austin and Pelagius, revived between the Reform-

\* Staendlin, theol. Wissensch. 405. Leydeck. p. 44.

† Absoluta de voluntate preordinata. Leyd. p. 46.

ers and the dominant Romish party, carried on between the Synod of Dort and the Remonstrants, and after two centuries still existing between Calvinists and Arminians, and to a certain extent between some dissentient theologians who profess to hold our own standards. Hence the natural interest which we expect our readers to feel in the history of Jansenism, however remote from ordinary speculation may be the tract into which we have ventured to invite their thoughts. The censure of these tenets was sent to the pontiff, the archbishop of Mechlin, and the Universities of Paris and Douay. Its second edition appeared in 1641. In this the Jesuitical theology is shown to be the same with that of the Marseilles Pelagians. The censors say, that "it is adverse as well to Augustin as to Scripture," alleging the concurrence of the faculties of Cambray, Mechlin, and Douay; and they conclude with this temperate but earnest paragraph: "This opinion of the Jesuits darkens the goodness and enervates the justice of God; trifles with Scripture, wrests to illegitimate meanings the testimony of the fathers; flatters the corruption of human reason, subverts the basis of humility, and takes away the chief necessity of prayer; engenders reliance on one's own strength in the matter of salvation, giving the greater work to man, the lesser to God; subjects the grace of God to free will, making the former a handmaid of the latter; and in a word is not sufficiently distant from Pelagius."\* After this testimony there was a lively exchange of controversial works, but of such a character, as it regards the Louvain faculty, that the latter fell under the imputation of having receded from their former ground; in opposition to which charge they published in 1613 an explicit avowal of their adhesion to every thing stated in the Censure just mentioned.

The coadjutors of Jansenius were able and numerous. Among them the most remarkable were Fromond, Conrius, the Paludani, Pontanus, Rampen, Schinkelius, Polletus, and Jansonius. Libertus Fromondus (Froidmond) was a professor at Louvain. It was he who assisted in editing the posthumous work of Jansen, entitled *Augustinus*. Though a zealous Romanist, he held orthodox opinions concerning the questions now in dispute. Jansonius, of whom we have said so much, declared of a book written by Conrius, "Your book, my son, comprises all the ten predicaments of Austin's doctrine; and for the truth of this doctrine I would shed my last drop of blood." To these names ought to be added those of the learned Peter Rosaeus, James

\* See *The Early History of Pelagianism*, Biblical Repertory, New Series, Vol. II. p. 77.

Boonen, archbishop of Mechlin, and Henry Calenus, his metropolitan canon.

That Jansenius was all this time a good son of the church, he evinced by his dutiful contention with the Reformed. For when Bois-le-duc was taken by Prince Frederick Henry of Nassau, the supreme civil authorities declared by an edict, in 1629, that the doctrines of the Reformation should be freely dispensed to the inhabitants, and to undertake this labour of restitution, they summoned Gisbert Voetius, Godfrey Udemann, Henry Swalmius, and Samuel Everwinus. These eminent men published an "Apology against the Papists," in which they complained of the calumnies which were disseminated against the Protestant faith and order, asserted the true doctrine, and declared their readiness to maintain a system contained in the word of God, and sealed by the blood of so many martyrs, laying their very souls in pledge for the truth of the same.\* To answer the apology of the Bois-le-duc ministry, Jansenius was ordered by the pope's nuncio to take the field. He obeyed : and the result was his *Alexipharmacum*, or *Formula Antiprovocatoria*, dated 1630. In this work, he forsakes his appeal to Scripture, as no longer available; and begins with the usual method of Romanists, and their imitators, to argue the doubtful matter of apostolical succession, the nullity of Protestant ministrations, the glory of "the church," and the danger of being left without its pale to uncovenanted mercy, if to mercy at all. He demands of the Reformed clergy the diploma of their authority, and ends by declaring their system to be not *apostolical* but *apostatical*.

This book was refuted by Voetius, in his *Notes* published the same year.† Jansenius replied in a treatise entitled the *Sponge*,‡ with which he sought to wipe away the Protestant aspersions. The book is acknowledged to have been learnedly and eloquently written, but it was triumphantly answered by Voetius in his celebrated *Desperata Causa Papatus*, Utrecht, 1635; to which Jansenius made no reply, but transferred this task to Fromond, whose essay, entitled *Crisis*, was met by Schoockius, Professor at Deventer and Groningen, in a work entitled, *Desperatissima Causa Papatus*, with which the series is commonly said to have terminated. It is lamentable to observe, that he who, with truth on his side, dared to come up so frankly and nobly "to the law and to the testimony," should have been

\* Leyd. p. 59. Voet. Caus. desp. Papatus. in praeef.

† V. Voetii Philonium Romanum Correctum.

‡ *Spongia notarum*, was the punning title.

constrained to defend the figments of Popery with weapons, which it is difficult not to believe that he despised in his heart. So did not Augustin, his great exemplar.\* About the same period Jansenius had a contention with one Theodore Simonis, a doubting Romanist, afterwards a Protestant; against whom he is accused of having employed cruel and persecuting measures.†

Before we speak of Jansenius, as a Roman Catholic Bishop, it may be useful to state the political services for which he received the mitre. The bloody tyranny exercised by the Spanish viceroy upon their Belgian subjects is well known, and enters largely into the romance of history.‡ It is also one of the most noted events in the annals of freedom, that in 1581 was founded the *Republic of the United Netherlands*. The independent Belgians were of course treated as rebels by the Spaniards. And when the King of France entered into a treaty with the Hollanders, the Belgian Papists were filled with such indignation, that they took measures to have a book written against the French court. This book is the once famous *Mars Gallicus*, and the acknowledged author was our Jansenius. It was printed in 1635, and is so well characterized by Bayle, that we employ his words, as agreeing with all the other representations to which we have access: "It contains the most malicious outcries, against the continual services which France did to the Protestants of Holland and Germany, to the prejudice of the Catholic religion. The Hollanders are there called rebels, who enjoy a republican liberty by an infamous usurpation. They have answered that reproach a hundred times, and Mr. Leydecker has given it a solid confutation." And here we cannot but note the enslaving influence of his ecclesiastical and political connexions upon a native Hollander, in leading him to aim a dagger at the very liberties of his native country. Such is popery, such is despotic power!—"The Jesuits failed not to exasperate the court of France against the followers of Jansenius, as being a man who had defamed the nation, and their monarchs almost from the first to the last."|| The King of Spain, grateful for this favour, bestowed upon Jansenius the bishopric of Ypres. He was consecrated by the archbishop of Mechlin, primate of Belgium, at Brussels, on the 28th day of October, 1636, being

\* For Augustin's sentiments on this point we are referred to the following passages in his works: De Unitate Ecclesiae Cap. V. XV. XVI. de Utilitate Credendi c. III. de Doct. Christ. lib. II. c. g. de Baptismo lib. II. c. 36. Maximin. lib. III. c. 14.

† Bayle.—Leydecker.

‡ German literature has few more awakening narratives than Schiller's history of the religious troubles in the Netherlands.

|| Bayle, art. Jans. note F. Leydecker l. ii. c. 1—6.

the birth-day of the new prelate. Here again we see how much credit is to be given to those controvertists, who, when pressed with the "variations of Romanism," would insist that Jansenists are not Catholics. For *Cansonius*, a Romish bishop, and secretary to the Holy Consistory at Rome, thus writes to St. Amour: "The bull of investiture was conceded on account of his choice erudition, and his threefold battle with the heretics, a battle of glorious issue, for the honour of the church and the truth of the faith."\* Even the Jesuits, on this occasion joined in doing him honour, and we have before us a copy of the gratulatory verses offered by one of their number, upon the day of his introduction to the see.

During the brief term of his episcopate, the bishop of Ypres is said to have discharged with zeal and ability his appropriate functions. But his attention was chiefly concentrated upon the great exposition of Augustin's tenets, which he left at his death. For more than twenty years he had been engaged in writing this book. His adversaries relate that he secretly endeavoured to provide the requisite materials for printing it, under the conviction that, if his intentions should transpire, he would be prevented; and they add, that he personally obtained the censor's imprimatur, and engaged John Caramuel, a theologian, under an oath of secrecy, to ensure its publication. The Jesuits further allege certain passages, not extant in the printed copies, which were suppressed by the editors, as being unwarrantably strong in opposition to the pope's authority. We reserve the more minute account of this work for the sequel of our remarks, and proceed to speak of the author's death. After having been bishop for about eighteen months, he was suddenly attacked by a pestilential disorder, and in May 1638, departed this life in the fifty-third year of his age.

When he was sensible of the approach of death, he solemnly charged those about him to see that his *Augustinus* was published. Especially did he enjoin this upon Fromond and Calenus, and on his chaplain, Reginald Lamaeus. Then, with tears and sobs he made confession of his sins, and receiving the viaticum and unction from Lamaeus, breathed his last. His testament is worthy of attention, as showing his relation to the church of Rome. It is as follows :

"I, Cornelius, by the grace of God and of the Apostolical See, bishop of Ypres, of my free will, give and present all my writings explanatory of St. Augustin, to my chaplain Reginald Lamaeus; partly because he has with great labour written or dictated them, partly because they cannot be corrected without the

\* V. Journal de St. Amour. p. 327. Leydeck. p. 115.

original copy. Nevertheless I make the donation, with this understanding, that he confer with those learned men, the magnificent lord Libertus Fromond, and the Reverend lord Henry Calenus, canon of Mechlin, and take order concerning the publication with the utmost fidelity. For I know that the alteration of any thing will be made with difficulty. Yet if the Roman see shall choose anything to be altered, I am an obedient son, and to that church in which I have always lived, even unto this bed of death, I am obedient. Such is my last will. Given May the sixth, 1638."

Such was the dying testimony of this eminent man, such his subjugation even in death to the decree of a fellow-mortal, and such is the inevitable tendency of that arch-heresy which substitutes a human rule for the divine standard of faith.

In pursuance of his last will, the friends therein named addressed themselves to the publication of the book, which accordingly appeared in 1640, from the press of Zeger, a printer of Louvain, with the formal license of the emperor and the Spanish king, and the imprimatur of the censors. Great care was used to prevent suspicion, and the whole work was struck off before any inkling of the design had reached the Jesuits. Nor would they have learned anything before its publication, if some few sheets, spread out to dry, had not been carried abroad by the wind, so as to come to the eye of the archdeacon of Cambray. The attempts to arrest the edition were however too late, and it was but a short time before the *Augustinus* was in rapid, extensive, alarming circulation.

It was undoubtedly a stroke of theological finesse in the wily bishop to project such a treatise with such a title. For he left to his followers the opportunity of saying, that they intended no disputation, but a mere statement of Augustin's sentiments.\* This is precisely the apology made by the bishop of Ghent, as it is also the excuse of the author. "For," says he, "if such were certainly the opinions of this doctor, (Austin) let *himself* answer for their truth of falsity; let the prudent judge which is in error, he or the schoolmen; and let the church, by the weight of that authority so often pledged for his doctrine, make the discrimination. For my part, I am resolved, even till my last breath, to follow the same guide of my sentiments which from infancy I

\* Schroeckh, Th. xv. p. 165. See also, on the Jesuitical side, Petavii, de Pelag. et Semipelag. dogm. histor. Paris 1644. Antwerp 1700. Petavius disagrees with his brother Jesuit Bellarmine, so far as to admit that Pelagius allowed some kind of internal grace.

have followed, namely, the church of Rome, and the successor of the most blessed Peter in the Roman see.”\*

The book called Augustinus may be thus analyzed. The first volume gives a history of the Pelagian heresy. The opinions of the Pelagians are stated upon the following topics. Free Will and the original state of man. Book II., Original Sin, and the condition of infants. Book III., of Sin, and its power and principles. Book IV., Pelagianism viewed as *Heathenism*, since it holds out bare nature under the false name of grace; then as *Judaism*, from its method of treating the law. Book V., Pelagianism viewed as *Christianity*, so far as it confesses grace, election, calling and justification: the origin of the heresy, and the philosophy, talents, life, and frauds of its founder. Book VI., relates the subdivisions of the sect, the history of semi-pelagianism, and of Faustus and Cassianus. Book VII., the doctrines of Marseilles, and those called Predestinatiani.

The second volume begins with an account of their principles of theologizing, and a condemnation of their irreverent exaltation of reason in matters pertaining to God; hence are brought into review, the Scriptures, councils, fathers, and the great oracle of the church, in all which the author shows himself a thorough Papist. The character of Augustin is then set forth, his authority vindicated, and his system applauded. After this proem, a single book is taken up with the state of man in innocency and of angels; the strength of free will, the aids of grace then needful, immortality and the other endowments of this condition. Four books follow, on original sin, its propagation, its penalty, the strength of free-will after sin, works wrought before grace, and the seeming virtues of the Gentiles. Next comes the doctrine of the Pelagians concerning a state of pure nature, as to soul and body; which after Augustin he explains and condemns. This part of the volume has much discussion respecting natural ignorance, concupiscence (in the well known theological sense,†) the pains of the human body; in which he animadverts on the Pelagians, and such of the school-men as followed them.

In the third volume he discourses at length, in ten books on the *Grace of Christ the Saviour*. B. I. The nature and excellence of this grace. B. II. *Gratia Voluntatis*, considered in its mode of operation; where the grace of the first man is distinguished from the grace of the fallen man; it is maintained that this grace must be efficacious in order to every habit, and every act. B. III. is taken up in refuting the doctrine of “suffi-

\* Oper. Tom. II. Lib. Proem. c. 29.

† Compare Romans vii. 7. 8, 13, 14; Galatians v. 16. James i. 15.

cient grace," as held by the Jesuits. B. IV. The essence of this grace of Christ. B. V. The effects of this grace; faith, love, &c. Books VI. and VII. of Free Will, (*Liberum Arbitrium*) its nature, necessity of will, indifference of will, &c. Book VIII. of the concord between efficacious grace and Free Will. Book IX. of the Predestination which is held to be free, gratuitous, and previous to foresight of all works. Book X. of the true idea of Reprobation. Hereupon follows an appendix, which draws a parallel between the tenets of the Marseilles errorists, and those of the Jesuits, and shows their agreement in the following points. 1. In the doctrine of predestination; 2. In opposing efficacious grace; 3. In the same conception of that grace which is acknowledged by both; 4. In the objections which they urge, and the steps by which each declined into error. Such is a skeleton of Augustinus.\*

In order to give a more clear conception of the Jansenian system, it becomes necessary to add a brief notice of some tenets with greater particularity. The most satisfactory document of an authentic character is the *Catechism of Grace*, published in 1650, from which the following statement is extracted.†

Grace, according to the Jansenists, is twofold; that which is given through Christ's merits, and that which is not: the former to men, the latter to angels and our innocent progenitors. Both angels and the first man were created in knowledge, righteousness, and holiness; for God at the same time formed their nature and endowed it with grace. Nor could they be created in any other state, since nothing proceeds from the creating hand of God which is not in its right order, and the true order of a rational creature is, that he should go forth towards God as his centre and original. In this, it is evident the Jansenists aimed at the Pelagians and the Jesuits, who, like many in our own day, maintained that man was constituted in a perfect equilibrium between good and evil, without sin, but also without holiness.‡

The *Grace of Christ* is further defined as an internal grace, which occupies the heart, breaks it into tenderness, frees it from its chains; gives it the conquest over the passions, and heals its wounds; which moreover effects that it both wills and does what is good and pleasing to God; not merely giving us the ability, but by its triumphant power and assistance causing us to will. They add, that this grace is always efficacious, and produces its effect, so as never to be rejected, inasmuch as it is of its very

\* Vide Augustinus, 3 vols. fol. Leyd. de Dogm. Jans. lib. 1. c. v. p. 238.

† Elucidationes quarundam difficultatum de Gratia.

‡ Or as the schools significantly termed it, *in puris naturalibus*.



operation to remove the disposition to reject it, and to overcome all resistance. As to its converting effects, concupiscence is not wholly destroyed in this life, though it is gradually weakened; so that perfect love is not to be expected, on this side of heaven.

This grace does not vitiate our freedom, "for God is nearer to the will than the latter is to itself," perfectly knowing how to rule its nature and every thing in accordance with its nature. They argue thus: Liberty is not injured, because the will is never more free than when in act, since action is the very exercise of liberty itself, and when God causes it to will, he simply causes it to act. The subject is never more free than when he is most subject to his lawful prince, so the will is never more free than when it is subject to God. Liberty is not taken from the prisoner when his chains are broken, and his prison-doors thrown wide, so liberty is not taken from the will, but rather conferred on it, when it is freed from the dominion of concupiscence.

The Jansenists assert that this Grace of Christ is necessary in order to believing, and that it effects in us faith itself; that it is not common to all; that it is necessary to acceptable prayer, to every truly good work, and to the conquest over temptation. And they cite Augustin on these points.\*

Of original sin, they teach, after the same great leader, that the sin of the first man passes over on all his posterity; that original sin consists in criminal *concupiscence*, which deprives man of grace, turns him from the Creator, binds him to the creature, and subjects him to certain miseries in this life, and to death as a penalty. They also follow Jansenius, who could not find the doctrine of Imputation among Augustin's tenets, in tracing the propagation of sin to natural generation. As the penalties of what is theologically called concupiscence, they name ignorance, error, difficulty of acting aright, and death itself, holding, that if man had never sinned he would have been immortal. They represent Predestination to be that divine act by which God infallibly frees whom he will from the eternal perdition to which all are obnoxious, in consequence of the first offence; so that he may, by infallible means, conduct them to eternal life. Or it is the one eternal divine purpose of choosing certain persons to eternal glory, together with certain means of their obtaining this glory; which means are faith, conversion, and perseverance. The Catechism adds, in answer to the question, whether Christ died for all men: "He died for all men, that he might give to the elect, glory, and to certain of the

\* Enchirid. ad Laurent. c. 32. de Corrept. et Gr. c. 12. de Bono Pers. c. 17.

reprobates, transitory graces; he died for the common nature of all; for sin, which is common to all; for men of all nations, ranks, ages, and conditions: not, however, with this end, that all and singular of the human race should attain the fruit of his death; but with this end, that he might offer the price of his blood for the saving of his elect, scattered among all places, states, and nations." They add, that God does not will the salvation of any other than the elect, because, otherwise, he, who doth all his pleasure in heaven and earth, would actually save all others. And they expound 1 Timothy, ii. 4, as including, not all and singular of the human race, but all the elect, who are of every age, sex, nation, and condition.\* With such a scheme of doctrine, it must suggest itself to every reader, that Jansenius was very near the ground of the Reformed Church. Most warmly did his foes charge this, most deeply did he feel it, and most basely did he labour to avert the condemnation. With much of Protestantism as to doctrine, he had more of Popery as to rancour, and fanatical enmity. It seemed to be his favourite object to vilify the Calvinists, lest he should be ranked among them. The Reformed faith he declared to be nothing but a "sink of divers errors and sects, which had flourished of old, and were, with their authors, proscribed and condemned."† And such was his gentleness, that he wrote that "they ought not so much to complain of the severity of princes, as congratulate themselves on their clemency."‡ In the *Mars Gallicus*, he says of the Calvinists: "In what, save the name, are the Turks more hateful?"§ And he then declares that they surpass all heretics in "impiety," "unbelief," "impudence," "blasphemy," "obstinacy," and "cruelty"! In these calumnies we regret to say he was followed by his successors, so that even the Provincial Letters of the pious Pascal are blemished by the same intolerance.

We must now leave this subject with our readers; and in so doing we request their serious attention to the dissensions of which this history convicts the Roman Catholic Church; dissensions which will appear still more portentous, if we shall be permitted to resume our narrative, in a contemplated account of the disputes which ensued upon the death of Jansenius.||

\* Catech. chap. 7. Leyd. de Dogm. lib. i. c. 6.

† Spongia, c. 59.

‡ Ib. chap. 62.

§ Lib. ii. c. 27.

|| The reader will perceive, if he takes the trouble of collation, that Leydecker's admirable work has been our principal authority. To the singularly learned, impartial, and profitable memoir of this theologian, Bayle acknowledges himself to have been mainly indebted, and later Protestant writers have usually contented

ART. V.—*Wolf's Anti-Homeric Theory, as applied to the Pentateuch.*

It was in 1795 that the accomplished humourist, Frederic Augustus Wolf, published his famous *Prolegomena to Homer*.\* With a critical boldness, not to say effrontery, before unknown, he there assailed the genuineness, unity, and alleged antiquity of the Homeric writings; and as he afterwards sought to prove, that some of Cicero's orations were mere declamatory exercises by a later rhetorician, so now he pretended to demonstrate, that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were the patch-work product of a score of rhapsodists.

The *Prolegomena* produced a great sensation. The paradox was brilliant, and its very impudence ensured applause. After a few feeble efforts, on the part of older scholars, to suppress the infant heresy, it spread like wild-fire. Wolf took rank as the first philologist of the age, and even some of those who had opposed him tried to share his glory, by pretending to priority of invention. Among these was old Heyne, one of his teachers at Göttingen, who had excluded him from his lectures on Pindar, as an incorrigible idler, and was rewarded for the same with Wolf's perpetual contempt. In a short time after the *Prolegomena* appeared, men were ashamed to be suspected of believing in the exploded personality of Homer.

Had this phrenetic affection of the German mind been strictly a monomania, little mischief would have followed. But as Wolf's conclusions were deduced, with logical parade, from historical premises, and backed by a terrible array of learning, it was not long before the same artillery was turned upon other objects. Under the pretence of levelling the strong holds of prejudice, one venerable relic of antiquity after another was exposed to these assaults; and though the superstructure did not always fall, the foundations were always shaken. The general confidence in

themselves with the epitome of the latter. Other authorities have been named in the margin. To these we may add as sources of fact or corroboration, the historical works of Schroeck (Part 15.), J. G. Walch, Mosheim, Guericke, Buddeus, A. Turretine, Staedlin, Twisten, J. Scott, &c. also the *Conversations-Lexikon*, Gerberon's *Histoire Generale de Jansenisme*.—There are few portions of Mosheim's works, as improved by Dr. Murdock, which are so complete in the accumulation of authorities as that which concerns the subject of this paper. The exact title of Leydecker's work is subjoined: *Melchioris Leydeckeri de Historia Jansenismi libri sex, quibus de Cornelii Jansenii Vita et Morte, necnon de ipsius et sequacium dogmatibus disseritur*. Utrecht, 1695. 8vo. pp. 667.

\* See a biographical Sketch of Wolf in the *Conversations-Lexikon*, and from that in the *Encyclopaedia Americana*.

history began to be impaired, and skeptical criticism became the order of the day.

But even this extension of Wolf's doctrines was innocuous, compared with that which followed. The lights of classical literature and profane history were for a time eclipsed; but while the 'sure word of prophecy' continued to shine, it relieved the gloom of the surrounding darkness; nor was it till a mad attempt was made to quench the lamp of life with Wolf's extinguisher, that the darkness became visible.

It was not to be expected that the new devices, which had won such loud applause from classical philologists, would be suffered to lie unemployed by biblical empirics. The reign of piety in Germany was over. The simple, manly faith of the Reformers was forgotten; the pietism of Spener and his followers was extinct; and even formal orthodoxy was already out of vogue. Theologians had begun to court the phantom of renown by a display of spurious liberality. It was thought to be a proof of lofty spirit and unfettered intellect, to make large concessions in favour of infidelity, and to cavil at the Scriptures, even *ex cathedra*. The system of theology had been thrown into a chaos by the ingenious inconsistencies of John Solomon Semler. The current of opinion among youthful theologians had received a fatal bias from the lukewarm latitudinarianism of John David Michaelis. And the elements thus engendered had begun to be compounded into a coherent mass of infidelity, by the genius and learning of John Godfrey Eichhorn.

Still there was something wanted to consummate the catastrophe. Still it was apparent, that the Bible could not lose a tittle of its historical authority, without a revolution in the principles of criticism. So long as the classics held their place, the Scriptures held theirs too. If Homer wrote the Iliad, Moses wrote the Pentateuch. The chain of evidence was longer, but the links were just alike; or, the difference, if any, was in favour of the Bible. This obvious analogy marred the enemies' design; and though Semler's medley of discordant doubts, Michaelis' series of treacherous concessions, and Eichhorn's attempts to demonstrate falsehood, were continually spreading a thick mist around the subject, yet whenever sunshine got the better for a moment, the landmarks of the old world were distinctly visible, the monuments of Greece and Rome were still on terra firma, and as for the word of God, its defence was still the munition of rocks.

In such a juncture, it may well be supposed, that the shock which Wolf's invention gave to established principles, in matters of criticism, was welcome to many of the enemies of truth.

That the revolution had begun on classical and not on biblical ground, was a favourable circumstance; for it removed the appearance of its having been occasioned by hostility to the Scriptures. A new and specious theory was ready to their hands, and nothing more was wanted than a skilful application of it.

The ignoble praise of opening this assault upon the Scriptures, with a train of borrowed ordnance, belongs, we think, to Vater, who, in his Commentary on the Pentateuch, attempted to apply the arguments which Wolf had forged for Homer. The primary object was to prove from history, that the Pentateuch could not have been written in the time of Moses; and the particular field from which the proofs were gathered, was the history of the art of writing. Let us snatch some samples of this precious reasoning from its merited oblivion, for the purpose of showing how men will sometimes labour to believe a falsehood, rather than be contented with a simple obvious truth. Of skeptical critics, it may be said with emphasis, that they strain at a gnat and swallow a camel.

It is but just, however, to observe, that this critical hoax was far from gaining universal countenance or credence. It was too irrational for rationalists themselves. No one withstood it more decidedly than Eichhorn, who is above all suspicion of prejudice in favour of the Scriptures. Bertholdt, another theological free-thinker, declares that nothing but a strong desire to make the books of Moses spurious, could have led to the assertion of such doctrines. Most of the later assailants of the Pentateuch are compelled, by their own critical canons, to recognise some passages, at least, as the work of Moses: this cuts them off from any direct appeal to the Wolfish theory, which, even on its own ground, that of classical criticism, has fallen into contempt.\* But the spirit of Wolf's reasoning still prevails, and the exploded imposture itself has been partially revived by Hartmann, of Rostock, in his late work on the Pentateuch. This absurd attempt to set the bones of a demolished sophism, has had the effect of calling forth to the defence of truth and Scripture, a redoubted champion, one who may compete with the first scholars of Germany, in point of erudition, and surpasses most of them in sobriety of judgment and an earnest love of truth. We refer to Professor Hengstenberg, whose excellent *Christologie* will shortly be completed, after which his attention will probably be given to a work upon the Pentateuch, for which he has

\* For a refutation of Wolf's arguments founded on the history of the art of writing, see Nitzsch's *Historia Homeri*.

been long preparing, and for which he is pre-eminently qualified. Our strong desire to see such a work from such an author, is enhanced by a sort of foretaste, which he has afforded, in an article running through several numbers of a literary journal, edited at Halle by Professor Tholuck.\* The first division of that article discusses the Wolfish theory, as applied by Vater and Hartmann to the Pentateuch, and is an admirable specimen of critical ratiocination. It is condensed, perspicuous, and conclusive. The substance of his argument we shall here endeavour to lay before our readers, with some change in the arrangement, and without servile adherence to the terms of the original.

The argument of Wolf, carried out to its full extent, and rigidly applied, would involve a flat denial, that writing was in use at all, so early as the time of Moses. This is a pitch of hardihood too bold for the assailants of the Pentateuch. Vater admits, that alphabetic writing was probably in use among the contemporaries of Moses; and Hartmann goes so far as to acknowledge, that the Phenicians were in possession of the art *long before* the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt.† For these concessions they deserve no praise, since they merely confess what is testified with one voice by all antiquity. The tradition of all nations agrees in referring the invention of this art to the first beginning of the human race. The Phenicians ascribed it to Thaaüt;‡ the Chaldeans, as Berosus tells us, to Oannes; the Egyptians to Thot, or Memnon, or Hermes; all which goes to prove, that the invention of the art lay beyond the earliest period of authentic history. Well might Pliny, therefore, after citing some of these testimonies, add: *ex quo apparet aeternus litterarum usus.*§ It was about the time of Moses, that Phenician emigrants, personified in history under the name of Cadmus, brought writing into Greece.||

The anti-mosaic argument, modified as it must be by so ample a concession, takes this form: Alphabetic writing was known to the Phenicians in the days of Moses; but the Israelites had been slaves in Egypt for above four hundred years, and cannot therefore be supposed to have enjoyed the same advantage.

\* Litterarischer Anzeiger für christliche Theologie und Wissenschaft überhaupt. 1833. Nos. 32, 33, 38, 39, 40, 44, 45.

† Vater, p. 542. Hartmann, p. 615.

‡ Sanchoniathon in Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* l. 9. We retain the authorities cited in the German article, for the sake of such as may be disposed to investigate the subject for themselves.

§ Hist. Nat. VII. 5, 6.

|| Ewald, in his *Hebrew Grammar*, (p. 19) undertakes to prove, from the names of the letters, that the art of writing was far more ancient than the time of Moses. On the other side, see an article by Hupfeld, in the journal called *Hermes*, xxi. 1. pp. 7, 8.

To this we answer by demanding, who can show that Jacob was not in possession of the art, when he descended into Egypt? True, it is not mentioned in the book of Genesis. But this, at furthest, only proves that it was not known to Abraham. For the only case in which we could expect it to be mentioned, is his negotiation with the sons of Heth.

So much for the negative. But we have positive ground for a presumption, that the art was known before the time of Moses, in the fact that there were officers called *Shoterim* among the children of Israel.\* That this word primarily and properly means *writers*, is the judgment of the best modern critics,† and is proved by Professor Hengstenberg, beyond the reach of cavil or objection. He exposes the false reasoning and philology of Vater, who maintains that the original sense is *overseers, inspectors*. It is evident that the latter sense is easily deducible from that of *scribe* or *writer*, while an inverted derivation is impossible. The argument is strengthened by the analogy of the Arabic, in which the root denotes to *write*, and a remote derivative means an *overseer* or *manager*. Coincident precisely is the important testimony of the ancient versions, the word being rendered *scribes* both in the Septuagint and Peshito. No critical question of the least dubiety could be more satisfactorily and completely solved. For the minute details we must refer the learned reader to the original article.

As for any doubt about the acquisition of the art at so remote a period, let it be remembered that the ancient Hebrews were by no means slow or reluctant to adopt the improvements of their cultivated neighbours. Judah had a signet ring,‡ Joseph a dress of curious fabric,§ and many other examples of the same kind might be furnished. It is clear then, to say the least, that *the possession of the art of writing by the Israelites, before their descent to Egypt, cannot be disproved*.

But the advocates of truth can afford to make concessions, and to meet the enemy on his own ground. In condescension to the adversary's weakness, let us admit *pro forma*, that the Israelites were strangers to the art of writing when they entered Egypt. Why may they not have learned it there? Are we to be told, too, that the Egyptians could not write?

\* Exod. v. 6. and elsewhere.

† Gesenius, for example, in his latest Hebrew Lexicon, defines the word in question: "Proprie scriba; dein, quoniam ars scribendi antiquissimo tempore maxime rei forensi adhibetur, magistratus, prefectus populi." Lex. Man. Heb. & Chald. p. 997.

‡ Gen. xxxviii. 17.

§ Gen. xxxvii. 3.

Not at all, says Hartmann, but the only sort of writing which they could have learned in Egypt, was totally unfit for the notation of their language, and consequently useless. That is to say, if we understand his argument, the writing used in Egypt was hieroglyphical, whereas that of the Pentateuch is alphabetical. Every thing, therefore, which merely goes to prove, that there was an art of writing known to the Egyptians, is nothing to the purpose.\*

This argument assumes as certain what is still a matter of dispute among the learned. The old doctrine was, that all the most ancient nations had the same alphabet. The classical writers all proceed upon this supposition, though they differ so widely with respect to the country where the art was first invented. Tychsen was the first who asserted, that the Egyptians had no alphabetic writing till they received it from the Phenicians, in the days of Psammetichus.† He was fully confuted by Zoega, who defended the antiquity of alphabetic writing, even among the Egyptians, and its original identity with that of other nations.‡ Jomard and Champollion have since essayed to prove, that the ancient Egyptians had no writing that was purely alphabetical, and that the common writing, which Herodotus calls *demotic*, and Clement, of Alexandria, *epistolographic*, was nothing more than the hieroglyphic writing, in a state of transition to the alphabetic form.§ But this assertion rests entirely on the very questionable assumption, that one part of the triple inscription on the Rosetta stone,|| is in the *demotic* character, and not rather in a corrupted sort of hieroglyphics. Creuzer and Heeren¶ simply state the authorities, and decline a decision, while Spohn and Seiffarth, relying on a passage in Plutarch's *Isis and Osiris*,\*\* undertake to justify the old opinion, and to show that the *demotic* character consisted of the twenty-two Phenician letters.

We make this statement simply to show that Hartmann has, without sufficient evidence, assumed the fact on which his reasoning rests, to wit, that the Egyptians had no alphabetic writing when the Israelites resided there. We do not mean, however, to assume the contrary. We choose rather to allow him the advantage he affects, and to show, that even after this concession, we are still on higher ground.

\* Hartmann, p. 587.

† Tychsen und Heeren's *Bibliothek fur alte Litteratur und Kunst*. VI. pp. 15. 42.

‡ Zoega de obeliscis. p. 567.

§ See Jomard's opinion stated, in Creuzer's *Comm. Herod.* p. 376, &c.

|| See the article *Hieroglyphics* in the *Encyclopaedia Americana*. vol. VI. p. 314.

¶ Heeren's *Ideen* IV. p. 14.

\*\* P. 374.



Be it so, then, (though without a jot of proof) that the Egyptians had no alphabetic writing, and that therefore the Israelites could not have acquired the art from them. May they not have learned it from some other people of Semitic origin and Semitic language, while they lived in Egypt? Be it remembered, that the existence of the art among some of the posterity of Shem, as for example the Phenicians, is explicitly admitted by Hartmann himself. Now, if these kindred nations had the art, may not the Hebrews have acquired it from them, while they abode in Egypt?

Hartmann answers in the negative, alleging as a reason, that the Hebrews, during this part of their history, had no intercourse with other nations of the Semitic family. This assertion rests upon the common notion, that Egypt was inaccessible to strangers, a notion which, in modern times, has undergone no little limitation and correction. How far it is from being true in reference to an earlier age, is evident from what we read in Genesis, of the Midianitish caravan which sold Joseph into Egypt, as well as from the fact, that in the case of extensive famine, Egypt was the granary of the adjacent countries. The same thing is clear from the readiness with which the king of Egypt received Joseph's family. And this historical testimony is strikingly confirmed by the language of the country which contains so many Phenician elements, and those so essential and inseparable, that the supposition of a close connexion between Egypt and Phenicia in the earliest times, is not to be avoided.\*

From these proofs, it is clear enough, that the Hebrews might have come into contact with other Semitic nations, even in Egypt itself. It is also capable of proof, that such an intercourse might have existed without the Egyptian bounds. The territory inhabited by the Israelites in Egypt was contiguous to that of tribes whose language was Semitic; and that there was nothing to prevent their passing the frontier, appears from the incidental statement in the Chronicles, respecting Hebrew settlers in Arabia.† Moses surely did nothing unusual, when he removed to Midian, and then returned to Egypt. In addition to these facts, we need only hint at the procession into Canaan on the occasion of Jacob's burial. It may indeed be stated, in general terms, that among the nations of the remotest antiquity, even such as were farther apart than those in question, there was much more active intercourse than is commonly supposed.

\* Professor Hengstenberg refers to an article by Hug, in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopaedia*, vol. III. p. 35.

† 1 Chr. v.

We have now, we think, made out that there were sources enough from which the Hebrews might have drawn a knowledge of the art of writing. "But," says Hartmann, "they were a rude, uncultivated, race of shepherds, separated from the remaining population of the country. How could they be expected to adopt an art, for which they had no use?"\*

Admit for a moment, that the Hebrews were in the alleged condition, that circumstance alone could determine nothing, unless we were wholly destitute of historical data, and were left to argue simply from conjecture. The same course of reasoning would disprove the introduction of writing into Greece, at a time when the inhabitants were yet uncivilized. It would also disprove the notorious fact, that the Goths were indebted for the alphabet to Ulphilas. There is indeed a difference between the first invention, and the mere appropriation of an invented art. The latter is far from being beyond the capacity and necessities of an uncultivated people, so far, that when there is positive proof of its having taken place, better cause must needs be shown before we set that proof aside.

But our compassion yields too much to the unlucky sophist. The fact which we have admitted is a factitious one. The Hebrews were in no such condition as the adversary affirms. Their very position for four centuries in the midst of the most cultivated nation of antiquity, forbids the supposition that no influence was exercised at all by that nation on a people so susceptible of improvement, as the history of the Hebrews shows them to have been.

The fact is, that a large proportion of the Israelites had, before the time of Moses, left the pastoral mode of life, and mingled with the Egyptians on the friendliest footing, as inhabitants of towns. This is undeniably evident from Exodus, iii. 20—22, xi. 1—3, xii. 35, 36. According to the first of these passages, it was not unusual for an Israelitish landlord to have Egyptian lodgers. This proves the intercourse between the two nations. And as to our other proposition, that a great part of the Hebrews had exchanged the nomadic life for agriculture, it is very evident from Deuteronomy, xi. 10, where Egypt is described as a country which the Israelites had sown and watered with the bucket, "as a garden of herbs."

Does not all this show how easily Egyptian refinement might have been imparted to the Hebrews? It is vain to urge as an objection, that shepherds were an abomination to the Egyptians, as recorded in Genesis xlv. 34. Not foreigners, as such, were

\* Hartmann, p. 590.

an abomination to them, nor even shepherds, who had settled habitations. What they disliked was the wandering or nomadic mode of life, which, as Heeren says, must have been in opposition to the designs and policy of the ruling *caste*.\* We need not wonder, therefore, if we find the arts and artificial products of the refined Egyptians in use among the Hebrews at the time of Moses, such as the finest Egyptian stuffs, various sorts of dressed leather, the art of casting and beating metals, and that of polishing and engraving precious stones. Indeed, a due attention to these facts will make it plain, that the Hebrews stood upon a higher point of culture in the time of Moses than in the days of the Judges, so that Hartmann makes a laughable mistake when he asserts, that the art of writing must have been introduced under the Judges, because the Mosaic age was not yet ripe for it! The force of the argument is just the other way. If writing was in use in so uncivilized a period, (comparatively speaking) as the period of the Judges, how much more in the enlightened age of Moses. That it was in use at the time of the Judges, is an admitted point. And that it was not a rare accomplishment peculiar to a few, may be inferred from Judges viii. 14, where one taken at random from among the people was found capable of writing.

We have now to meet the adverse argument in another form. Even supposing that the art of writing was not wholly unknown among the Hebrews, at the time of Moses, it is contended, that it was not in familiar, ordinary use; and that, according to historical analogy, there must have been a period of considerable length between the first introduction of the art and its application to the composition of books, or to any thing beyond the simple necessary uses of society, or to give it in the language of its advocates—"There is in the Pentateuch no trace at all of the art of writing having been employed in common life, at the time of Moses. We must therefore stick to the analogy of other nations, which shows, that the commencement of *authorship* is separated by long intervals of time from that of *writing*: and that nations must have been long acquainted with the art of writing, and accustomed to use it for necessary purposes, before they begin to use it for any other, or to write more than they must write."†

Admitting, for the moment, this alleged analogy, we dispute the broad assertion with respect to the diffusion of the art of writing in the days of Moses. It needs, at least, a great deal

\* Heeren's Ideen, p. 150. See also Creuzer's Comm. Herod. p. 262, &c.

† Vater, p. 534.

of limitation. Inferior officers would not have been called *Shoterim* or scribes, if writing was a confined monopoly. Moses would not have spoken of God's *book of life*, unless written lists and muster-rolls had been long familiar. It is this alone which gives the figure all its force. The seventy elders are called *the Written or Enrolled*.\* The curses denounced upon the adulteress were to be reduced to writing.† It was usual to put inscriptions upon doorposts.‡ A man who put away his wife had to give her a writing of divorcement.§ Vater and Hartmann, it is true, deny that this enactment belongs to the Mosaic age. But why? Simply because they take for granted what they ought to prove, that the Hebrews were uncivilized and ignorant of writing. A high cultivation of the art, as well as a wide diffusion of it, is implied in the directions with respect to the inscription of the names of the tribes upon precious stones, and engraving upon other hard materials. To the same point go the passages where Moses is said to have recorded a law or an event. Nor was it at a much later date that Joshua sent three men to *write* or describe the land.|| To all this add, that one of the Canaanitish cities, afterwards called Debir, bore the name of *Kiryath-sepher*, which the Septuagint renders Πόλις Γραμμάτων.¶

These proofs are so numerous, yet so undesigned and casual, so strongly confirmed by all that we know about the refinement of the people in other respects, and so entirely consistent with the known condition of the arts in Egypt,\*\* that we must either admit that the art of writing was a common thing in the days of Moses, or reject the Pentateuch entirely as a historical authority. This last, however, we have no right to do, even on the supposition that these books were written in a later age. If we do reject them, it is plain that nothing can be argued either one way or the other, as to the fact in question, except by such as are disposed to argue at random.

But strong as the testimony is, in favour of a general acquaintance with the art of writing in the days of Moses, we can afford to yield the point, as we have yielded many others no less tenable, in order to evince the strength of our own cause, and our adversaries' weakness. Suppose, if you please, that this accom-

\* Num. xi. 26.

† Num. v. 23.

‡ Deut. vi. 9. xi. 20.

§ Deut. xxiv. 1—4.

|| Jos. xviii. 4.

¶ See Bertholdt's *Researches* with respect to the art of writing, in his *Theologische Wissenschafts Kunde*. Vol. I. p. 87.

\*\* Hartmann's assertion, (p. 636) that in Egypt none except the priests were in possession of the art of writing, is so palpably false, that it deserves no refutation.

plishment was not a universal or a very common one. What then? Let a rationalist answer. "Whether," says Bertholdt, "the whole Pentateuch proceeded, just as it is, from the hand of Moses, or whether certain legislative passages alone were penned by him, these passages or the whole five books were evidently written, not for the purpose of being read by every body, but of being read to them in a public way, a practice commenced by Moses himself.\* It was sufficient for this purpose, that a few besides himself should be acquainted with writing, and he would naturally introduce the plan of requiring the High Priests, the chiefs of the tribes, the elders, and the judges, to make this acquisition, in order to conduct ecclesiastical and civil affairs, according to his laws."

Thus it appears, that even on the lowest supposition which the skeptic would reduce it to, there is nothing in our assertions at all at variance with historical analogy, even as that analogy is stated by the assailants of the Pentateuch. Let us, however, look more closely at the analogy itself, and see what it is built upon. Those who make use of it, appeal in its behalf to the case of the Greeks and Romans. It so happens, however, that the latest results of the researches about Homer, render this analogy extremely doubtful, if they do not quite reverse it. But even if it were as strong as ever it was thought to be, history furnishes other cases far more striking, which lean just the other way. We might refer to the tradition of Phenicia and Egypt, which places the commencement, not of *writing* merely, but of composition, authorship, book-making, in the remotest antiquity. The Egyptians ascribed written laws to their earliest king, in which they are supported by internal evidence.† That composition began there very early, all accounts agree.‡ The Phenician tradition, preserved by Sanconiathon, makes the inventor of the alphabet to have been also the first author,§ and Sanconiathon himself belongs to a period not far removed from that of Moses.||

Should these analogies, however, be objected to, as of a date anterior to authentic history, we have others which are quite beyond the reach of such a scruple. Ulphilas gave an alphabet to the Goths while yet wholly uncivilized, and with it a translation of the Holy Scriptures.¶ The same thing occurred among

\* Exod. xxiv. 7.

† Diodorus Siculus. I. 106. Heeren's *Ideen*, p. 347.

‡ The proofs are given by Zoega de *Obeliscis*, p. 501, &c.

§ Eusebius. *Praep. Evang.* I. 9.

|| Bertholdt's *Theolog. Wissenschafts Kunde*, p. 71.

¶ See Zahn's *Ulphilas*, p. 21.

the Ethiopians. But the most conclusive analogy of all is, that writing began among the Koreish, in Arabia, according to all testimony, a few years before Mohammed, and yet the Koran was reduced at once to writing from beginning to end!\* So much for the doctrine, that the art of writing must be long in use, before it is applied to composition.

We dismiss this part of the subject by directing the attention of the reader to the fact, that Moses had the strongest motives to adopt the surest means, however difficult or rare, of perpetuating and securing from corruption, his inspired communications. He knew too well the want of harmony between his stern enactments and the heart of man, to rely for their observance, or prolonged existence, on the capricious fluctuations of tradition. What could be done he would do, however difficult he might have found it, to secure his object by a resort to writing. In point of fact it was not difficult at all.

But we have not yet quite dispatched the Wolfish theory. There is another ground on which it plants its batteries to assail the Pentateuch. We are told, that it could not have been written by Moses, because in his days there were no convenient materials for writing. Be it so. What then? The Koran, a much larger book than the Pentateuch, was written piecemeal on bits of leather or parchment, and even on palm leaves, white smooth stones, and bones.† This shows that the possession of *convenient* materials is by no means essential to the making of a book.

We say, be it so; but it is not so. The way in which it is attempted to demonstrate that materials were wanting, cannot fail to excite either laughter or indignation. Vater and Hartmann both deny that paper, byssus, or the skins of beasts, were then in use. Let us look at the matter a little. The preparation of paper from the papyrus-plant is a very simple process, requiring certainly as little art as the manufacture of the ark in which the infant Moses floated upon the Nile, and which was made of the same material. Nor is there even the appearance of a reason for assigning to this invention a later date than the Mosaic age. Varro's assertion‡ that it originated in the age of Alexander, is on all hands regarded as erroneous. It may even be refuted from Herodotus.§ The art is spoken of as having been in use much earlier, by

\* See de Sacy's history of writing among the Arabs, in the *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, vol. 50. p. 307.

† See de Sacy's article already cited. *Memories de l'Academie des Inscr.* vol. 50. p. 307.

‡ Plinii. *Hist. Nat.* XIII. 11.

§ V. 58.

Cassius Nemina.\* “At what time,” says the judicious Zoega, “the Egyptians began to write on sheets made of the bark of the papyrus, is wholly unknown, and I think it labour lost to undertake to ascertain it by conjecture.”† “Though it is impossible,” says Heeren, “to determine the date of the invention; it can no longer be doubted, that the preparation of the papyrus from plants was very early in use, since so many rolls of papyrus have been found in the catacombs of Thebes.” These leave no doubt, that the literature of Egypt was far richer than was formerly supposed.

Byssus is expressly mentioned in Genesis,‡ and the usage of embalming presupposes its existence. The garments of the priests, and the covering of the tabernacle were composed of this material. Now it scarcely needs proof, that if such a substance were in use at all, it would be used for writing in the absence of a better. And accordingly we find, that in other nations, not connected with the Egyptians, *libri lintei* were in common use. Hartmann says, indeed, that this material was unknown in the time of Moses, and that Vater has proved it. But how can that be proved for which there is not even the appearance of historical evidence? All that Vater himself undertook to show, was, that there were no proofs in favour of the use of cloth for writing at so remote a period. Positive historical evidence there is not, either on one side or the other. It is sufficient for our argument to show the possibility and probability of such a use; which has been done.

We come now to skins. There is reason to believe, that this material would have been preferred, supposing several known. The sacred books which were designed for all successive generations, would of course be inscribed upon the most durable of those substances which could conveniently be used. This is probable in itself, and is confirmed by the analogy of the ten commandments graven in stone. It is not on record what material was used either in the oldest or the latest books of Scripture. By far the most probable opinion is, that leather was employed. That it was used for this purpose in the days of Moses, appears very probable from Numbers, v. 23. There the priest is directed to record the curse against the adulteress in a book, and to wash out the writing with the water of bitterness. This presupposes a material for writing so strong, as not to go to pieces when dipped in water, which is not true of paper; yet of such a nature, that

\* *Plin. H. N. XIII.*

† *De Obeliscis*, p. 550.

‡ Translated *fine linen*, and in the margin, *silk*, Gen. xli. 42.

the ink could be easily washed out, which is not true of *byssus*; and of such a form as to admit the name *Sepher*, which excludes wood, stone, and other hard materials, upon which, moreover, we find no trace of writing with ink. The *modus scribendi* implied in this passage, was the same that is fully described in Jerem. xxxvi. 4—23, which passage Hartmann falsely represents, as the first containing any reference to ink.

That the artificial preparation of skins was not unusual in the Mosaic age, is plain, from the description of the tabernacle, where several sorts are mentioned. In other countries also the use of skins for writing was very ancient. Herodotus relates, that the Ionians, from a very early period, had made use of skins as a substitute for paper. "The Ionians from ancient times have called books, *skins*, because of old, when books were scarce, they wrote on the skins of sheep and goats."\* Here he evidently represents the skins of beasts as the primitive material for writing with the Ionians, among whom the commencement of the art of writing was long anterior to the time of Moses. He adds, "many of the barbarians also wrote upon such skins." According to Diodorus, the Persian annals, from which Ctesias obtained his information were written upon skins and the early mythologists ascribed a book to Jupiter, composed of skins, and containing a catalogue of the righteous and the wicked.†

To all this Hartmann objects,‡ that we cannot suppose the dressing of hides to have been practised by the Egyptians, who had so great a reverence for the brute creation, that even the touching of their skins would have made a priest unclean, and the trade of a tanner would have been thought a crime.

This objection rests upon an erroneous view of the worship of animals in Egypt. Among the larger domestic animals, the cow was the only one considered holy. The worship of the bull Apis extended only to an individual animal. Oxen were in common use for sacrifice and food.|| The regard to ceremonial purity among the Egyptian priests would be in point, if the preparation of the hides had been their business. But the priests were not the curriers. In the ancient documents lately discovered in Upper Egypt, tanners are mentioned as a particular class of workmen. This sets the question at rest whether hides were dressed in Egypt.¶

\* Herod. v. 58.

- † Diodor. ii. 35.

‡ See Schlieghauser on Herodotus, and Wesseling on Diodorus Siculus and Hemsterhus on Pollux, v. 57.

§ P. 367.

|| Heeren, p. 150, 363.

¶ Böckh's *Erklärung einer ägyptischen Urkunde*. p. 25. Heeren, p. 141.



Here Professor Hengstenberg concludes his argument, and we must say that we think it a triumphant one. We have given a sketch of it, not in the hope of doing it full justice, but in order to show, that the ingenuity and learning of the modern Germans is not entirely on the side of infidelity. Truth has always had its champions, even there; but for the most part they have not been able to cope with the assailants upon equal terms. The philological learning, and the dialectic subtilty employed by such men as Eichhorn and De Wette, took believers by surprise. The day seemed to be lost. The orthodox criticism of earlier times proceeded so much on the supposition of a belief in Christianity, that it was almost useless in this novel conflict. The weapons of war were to be formed anew. This threw the Christian party for a time behind their adversaries; and a whole generation of young Germans rose to manhood, with scarcely a doubt in favour of the Scriptures. But *tempora mutantur*. The time has come, when the foe is to be beaten on his chosen ground. His artillery is already turned against himself, and his defences totter. Professor Hengstenberg is showing to the world, that the modern improvements in philology and criticism, so far as they are real, all sustain the Bible, and that the deeper such researches go, the more resplendent does the lamp of life flame upward, while the taper of the skeptic is extinguished in its socket. The specimen which we have given of his ratiocination, while it exhibits all the erudition and acumen of the ablest rationalists, exhibits likewise what they always lack, consistency, sobriety, and candour.

We are happy to add that he is not alone. Besides many others who indirectly contribute to the same end, there is one distinguished scholar, who, without collusion, but with kindred spirit, is assaulting the same quarter of the enemies' entrenchments. This is John Leonard Hug, who has probably done more for the cause of truth, than any other Papist living. He has published dissertations on the art of writing, in relation to this controversy, which we have not seen. Rumour represents him to be now employed upon an introduction to the Old Testament, analogous to that which he has published to the New. We wish it may be no whit worse. When the leading principles asserted in his writings, free from adventitious weaknesses, shall come to be predominant among the theologians of his own sect and country, Germany will rejoice in the simultaneous downfall of Rationalism and Popery.

ART. VI.—*The Act and Testimony.*

THE history of this document we understand to be as follows. The proceedings of the last General Assembly of our church being, in many cases, much disapproved of, by a large minority of that body, a meeting was called in Philadelphia, to which all those ministers and elders were invited, who sympathized with this minority in their opinions and feelings. Among other acts of this meeting, a committee was appointed to draft a public declaration to the churches of the views and wishes of those then present. The result of this appointment was the publication of a paper entitled an *Act and Testimony*. It is impossible for any man to read this document, without being deeply impressed with respect for its authors. It is pervaded by a tone of solemn earnestness, which carries to every heart the conviction of their sincerity, and of their sense of the importance, as well as the truth, of the sentiments which they advance. The fear of God, reverence for his truth, and love for his church seem clearly to have presided over the composition of this important document. In addition to these intrinsic claims to the respect of those to whom it is addressed, the fact that it has received the sanction of so large a number of the best ministers of our church, demands for it the most serious consideration. It is therefore natural that those, who feel the truth and weight of a great portion of the statements of this document, and yet withhold from it their signatures, should feel desirous of letting their brethren know the grounds on which they act. We believe that most of the sentiments of this Act and Testimony meet a ready and hearty response from the great majority both of our ministers and elders; and yet we presume it will not be signed by any thing like a moiety of either. Why is this? Is it because they fear to assume the responsibility of such an act? This is very easily said, but we believe that the number of those who are nervous enough to be influenced by such a consideration, is very small. There is often much more courage in not acting, than in acting; and still more frequently in moderation than in violence. It is generally easy and safe in cases of controversy, to take sides decidedly, and through good and evil, with one part or the other. If you are sure of decided opponents, you are equally certain of warm friends. The unfortunate individuals who belong to neither side, are cared for by neither, and blamed, if not abused, by both. Though there may be imbecility, indecision, and timidity, which prevent a man's knowing what to think, or saying

what he knows; there may also be firmness in standing alone, or in that unenviable position where neither sympathy nor approbation is to be expected. It is humbling to think of good men as being so deficient in the fear of God, and so sensitive to the opinions of their fellow men, that they withhold their approbation of the avowal of truth, from the base fear of man; we are therefore slow to attribute such a motive, or to believe in its extensive influence. There must be some other and better reason why such a document as the Act and Testimony has not received, and is not likely to receive the sanction of more than a small minority of our churches. We pretend not, of course, to know the reasons which have influenced the conduct of so many different individuals, but we know that the following considerations have had a decisive weight on the minds of many, and presume that these and similar views have influenced the course of others.

In the first place, this document has been perverted from its true and legitimate purpose, as a Testimony, into an invidious Test Act. This evil has resulted from two sources, partly from the form and nature of the Act itself, in some of its essential features; and partly from the use that has been made of it in some of our leading religious journals. It would seem to be a very obvious principle, that any individual member of a body has a right to address his fellow members on subjects affecting their common interests. If he thinks that errors and disorders are gaining ground among them, it is more than a right, it is a duty for him to say so, provided he has any hope of making his voice effectually heard. If such be the case with an individual, it is equally obvious that he may induce as many as he can to join him in his warnings and counsels, that they may come with the weight due to numbers acting in concert. Had the meeting in Philadelphia therefore been contented to send forth their solemn Testimony against error and disorder, and their earnest exhortation to increased fidelity to God and his truth, we are sure none could reasonably object. Their declaration would have been received with all the respect due to its intrinsic excellence, and to the source whence it proceeded. But when it is proposed to "number the people;" to request and urge the signing of this Testimony as a test of orthodoxy, then its whole nature and design is at once altered. What was the exercise of an undoubted right, becomes an unauthorised assumption. What was before highly useful, or at least harmless, becomes fraught with injustice, discord, and division. What right have I to publish a declaration on truth and order to the churches, and call upon every one to sign it on pain of being denounced as a heretic or revolutionist?

Surely, many sound and good men may well take exception at some of my modes of expression, or demur at some of my recommendations, without forfeiting all claims to confidence. It may be said that no one is required to sign this Act and Testimony against his own will; and that there is no denunciation of those who decline. It ought, however, to be considered, that this is a necessary result of the call, on the part of the meeting, and in the body of the act itself,\* for a general signing of this document, like a new League and Covenant, that it should act as a test. Such in fact, no doubt, was its design. The authors of this feature of the plan at least designed to make it the means of ascertaining the number and strength of those who thought with them, and of uniting them in a body capable of acting with concert. If such is the very nature and purport of the act, it necessarily follows, that refusing to submit to the test or to join the league, must be regarded as an act of hostility. The very design of the effort is to make neutrality impossible. And this design unfortunately it but too well attains. In a recent number of the *Presbyterian* the editor says, "We verily believe that every orthodox minister and elder, who refuses his signature under existing circumstances, will throw his weight into the opposite scale, and strengthen the hopes, and confirm the confidence of those who aim to revolutionize the church."† We are not surprised at such language; it is the natural result, as just stated, of the measure. Now, we say, no man, and no set of men, have the right thus to necessitate others of their own body to adopt *their* statements and recommendations, or be considered as the abettors of errorists and anarchists. Here is one of the most serious evils of the whole plan. It makes one a heretic, or an abettor of heresy, not for error in doctrine, not for unfaithfulness in discipline, but because he may be unable to adopt an extended document as expressing his own opinions on a multitude of facts, doctrines, and practical counsels. This is an assumption which ought not to be allowed. It is an act of gross injustice to multitudes of our soundest and best men; it is the most effectual means of splitting the church into mere fragments, and of alienating from each other men, who agree in doctrine, in views of order and discipline, and who differ in nothing, perhaps, but in opinion as to the wisdom of introducing this new League and Covenant. We confess we are more disheartened

\* "We recommend that all ministers, elders, church sessions, Presbyteries and Synods, who approve of this Act and Testimony, give their public adherence thereto in such manner as they shall prefer, and communicate their names, and when a church court, a copy of their adhering act."

† *Presbyterian* for Aug. 21, 1834.

by the effects which this untoward step is likely to produce, than by any thing which has occurred for a long time in our church. If it is doubtful, as the friends of the Act and Testimony suppose, whether a majority of our ministers are faithful to our acknowledged standards, what proportion are likely to adhere to this extra-constitutional confession? Had the ingenuity of man been taxed for a plan to divide and weaken the friends of truth and order in our church, we question whether a happier or more effectual expedient could have been devised. Our first leading objection, then, to this document is, that it is not what it professes to be, a Testimony, but a Test. Had it been signed only by the chairman and secretary of the meeting by which it was issued, or by the individual members, its whole nature would have been different. As it is, it is a Test, and must operate unfairly and injuriously, subjecting some to unjust suspicions, and dividing those who, on every principle of duty, ought to be most intimately united.

But leaving this objection out of view, and admitting that it was right to adopt this extra-constitutional method of ascertaining and rallying the friends of truth, we think there are specific objections against this document, which show that it is unfit to answer this purpose. We have already said, and said sincerely, that it is impossible to read this Testimony without being deeply impressed by the seriousness of its tone, the weight and truth of the great part of its sentiments, and the decided ability and skill with which it is drawn up. It evinces in every line the hand of a man accustomed to legal precision and accuracy of phrase. Yet it was necessarily prepared in a hurry, probably at a single sitting, and read at a general meeting, in which the careful weighing of every clause was out of the question. Considering these circumstances, instead of being surprised that there are instances of unguarded statement, or unwise recommendations, our wonder is, that the blemishes of both classes are not tenfold more numerous. But is it not obvious that a document that was to be put forth, not only as a Testimony, but a Test, which the friends of truth were to be required to sign, or forfeit their character as such, and which was designed to rally as large a number as possible of those who were of the same heart and mind, should be most carefully and solemnly considered, and every thing avoided which might cause the well affected to hesitate or refuse? Were we ever so much in favour of such a measure, we are free to confess, that there are statements in this Act and Testimony, in which we could not concur, and recommendations of which we highly disapprove. Of course, however anxious we might be to join in this enterprise,

we should still be obliged to submit to have our names cast out as evil.

It is not our purpose to go over this document, and criticise its various parts. We shall merely refer to a few of the passages, which we think must be stumbling blocks in the way of all but the most determined.

The very first paragraph is sufficiently startling. It stands thus: "BRETHREN IN THE LORD:—In the solemn crisis to which our church has arrived, we are constrained to appeal to you in relation to the alarming errors which have hitherto been connived at, and now at length have been countenanced and sustained by the acts of the supreme judicatory of our church." The first question suggested by this paragraph is, whether in fact such a crisis has arrived in our church, as to justify such avowedly revolutionary measures, as the present document recommends? If such is the state of the church, desperate remedies may be justified, if in themselves wise and well directed. This point, however, we must at present waive. The statement to which we would now call the attention of our readers, and at which we should hesitate long, and sign at last, if sign we must, with a slow and shaking hand, is the declaration, that the highest judicatory of our church has at length countenanced and sustained alarming errors. These errors, of course, are those specified in the document itself. Is it then true, that the highest judicatory of our church has "countenanced and sustained" the doctrine, that we have no more to do with the sin of Adam than with the sins of any other parent—that there is no such thing as original sin—that man's regeneration is his own act—that Christ's sufferings are not truly and properly vicarious? How serious the responsibility of announcing to the world that such is the case! How clear and decisive should be the evidence of the fact, before the annunciation was made and ratified by the signatures of such a number of our best men. Surely something more than mere inference from acts of doubtful import, should be here required. We do not pretend to be privy to the grounds on which this serious charge is made; but we are sure that no conscientious man would set his name to it, without having evidence to produce the painful conviction that such was the fact. Such evidence ought to have been detailed. We do not know, and we suppose the churches generally do not know, what this evidence is. How then can they sign this document? How can they be expected to take the responsibility of one of the most serious annunciations ever made to the churches? We do not believe it to be true. We have not the least idea, that one tenth of the ministers of the Presbyterian

church would deliberately countenance and sustain the errors specified above. And if not done deliberately and of set purpose, it should not be announced as having been done at all. We may put upon acts an interpretation very different from what they were intended to bear, and thus be led to assert as fact what is very far from the truth.

We see that some, in adopting the Act and Testimony, apparently impressed with the solemnity of the step they were about to take in sanctioning this introductory paragraph, refer in justification of the charge which it involves, to the rejecting of a series of resolutions, calling upon the Assembly to denounce these and various other errors. But is the inference a necessary, or even a fair one, from declining to consider these resolutions, which required the Assembly to condemn certain errors, whether "held in or out of the Presbyterian church," to the sanctioning of these errors themselves? During the sessions of the last General Assembly in Scotland, a motion was made and rejected, relative to the devising of some measures for securing the better observance of the Sabbath. Must we infer from this rejection, that the body in question countenanced Sabbath-breaking? A few years ago, when petitions were circulated in reference to Sunday mails, many, especially after the failure of the first attempt, refused to sign them. Are such persons to be regarded as in favour of the desecration of the Lord's day? The mere rejection, or rather refusal to entertain, the resolutions referred to, cannot of itself, therefore, afford evidence of the disposition of the Assembly to countenance these errors. We do not know the history of the case, but there may have been something in the circumstances under which they were introduced, to account for their being set aside. We have heard, indeed, the warmest friends and advocates of the Act and Testimony regret exceedingly the manner in which they were brought forward. As far as our informant, a leading member of the minority in the last Assembly, knew, it was without consultation, to any extent, either as to their form or mode of being presented. Yet, what more difficult and delicate task, than the framing of doctrinal propositions, to be affirmed or denied by the supreme judicatory of a church? If these resolutions were hastily prepared, carelessly arranged, or loosely expressed, this alone would be reason sufficient to account for the Assembly's passing them over. As they have been published in the religious papers, the churches may judge on this point. For ourselves, we are not surprised at their

\* The rejection arose, we believe, from the wish to await the issue of the Parliamentary proceedings on the subject.

rejection. Instead of wondering that a majority of the Assembly did not vote for them, we wonder that any considerable number of voices was raised in their favour, so various are the errors they embrace, and so different in degree; some of them serious heresies, and others opinions (at least as we understand the resolutions) which were held and tolerated in the Synod of Dort, and in our own church from its very first organization. Is it to be expected that, at this time of the day, the Assembly would solemnly condemn all who do not hold the doctrine of a limited atonement? We do not believe that the penman of the Act and Testimony himself, whatever his private opinion on the doctrine may be, would vote for these resolutions. And it is too notorious that many of his most active and zealous co-operators deny this, and still more important points, to allow for a moment the supposition that they could intelligently have given such a vote. Surely then, the rejection of propositions, for which at no period of the history of the church, perhaps, a tenth of its ministers could have voted, is no adequate proof that the Assembly "countenanced the alarming errors" contained in this Act and Testimony. We are not now attempting to decide whether the Assembly did or did not countenance these errors, but we say, the evidence on which we could be induced to subscribe the solemn declaration that they did, must be very clear; and that no such evidence is exhibited to those who are called upon to join in the accusation. As before said, we do not believe that the errors quoted above from this document, or any others which it specifies, (unless it be that on the doctrine of imputation) are held or approved by one tenth of the ministers of the Presbyterian church. And we consider it a very serious affair to have the corruption of such a body of Christians asserted and proclaimed through both hemispheres.

As a proof of disregard of discipline, the Testimony refers to the treatment, by the Assembly, of a memorial sent up from several presbyteries, sessions and individual members. It may be supposed that the manner in which this paper was disposed of, furnishes evidence that the Assembly countenanced the errors abovementioned. This memorial, however, is not sufficiently known to make this the ground of a general signature of the Act and Testimony. We are very far from feeling called upon to justify all acts of the Assembly, or to apologize for them. Our feelings always, and our judgment generally, were with the minority in that body. There were things in the doings of the Assembly, which we disapprove of as much as any of the signers of this document. The manner in which this memorial was treated, is one of the acts which we think



much to be regretted. But the single point now is, whether this treatment furnishes evidence sufficient to authorize the authentication of the charge contained in the first paragraph of the Act and Testimony. Let any one look over this memorial, and ask, whether it was reasonable to expect the Assembly, in the present state of the church, to meet its demands. It is a long document, which concludes by requesting,

1. "That the plan of union between Presbyterians and Congregationalists in the new settlements" be wholly abrogated, &c.

2. That presbyteries be restrained from ordaining, licensing, or dismissing men, not to labour in their own bounds, but in the bounds of other presbyteries.

3. That the Assembly resume the sole direction of Missionary operations within the bounds of the Presbyterian church, to the exclusion of non-ecclesiastical associations.

4. That the Assembly bear solemn testimony against the many errors preached and published in the church.

5. That various points of order and discipline should be decided; as, 1. Whether one presbytery must admit a member coming from any other with clean papers. 2. Whether a judicatory may not examine and express an opinion of a book, without first commencing process against its author, when a member of their own body. 3. Whether in adopting the Confession of Faith as a system, the candidate "is at liberty to reject as many particular propositions as he pleases," &c.

6. That the Assembly disannul the act of the Assembly of 1832, dividing the Presbytery of Philadelphia, and disavow the principle that presbyteries may be founded on "the principles of elective affinity."\*

Here is matter enough to occupy a deliberative assembly for months. That all these points should be taken up, and properly considered, was therefore not to be expected. And as many of these requests are in direct opposition to measures carried with the full concurrence and approbation of the prominent signers of the Act and Testimony, who now request the Assembly to undo, what they themselves have done—it was as little to be expected, that, if considered, they could be granted. Though we think that the number and weight of the signatures to this memorial were such, that the Assembly ought to have paid more attention to their plea, and granted many of their requests, we are far from being convinced that it was a desire to countenance or sustain the errors specified in the Act and Testimony, which

\* For the sake of brevity we have not quoted these demands at length, but contented ourselves with giving the substance of each.

led to the course pursued. It is a very prevalent, and in itself a reasonable feeling, that church-courts should not legislate *in thesi*, or pronounce on doctrines in the abstract; that it is best to wait until the points come up for decision in the usual course of judicial proceedings. This feeling is so strong, in some of the soundest and best men in our church, as of itself to induce them to vote against many of the demands made in this memorial. It is not, however, possible to know the motives which influenced different individuals in taking the course which the Assembly pursued with this document. It is sufficient, that this course does not afford proof of the charge brought in the first paragraph of the Act and Testimony: and this point we think as clear as it can well be made. Were there no other reason, therefore, for not signing this document, the character of that paragraph we think sufficient.

There is another ground of serious objection to be found in the fifth of its eight recommendations to the churches. The signers say, "We would propose, that we consider the presbyterial existence and acts of any presbytery or synod formed upon the principles of elective affinity, as unconstitutional, and all ministers and churches voluntarily included in such bodies as having virtually departed from the standards of our church." This, it is to be observed, is not an expression of the opinion, that the existence and acts of such bodies are unconstitutional, but a recommendation that they be so considered, and of consequence, so treated. This is the only interpretation which we are able to put upon this passage. If this be its meaning, it must be seen at once, that it is a very serious step. For the members of any community, civil or ecclesiastical, to meet together, and recommend to their fellow members, to consider and treat the acts of the constituted authorities as unconstitutional and void, is an extreme proceeding, to be justified only by a necessity which authorizes the resolution of the society into its original elements. It is a deliberate renunciation of an authority which every member of the community has bound himself to respect. It is therefore the violation of a promise of obedience which can only be excused by proving that it is an extreme case, to which the promise was never intended to apply, and is not in its nature applicable. In civil governments this procedure is inceptive rebellion; in ecclesiastical governments it is the first step in schism. To take this step, is either a virtue, or a crime, according to the presence or absence of a justifying cause. That it must, however, be a very serious cause which will justify the disregard of obligations voluntarily assumed, and promises deliberately given, will of course be

admitted. That it is not competent for any individual, within the limits of the extreme cases just supposed, to judge for himself of the unconstitutionality or the constitutionality of the acts of the constituted authorities of the community to which he belongs, is too obvious to need remark. Every one sees that there would be an end of all government, if every member of a community were allowed to recognize or disregard a law at option; or by a simple assumption of its unconstitutionality to escape from the obligation to obedience. We cannot but regard, therefore, the recommendation of this document, that churches and ministers consider certain acts of the Assembly unconstitutional, as a recommendation to them to renounce their allegiance to the church, and to disregard their promises of obedience. Whether this recommendation be justifiable or not, depends of course on the exigency of the case. Those who do not think the act complained of, sufficiently heinous and destructive to dissolve the bonds of their allegiance, cannot sign this Act and Testimony; while those who regard it as a case of life or death, may feel at liberty to give the advice in question.

Though we are of the number of those who disapprove the plan of constituting presbyteries on the principle complained of, and think that it was, at least, never contemplated by the constitution, yet we are unable to discover so much evil in the measure as to justify the dissolution of the church, or the disregarding of the obligation we are all under to obedience. The plan recommended in this document necessitates a schism of the church, and perhaps was designed so to do. The Assembly have passed an act which these signers refuse to recognise. Either the Assembly must retract, or the signers must secede. One or the other of these results must take place, unless we are to have the confusion of two churches, with two sets of ministers and members, not recognizing each others acts or ecclesiastical standing, all included in the same body. How can such a state of things exist? The Assembly's second Presbytery of Philadelphia we will suppose, ordains a man to the ministry. As their constitutional existence is denied, the validity of this ordination, as a Presbyterial act, must also be denied. This leads to a denial of the candidate's ministerial acts, at least ecclesiastically considered. He is to those, who adopt this recommendation, a layman, and can do nothing which a layman may not perform. Will they recognise his baptisms? his introduction and dismission of church members? This evil may be bearable, while there are but two or three individuals in this situation; but it must increase every month or year, until the whole church is a chaos. Such seems the necessary result

of acting on the plan recommended, unless schism be ~~at once~~ resorted to. This result, indeed, seems to have been distinctly in view when the act was prepared. The signers say, "If the majority of our church are against us, they will, we suppose, in the end, either see the infatuation of their course, and retrace their steps, or they will, at last, attempt to cut us off." That is to say, 'we have assumed such a position that things cannot remain as they are; the Assembly must either retrace their steps, or the church be divided.' Division, then, is the end to which this enterprise leads, and at which, we doubt not it aims;\* and division for what? As far as this document is concerned, it is division which is to result from not recognising the existence and acts of certain presbyteries and synods. This is the only effective provision in the whole act. All its other recommendations may be adopted, and no division occur; but if this be acted upon, division is inevitable. Is the church then prepared to divide, because one portion thinks that A. B. C. may lawfully be united into a presbytery, on the ground that they wish to be so united; and the other that A. B. C. and D. may be thus united, because they live within the same geographical lines? The motive for the wish, in the former case, does not affect the principle. It may be a corrupt motive, or a good one. Some individuals in Philadelphia wished to be set apart into a presbytery, it was said, because they differed from the standards to which the majority of their presbytery adhered. Other individuals in Cincinnati wished to be set apart in like manner, it was said, because they adhered to the standards, while the majority of their brethren were unsound. Admit both these suppositions to be correct, and both requests to have been granted, and we have two elective affinity presbyteries, the one formed from a desire to evade the operation of the constitution, and the other to give it its full force. We think the principle is a bad one; but it is clear that it may operate one way as well as the other, and that it is not to be viewed as a device designed to form a secure retreat for heresy. The fact is, that the members of our presbyteries are so much intermixed, especially in our cities, where not only ministers, but even churches frequently change their location, that the necessity of definite geographical limits has never been strenuously insisted upon. As the geographical is the obvious, and, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, the most convenient principle of division, and the one which the constitution directs

\* Since writing the above we see that this intention is denied, in the Presbyterian. We have heard other signers of the Act and Testimony, however, very distinctly avow their desire to effect a division of the church.

to be followed, it is clear that it ought to be adhered to. But can any one prevail upon himself to say, that the church must be split to pieces, because, in a single case, another principle has been adopted? The fact is, that this matter is, comparatively speaking, altogether insignificant; and it never would have attracted the least attention, were it not for the supposed motive which led to the adoption of the elective affinity principle. Had a Synod constituted twelve ministers, resident in one city, all of them equally distinguished for soundness of doctrine and purity of life, six into one presbytery, and six into another, simply because it had been so requested, would the whole church be agitated, when it was ascertained that the members of the one body were not separated geographically from those of the other? This, no one can believe. It is not therefore the simple principle in question, however generally admitted to be incorrect, that is the cause of this deep and extended feeling. If this be true, it ought not to be thrust forward as a test principle. The church ought not to be called upon to deny the constitutional existence of bodies constituted on this plan, and by this denial, render schism unavoidable. Brethren agreed in doctrine and views of order and discipline, united in heart and effort, ought not to be thrust asunder, because, on such a point as this, they cannot agree.

We can hardly persuade ourselves that reflecting men can consider this matter viewed as an abstract constitutional point, of sufficient importance to justify schism. Yet this is really the issue made and presented in the *Act and Testimony*. Refusal to retract on this point was the great offence of the last Assembly. As soon as this refusal was known, preparation was made for issuing this manifesto. We do not doubt, as already said, that the real ground of offence, the true cause of the present excitement, is not this insignificant question, but the impression as to the motive which governed the decision of the Assembly. Still this is the question as here presented. It is not pretended that the Assembly formally sanctioned the errors enumerated in this document. It countenanced and sustained them, by the erection of the Second Presbytery of Philadelphia, and by the refusal to consent to its dissolution. These are the acts, therefore, which are the grounds of complaint, and which the churches are called upon to disregard. The issue therefore is on a constitutional point of very minor importance.

Our second specific objection, then, to this *Act and Testimony* is, that it recommends a disregard of the regular authority of the church which we are bound to obey; and that the ground of this recommendation is, in our opinion, altogether insufficient. The consequence of adopting the proposed course, must be either

to divide the church on a constitutional question of little comparative moment, or to produce a state of the greatest confusion and difficulty. A third objection, and the only other of this kind we shall mention, is founded on the eighth and last recommendation, viz. "We do earnestly recommend, that on the second Thursday of May, 1835, a convention be held in the city of Pittsburg, to be composed of two delegates, a minister and ruling elder from each presbytery, or from the minority of any presbytery, who may concur in the sentiments of this act and testimony, to deliberate and consult on the present state of our church, and to adopt such measures as may be best suited to restore her prostrated standards." The objections to this recommendation are nearly the same urged against the one already considered. It is essentially a revolutionary proceeding. It is an appeal from the constitutional government, to the people in their primary bodies. When this is done, merely for the expression or formation of a public sentiment, which may exert its legitimate influence upon the regular authorities, there is no ground of complaint. Analogy is to be found to such a course in the public meetings and conventions under our civil government, which are perfectly consistent, both with the theory and regular action of our institutions. But the case before us is very different. A large meeting first declare certain acts unconstitutional and resolve not to submit to them. They invite others to join in this refusal and to send delegates to meet in general convention to adopt ulterior measures. They first take a step which brings them necessarily into collision with the government, and then call on all of like mind to unite with them. The analogy is so complete between this case and that which recently convulsed our whole country, and threatened the existence of our political institutions, that none can fail to perceive it. There can, therefore, be no invidiousness in making the allusion. An act of the general government was pronounced, by the people of one of the States, to be unconstitutional and consequently void. They deliberately resolved to refuse to submit to it. Whether this was right or wrong, it was regarded by the country as creating a necessity for one of two things; either that the act should be repealed, or the union dissolved by secession or war. It was indeed, in itself, a conditional dissolution of the union. The condition was the repeal of the offensive act. If this was refused, the union was at an end. When under these circumstances, the State in question proposed to call a convention of all who agreed with her in opinion as to the grievance complained of, did not every one regard the proposal as a step in advance, as a measure designed and adapted to make the breach more certain and serious. Of this there can be no doubt. Public sen-

timent was overwhelmingly against the wisdom and lawfulness of the course of this aggrieved member of our union. The remedy, as extra-constitutional and revolutionary, was deemed disproportioned to the malady. Yet it was on all hands admitted that there might be evils, which, being intolerable, would justify this dissolution of political society, and the disruption of all existing bonds of political duty and allegiance. So in the case before us, if the evils complained of are such as justify the dissolution of the church, and the disregard of the solemn obligations by which we have bound ourselves together, then the case is made out. The propriety of the Act and Testimony is vindicated. The point now before us, however, is, the true nature of its recommendations. We say they are extra-constitutional and revolutionary, and should be opposed by all those who do not believe that the crisis demands the dissolution of the church. If such a crisis be made out, or assumed, then all the rest is a mere question of the ways and means.

We do not believe that any such crisis exists. That there has been much disorder of various kinds within our bounds, that there has been a good deal of erroneous doctrine preached and published, and that many judicatories have been criminally remiss in matters of discipline, we do not doubt. These are evils with regard to which the churches should be instructed and warned, and every constitutional means be employed for their correction. But what we maintain is, that there has been no such corruption of doctrine or remissness in discipline as to justify the division of the church, and consequently all measures having that design and tendency are wrong and ought to be avoided.

To exhibit fully the grounds of this opinion, would require us to review the origin and progress of the present difficulties, and consequently render it necessary for us to enter into historical details too extensive for our limits, and inconsistent with our present object. We must therefore be contented with the remark, that the burden of proof rests on those who assert that such a crisis does exist. This proof has not yet been exhibited. Until it is, we can only say, that we do not believe there is any call for the extreme measures proposed in the Act and Testimony.

We believe, indeed, that there are a number of men in our church, who hold doctrinal opinions, which ought to have precluded their admission, and who should now be visited by regular ecclesiastical process. But we believe this number to be comparatively small. We have never doubted that there was serious ground of apprehension for the purity of our church.

Considering the ease with which men are introduced into our communion, who, not being brought up among us, know nothing, and care nothing about Presbyterianism, it is very evident that we must have a constant accession of unsound, and even hostile men, if our judicatories are not faithful to their vows. We have often wondered, indeed, at the facility with which decided Congregationalists, so born and educated, become Presbyterians. We rejoice to see that there is a general Congregational Association formed in the State of New York. Those brethren who really prefer the Congregational system, may now indulge that preference, instead of being forced to submit to the painful necessity of joining a church, with whose distinctive organization they are unacquainted, or to which they are unfriendly. This is the main evil, which it requires nothing but honesty on the part of the presbyteries effectually to prevent. We are happy in knowing that at least one case has occurred, in which a presbytery, where there is not to our knowledge, a single adherent of the *old school*, has deliberately, and almost unanimously refused to ordain a candidate who held the popular errors on depravity and regeneration. There are not wanting other decisive and cheering intimations that the portentous union between the New Divinity and the New Measures, which threatened to desolate the church, has, at least for the present, done its worst. The latter, but scarcely the lesser, of this firm of evils is, to all appearance, dead. Its course doubtless will be marked by melancholy memorials for generations. But as the great mass of the wisdom and piety of the country (we are speaking of the north and east) were found decidedly arrayed against it, we trust the church will be spared such another visitation. And even as to the other member of the firm, we hope the shout of victory from its advocates was rather a mistake. If we may credit what we hear, the novelty being over, the wonder is on the decline. It is said, that out of the immediate sphere of the origin of the theory, its friends are very few and very far between.

But let it be supposed that in all this we are mistaken, that the corruption in doctrine, and remissness in discipline, are far more extensive than we imagine. Let it even be admitted, that the General Assembly, after having long connived at alarming errors, has at length countenanced and sustained them. Let every thing be admitted which we have endeavoured to disprove. Still, the case of the Act and Testimony is not made out. The necessity or propriety of schism does not appear. Is Christ divided? If the head be one, should the body so easily be separated? Is not the visible union of the people of God, as



the expression of their spiritual union to each other and the Lord Jesus, a solemn obligation? To what a lamentable condition would the church be reduced, if on every occasion of disappointment or excitement, or even of serious mistake, injustice, or error, her members were to separate into distinct communions! We are not about to advocate a spurious liberality, or defend a spirit of compromise with remissness or error. We merely wish to state, that the division of a church of Jesus Christ is a very serious thing, expressly forbidden in the word of God,\* and only to be justified by the most obvious necessity.

What then constitutes a necessity for schism, and makes that crime a virtue? We venture to answer, that no man is at liberty to labour for a division of the church to which he belongs, unless he and others are called upon either to profess what they think erroneous, or to do what they think wrong. As the duty of preserving the unity of the church is obvious and admitted, the seceders must make out that they are free from this solemn obligation. But what can free them from the obligation of duty, but the interference of some stronger obligation? So long as the standards of any church remain unaltered, its members profess the same faith which they avowed when they joined it. I do not profess to hold or to teach what A. B. or C. may be known to believe, but I profess to believe the confession of faith of the church to which I belong. It matters not, therefore, so far as this point is concerned, how corrupt a portion, or even the majority, of the church may be, provided I am not called upon to profess their errors. Instead of my mere ecclesiastical connexion with them being a countenancing of their errors, it may give me the best opportunity of constantly testifying against them. Who have done so much to render conspicuous and odious the errors and unfaithfulness of the clergy at Geneva, as the orthodox and pious portion of their number? The individuals who previously seceded, left the body in quietness behind them, and lost in a great measure their ability both to promote the truth and to oppose error. As another illustration, let us refer to the church of Scotland. Every one knows the long controversy between the Orthodox and the Moderate parties in that body. Had Dr. Witherspoon, and the faithful men who acted with him, lifted the standard of division, what would have been the present state of that church? In all probability it would be little better than that of Geneva. All the resources of the body, all its institutions, its corporate existence and privileges, would have been basely (shall we say?) delivered up to the enemy as a contribution to his means of

\* 1 Cor. i. 10.

promoting and perpetuating error. By the faithful adherence of these men to their posts, after one defeat had followed another in rapid and long succession, the church has been saved. The pious and orthodox portion have gained the ascendancy, and are now shaking off the trammels of patronage and other antiquated corruptions, and wielding the whole of her resources for the advancement of the truth. Blessings will rest for ever on the memory of Witherspoon, because he was not a preacher of secession. If others in that land of our ecclesiastical fathers had been equally wise; if the numerous body of evangelical men split up into the sects of Burghers, Anti-Burghers, &c. were now united with their former brethren, what an army would they form! Would any one be so infatuated as to urge the pious and devoted members of the Protestant church in France to secede from their brethren, and give up their institutions at Strasburg and Montauban, to be perpetual nurseries of error? Or would any one counsel the orthodox Germans to forsake their stations on the plain, where they can meet their enemies on equal terms, and go down into the deep and narrow valley of dissent?

What has become of the Morristown Presbytery? What has become of the True Reformed Dutch Church, which not only seceded from their highly respectable and orthodox brethren, but had well nigh excommunicated them? How completely has the wave of oblivion blotted them out! They have disappeared from the visible ranks, at least, of the hosts of the church. Are they doing more good, or preventing more evil now, than in their former connexion? We think their example should serve at once as a warning to any who are disposed to secede from among us, and as a rebuke to those who appear anxious to precipitate a similar crisis in our church.

We cannot see, then, how any thing is to be gained, for the cause of truth, by secession; but we see how much will be lost. We shall gain no advantage in opposing error; but only lose our facilities for promoting truth. Instead of manifesting fidelity to the cause of the Redeemer, we shall deliver up the post committed to our keeping. Until, therefore, the standards of the church are altered, or its members are in some way called upon to profess error, or to do wrong, their motto should be, "STAND FAST; HAVING ON THE WHOLE ARMOUR OF GOD."

We have now performed a painful, though, as we think, an imperative duty. We have come out openly against brethren in whose doctrinal views we coincide, whose persons we love, whose character and motives we respect, with whom we have ever been associated, and fondly hope ever to continue united. The grounds on which we have felt constrained to bear this testimony, may be very briefly stated.

As we have already said, it is at all times the privilege, and often the duty, of the members of a community, to spread their views on important practical subjects before their fellow members. How constantly is this done in political matters. If such be the privilege of every individual, it is especially incumbent on those who are connected with the periodical press. The very end and object of that press is the diffusion of practical knowledge, and the discussion of important points of truth and duty. We confess, however, that we have had other motives for the course which has been taken. We, in common with that large class of our brethren who do not belong to the number against whom the Testimony is directed, and yet have not joined in the act, have felt annoyed by the urgency which has been used to obtain signatures, and the serious censure lavished on those who refuse their names. It was necessary, as a matter of self vindication, that the grounds of this refusal should be publicly stated. It should be known, that it was not fear for the consequences of the act, nor insensibility to the evils complained of, but disapprobation of the nature and tendency of the measure. It is with a sincere desire to cooperate in the prevention of the evils, which we think must ensue from the prosecution of the course proposed, that we have lifted up our voice against it. Let the facts and reasons here presented pass for what they are worth. Let brethren give them a candid consideration. Let them ask themselves, if when, as they suppose, error and disorder are coming in like a flood, they should turn their backs on the enemy, and leave a weakened and discouraged remnant to continue the battle. What if they are defeated, not once or twice, but many times? Constancy and truth always ultimately prevail. Let us only be careful that it is for truth we struggle, and that our weapons are not carnal, but spiritual; and there is no ground for apprehension. In every church there are fluctuations. Sometimes truth and piety predominate, at others, error and irreligion. When darkest, it is nearest light. In a church like ours, we think, there is no excuse for abandoning the regular constitutional methods of proceeding. Every man can free himself from responsibility for the errors of his brethren, if he cannot have them corrected. He has all the means that others have to secure predominance for his own views, and if they are correct, he may confidently hope for their success. Let but the friends of truth be humble, prayerful, faithful and active; let them adhere to each other and to the church, and then, whether in the majority or minority for the time being, they will be most effectually serving their Master and his cause.

ART. VII.—*The Church Establishment of England.*

IN our last number, we exhibited to our readers, "THE CASE OF THE DISSENTERS," accompanied with a sketch of their history; we wish now to turn their attention to the nature of the union which subsists between church and state, in England; or to bring into view the prominent features of the church establishment which exists in that country. This will be necessary, in order to form an impartial judgment respecting the interesting question which is now so earnestly agitated in that enlightened and powerful nation, in regard to a separation between church and state.

As in our former article, we had the opportunity of presenting to the American public, the substance of a well written argument vindicating the claims of the Dissenters, from the pen of one of the estimable Dissenting ministers now on a tour of observation in this country; so now, we have it in our power to give notice of another discourse of a different kind, but intended to promote the same object, from the other of these highly respectable clergymen.\* The design of this last mentioned pamphlet is, to convince the pious members of the Episcopal church of England, that the legal establishment of that church is exceedingly detrimental to its spiritual prosperity; and that they, above all others, ought to desire a complete dissolution of their connexion with the civil government. The writer also labours to convince them, that no reformation of the church can be expected, until its alliance with the state is dissolved. We hope to have room to give the substance of some of his forcible statements and reasonings, before we conclude. Our principal object in this article, however, is to furnish our readers with a concise but satisfactory view of the English church establishment; or to point out the nature of the alliance which subsists between the civil and ecclesiastical constitution in that country.

It is a remarkable fact, that in every country where Christianity has become the prevailing religion, it has been taken into union with the civil government, and has been established by law—its support being enforced by the power of the State—until the United States, upon becoming independent, determined to try the experiment of separating the civil and ecclesiastical governments; and of leaving religion to provide for itself. The

\* Religious Reform of the Episcopal Communion impracticable, while it remains united with the State: An earnest appeal to pious members of the Established Church. By Rev. James Matheson, second edition, corrected.

reasons which induced Christians of former days to pursue the course which they did, are exceedingly obvious; and prior to the results which experience has brought forth, were plausible, and apparently conclusive. The church and state under the Mosaic dispensation were most intimately united. Indeed, they did not form two systems, but under the theocracy, were identical. From this scriptural example, it was confidently inferred, that when the rulers of any country became Christian, they ought to exercise the same care and government of the church, as did the kings of Judah and Israel, for it was not considered, that the theocracy ended with the destruction of the Jewish polity, and that Christ wisely ordained, that his kingdom should not be "of this world," or have any connexion with the civil authorities of the nations of the earth.

Again, when kings and emperors embraced Christianity, they felt it to be their duty to advance the kingdom of Christ, by all the means in their power, and as they could do much by suppressing idolatrous practices, and by affording support to the church, and comfortable subsistence to its ministers, they concluded that this was undoubtedly their duty, since kings as well as others, were bound to make the best of all the talents committed to them, for the glory of God, and the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom.

The principle assumed in this reasoning is good: all men ought to promote the glory of God, by the advancement of Christ's cause. The fallacy of the argument consists in this, that the kingdom of the Redeemer will be benefitted by the exertion of civil authority in its defence and support. Partial good may, doubtless, be effected by the power of the magistrate, exerted for the propagation and support of religion; but the experience of ages has taught, that this union of the state with the church, this interference of the civil power in spiritual matters, has been the fruitful source of innumerable evils; and has had greater influence in corrupting the church of Christ, than all other causes combined. It is right for all men to exert their influence to promote religion, but that influence must be one suited to the pure and spiritual nature of religion; which cannot endure, without injury, the unhallowed association with worldly institutions. The civil magistrate may have meant well in taking religion into his embraces, but he was not aware that a plant so delicate would be crushed by such an intimate contact with a body so diverse from itself. Another reason for the universal practice among Christian nations, of uniting church and state, was, that in all countries, the Pagan religions were intimately incorporated with

the civil government; so that, frequently, the highest civil and ecclesiastical offices were united in the same person.

Here, also, it is proper to remark, that this union of church and state never exhibited features of such deformity, as when the ecclesiastical power became predominant, and threatened to swallow up, or annihilate, all civil power, by the rise and extension of the Papal hierarchy. This system has furnished the completest example of unmixed tyranny, which has ever existed. But, happily, the exorbitant power of this ghostly dominion is exceedingly weakened; and the whole fabric, notwithstanding all the exertions of its friends to prop it up, is tottering to its fall. Its ruin is clearly predicted, and the time of its overthrow draws near.

During the time in which the Popish hierarchy was at its highest pitch of power, the kingdoms of Europe could hardly be said to be in alliance with the church; they were actually in a state of subjugation to the ecclesiastical power. But when the era of the blessed reformation arrived, those countries which renounced the authority of the Pope, considered it necessary to substitute something in the place of that dominion, which he, by his legates and emissaries had for ages been permitted to exercise: and the principles of religious liberty not having been understood, at that time, the Protestant kings and governments deemed it proper and necessary, to assume to themselves that authority over the church, which was now withdrawn from the Pope. Accordingly, as soon as Henry VIII. came to an open rupture with the court of Rome, he obtained from the parliament an act by which he was declared to be the head of the church; that is, of the English church, both in matters temporal and spiritual. The intention was, that the same power and authority which the Pope of Rome had for so many ages exercised in the English church, should be transferred to the legitimate sovereign; and, upon the accession of Elizabeth, the same headship over the church was asserted, and for a long period, it has been required of all persons receiving office, to take the oath of supremacy, in which the right of the sovereigns of England to be the head of the English church is asserted. This oath was peculiarly offensive to Papists, and also to Dissenters; and, indeed, to all the Reformed churches. Calvin and Knox, particularly, exposed the absurdity of making *a woman*, who was incapable of any ecclesiastical office, the head of the church.

The extent of the king's prerogative, as it relates to the church, has been very differently understood by different jurists and divines. By some, it has been so explained, as to mean no more than a denial of all authority in the Pope or any foreign

power over the realm of Great Britain; or, in other words, a renunciation of all allegiance to the Pope, and an acknowledgment of subjection to the rightful sovereign of the country.

But the union of church and state in England, does not consist in this or that particular enactment; the civil government claims the right of legislating for the church in all matters whatever. The parliament could, at once, change the whole structure and polity of the church; for as the present establishment owes its existence to acts of parliament, so the same power which has established, is competent to annul. If there is any constitutional obstacle in the way of such legislation, it must be in the king's coronation-oath, in which he swears to maintain the church as established by law, and the Protestant succession. But this goes no further, than to prevent the introduction of Popery. Suppose the parliament should enact a law, (as was once done,) to establish presbytery instead of episcopacy, there is nothing to hinder this being done; and if instead of the thirty-nine Calvinistic articles, now established by law, the civil government should choose to establish the dogmas of Socinus or the dreams of Swedenborg, there exists no constitutional obstacle. The fact is, therefore, that, properly speaking, there is not in England any union between the church and state, but that the church is in complete subjection to the state. As a body, the church has no power whatever. If all her ministers should, to-morrow, be convinced that their whole system was antichristian, they could not alter a single article of religion without an act of parliament. Formerly, the ministers of the church were permitted to meet in Convocation; the dignitaries in one house and the common clergy in another; but they had no power to establish ecclesiastical laws; they could only suggest to the governing powers what they wished to be done. The chief object of their meeting, however, was to grant subsidies to the king; but as it was apprehended that they might aim at an increase of power, they have not been permitted to meet since 1717. Except, therefore, the idle privilege of the bishops sitting in the House of Lords, the church of England possesses no ecclesiastical power, whatever. She is the mere creature of the state; dependent for her very existence on the civil authorities. In this respect, the church of Scotland, which is governed by her own general assembly, is in a far preferable condition.

The declaration that the king is the head of the church is comparatively a matter of insignificance: it extends merely to the appointment to ecclesiastical offices; but the power of parliament over the church, which extends to its very being and constitu-

tion, is a tremendous usurpation of the rights of Jesus Christ, the King of Zion.

Having considered that part of the British constitution which makes the king the head of the church, and gives to parliament a complete control of all her concerns, we will now take a view of that part of the establishment which is properly ecclesiastical. The archbishops and bishops are called "the lords spiritual." Of the former, there are two, and of the latter, twenty-four.\* All these have a seat and vote in the House of Peers; and this is said to be in virtue of certain ancient baronies which they held, or were supposed to hold. Prior to the dissolution of the monasteries, by Henry VIII., there were twenty-six abbots who also had a seat among the lords, upon the same principle as the bishops. Before the reformation, therefore, the spiritual lords were equal in number to the secular peers; but since the monasteries were dissolved, no persons of this description are admitted into parliament. When convened in parliament, the spiritual lords possess no peculiar privileges, as ecclesiastical persons. They never act as a distinct body; nor have they, in their character as bishops, any negative on the acts of parliament; but are considered in all respects as the other peers; deliberating and voting on every subject which comes before them, as individual members of the body. It is, however, customary for the bishops to take but little part in the discussions of the house, unless in cases where the interests of the church are supposed to be directly or indirectly concerned. Every bishop in the House of Lords might vote against any bill, yet if there was a majority without them in its favour, it would pass into a law and be as valid as if they all voted in favour of it. In fact, as members of the House of Peers, the bishops are in no respect distinguished from an equal number of lay-members.

The clergy, on account of their office, and that they may devote themselves exclusively to the duties of their sacred vocation, enjoy many immunities. They cannot be compelled to serve on a jury, or to accept any temporal office. During their attendance on divine service they are exempt from arrests in civil suits. They have also their disabilities. No clergyman can be a member of the House of Commons, or farm any lands, or keep a tavern or brew-house; or engage in any manner of trade.

The election of archbishops and bishops is nominally in the chapter of the cathedral connected with the diocese; and in very early times, Blackstone says, "election was the usual mode of

\* Since the union with Ireland, four bishops from that country have been added; so that now twenty-eight bishops have a seat in the House of Peers; which, with the two archbishops, make the whole number of spiritual lords, thirty.



elevation to the episcopal chair, throughout all Christendom, and this was promiscuously performed by the laity as well as the clergy;" but now, the right of appointing archbishops and bishops is in the hands of the king. Before the reformation, the Pope of Rome claimed the right of investiture to all ecclesiastical offices, and "Gregory VII. published a bull of excommunication against all princes who should dare to confer investitures, and against all prelates who should venture to receive them." This was a bold step towards rendering the clergy entirely independent of the civil authority; and long and eager contests were carried on for ages between the civil and Papal authority, in regard to this very matter. But when the Pope's authority ceased in the realm of England, as has been shown, all the customary authority, exercised by him, was claimed by the king, as the legitimate head of the church.

An archbishop is the highest ecclesiastical dignitary in the church of England. To him appertains the oversight of the bishops within his province, as well as of the inferior clergy; and he may, by his own authority, deprive them of office, for "notorious cause." Besides this general superintendence, each of the archbishops has his own diocese, in which he exercises episcopal jurisdiction. Without the king's writ, however, the archbishop cannot convene the clergy of his province. Appeals are received by him in person from the decisions of the bishops; and from the episcopal courts of each diocese, to his archiepiscopal court.

To the episcopal office, by the canons of the church, belongs the right of ordination exclusively, and also the power of confirmation. The bishop has also the right of visiting every part of his diocese, of rectifying abuses, and of administering censures. The bishop of a diocese has several courts under him, which are held by chancellors appointed by himself; they must be skilled in ecclesiastical law; as a security for which, they are required to have taken the degree of doctor of laws, in some university. A Dean and Chapter are the council of the bishop, to assist him with their advice, and to aid in managing the temporal concerns of the diocese. The name Dean, according to Blackstone, was derived from the circumstance, that originally they were superintendents of ten of the inferior clergy; for when the other clergy were settled in the villages and country, these were retained to perform divine service in the cathedral, and had under them canons and prebendaries. Deans can be elected only by a writ from the king, called, *conge d'elire*; the canons and prebendaries who make up the chapter, are sometimes appointed by the king; sometimes by the bishop; and sometimes by those

of their own order. The division of England into parishes, is placed by Camden as early as the beginning of the seventh century ; but, according to other respectable authorities, this division did not take place until the twelfth century. The learned Selden is of opinion, that a medium between these two dates comes nearer to the truth than either of them.

In early times, there was no appropriation of tithes and other ecclesiastical dues to any particular church, but every man contributed to whatever priest or church he pleased ; only it was necessary that he should contribute his due proportion somewhere ; and if he made no appropriations himself, they were paid into the hands of the bishop, whose duty it was to distribute them among the clergy, and to other pious uses, according to his own discretion. As, however, Christianity spread, the lords began to build churches on their own land ; and in order to have divine service regularly performed, obliged their tenants to appropriate their tithes to the officiating minister of the parish. The whole number of parishes in England and Wales is between ten and eleven thousand. Some of these, however, are very small and poor, only producing an ecclesiastical revenue of a few pounds : while others are very large, and the income amounts to several hundreds of pounds sterling. By the increase of population in some of the suburbs of London, there are parishes which contain more than thirty thousand souls. The clergyman who has full possession of all the rights of a parochial church, is called a parson, (*persona*,) "because he is in himself," says Blackstone, "a body corporate." He is sometimes called the rector, "but the appellation, *parson*, is the most legal, most appropriate, and most honourable title, that a parish-priest can enjoy." It is evident, however, that this name is improperly applied to clergymen in this country. When parishes were first established, the tithes of the parish were distributed into four parts, one for the use of the bishop, another for maintaining the fabric, the third for the poor, and the fourth for the officiating minister. When the revenues of the bishop became ample from other sources, the division was into three parts only ; but the heads of religious houses continued to get a large portion of these funds, diverted from their proper object, and appropriated to the abbeys ; which were all lost to the church, when these institutions were suppressed.

The difference between a parson and vicar is, that the former has a complete right to all the ecclesiastical dues of the parish ; whereas, the latter has generally some one above him, entitled to the best part of the profits. There are four things necessary to one's becoming a parson or vicar. These are, ordination, pre-

sentation, institution, and induction. Ordination must be by a bishop; presentation is made by the patron, to whom this right belongs. The bishop may refuse to receive a clergyman on certain accounts, but if an action be brought by the patron, he must assign the cause. Institution is the investiture of the person presented, with the spiritual charge of the parish; and induction is performed by a mandate from the bishop to the archdeacon, who usually issues a precept to another clergyman, to perform it. It is done, by giving the parson "corporal possession of the church, by some ceremony, such as holding the ring of the door, tolling the bell, or the like."

According to the laws of England, the rector or parson of a parish has a right to a tithe of all productive property. This law granting tithes to the clergy has been in force for more than a thousand years, in England. "Tithes are of three kinds, first *praedial*, as of the productions of the earth, corn, grass, hops, wood, &c. : secondly, *mixed*, as of wool, milk, pigs, &c. ; such things as are natural products, but nurtured by the care of man. Thirdly, *personal*, as of manual occupations, such as trades, fisheries, and such like." Of these last, only the tenth part of the clear gain is due. Every thing which yields an annual increase is subject to be tithed; but not that which belongs to the substance of the earth, as stone, chalk, lime, and the like. Nor is any tithe due for wild animals; but for all domestic animals and their wool or milk, tithes are due. The law requires, that tithes of the first and second sort, mentioned above, should be paid in kind.

However vexatious and impolitic the system of tithing may be, there is no injustice done by it to the landholder; for the right of the parson to his tithes is derived from the same source, as the right of the landlord to the soil. When a man buys land in England, he buys it subject to this incumbrance, and, of course, pays so much less for it; just as with us, when land is purchased, subject to a perpetual ground-rent.

We do not find that there is now, or ever has been, any tax laid upon the people for the support of the church. The clergy are supported entirely by church property and by tithes. All other fees are gratuitous. Now, it may be asked, since the right of the clergy to a tenth of the productions of the country, and to the avails of the property of the church, is held by the same tenure as any other property, what is the real connexion between the church and state? To which we answer, that this alliance, so far as it is capable of being defined, may be said to consist,

First, in the power of parliament to make ecclesiastical laws.

Secondly, in the constitutional right which the bishops have to a seat and vote in the British parliament.

Thirdly, in the supremacy which the king claims over the church, in virtue of which he has the right of appointing all bishops, &c.

Fourthly, patronage, or presentation, by the exercise of which, the right of the people to choose their own pastors is almost entirely taken away. According to the statement of the "APPEAL," herewith published, out of 10,891 parishes, only 64 retain the right of selecting their own ministers; and of the rest, only 3769 are in the hands of the church.

Fifthly, the Act of Uniformity was the greatest infringement of the religious liberties of the people. When Charles II. was restored to the throne of England, it was fully expected that religion would have been placed on such a footing, as that the establishment would comprehend, at least, all those who adopted the doctrines and discipline agreed upon by the Westminster Assembly of Divines. Indeed, this monarch had repeatedly and solemnly promised to the commissioners of the Presbyterians, who were sent to negotiate with him at Breda, and other places, that he would comply with all their wishes, as it related to religion. But after his restoration, although he parleyed with them for a while, and still held out a prospect of a scheme of the church, which would comprehend them; yet, in the end, he broke all his engagements, and gave his sanction to an act, by which more than 2000 of the most able and evangelical ministers in England were deprived of their places. A more iniquitous law than this was never enacted; for while it cast upon the world, without the least provision for their support, so many godly ministers, there were scarcely any found to occupy their vacated places, who were comparable to them in qualifications for the office; and, indeed, many of the new incumbents were, both as it relates to moral character and intellectual furniture, entirely incompetent for the stations which they occupied.

The Act of Uniformity provided, that every minister before the feast of St. Bartholomew, 1662, should publicly declare his assent and consent to every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer, on pain of being, *ipso facto*, deprived of his living. A motion was made in parliament to allow the ejected ministers one-fifth of the profits of their livings; which was not carried. The declaration mentioned above was not only required of every beneficed minister, but of every fellow of a college, and even of every school-master. By this act, all the ceremonies were reinstated, and no indulgence was given to the least non-conformity, in any respect. The upper house, who were less bigotted than

the lower, inserted a proviso, that the king might dispense with the surplice and the sign of the cross in baptism, but this was struck out by the commons.

Another high church principle, never before introduced, was adopted, in regard to re-ordination. "It had been usual," says Hallam, "from the very beginning of our reformation, to admit ministers ordained in foreign Protestant churches, to benefices in England. No re-ordination had ever been practised with respect to those who had received the imposition of hands, in a regular church; and hence it appears, that the church of England did not consider the ordination of presbyters invalid." But now the divine right of episcopacy was for the first time avowed; "a theory," says the same author, "naturally more agreeable to arrogant and dogmatic ecclesiastics than that of Cranmer, who saw no intrinsic difference between bishops and priests; or of Hooker, who thought ecclesiastical superiorities, like civil, subject to variation; or of Stillingfleet, who had lately pointed out the impossibility of ascertaining, beyond doubtful conjecture, the real constitution of the apostolical church, from the scanty, inconclusive testimonies, that either Scripture or antiquity furnish. It was, therefore, enacted in the statute for uniformity, that no person should hold any preferment, in England, without having received episcopal ordination."\*

It was at first believed by the dominant party, that the Presbyterian clergy would submit very quietly to the law, when they found all their clamour unavailing; but when two thousand beneficed ministers at once resigned their livings, instead of extorting praise from their bigotted enemies, it rather inflamed their resentment.

Rumours of conspiracy were industriously circulated, and the government, instead of mitigating the act of uniformity, went on to add to the burdens of dissenters by fresh enactments. In the year 1664, a law was passed for the suppression of seditious conventicles, which inflicted on all persons, above the age of sixteen, present at any religious meeting in other manner than is allowed by the practice of the church of England, where five or more persons, besides the household, should be present, a penalty of three months imprisonment for the first offence, of six for the second, and seven years transportation for the third. This act was rigidly executed; insomuch that jails were filled, not only with ministers, but with the laity, who attended these meetings; and what rendered the hardship more grievous was, that by reason of the ambiguity of the words of the act, it was left to a sin-

\* See Hallam's *Con. Hist. Eng.* v. ii. p. 494.

gle magistrate, commonly adverse to the dissenter, to give what construction he pleased.

But this conventicle-act was not all. Persecutors seldom retrace their steps. In the ensuing year, 1665, it was enacted, that all persons in holy orders who had not subscribed the act of uniformity, should swear, that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatever, to take arms against the king—and that they would not, at any time, endeavour any alteration of the government in church or state. Those who refused this oath were not only made incapable of teaching in schools, but prohibited from coming within five miles of any city, corporate town, or borough sending members to parliament. Hallam properly calls this “an infamous statute,” by which the Dissenting ministers were cut off from all those resources by which they might have acquired a comfortable subsistence; and involving principles utterly at war with that liberty which all Englishmen glory in as their birthright. The sufferings under these several acts were severe and of long continuance; but it does not fall within the compass of our plan to give any further account of them.

These laws remained in force, with the exception of the short indulgence granted by James the Second in favour to the Papists, in which, for the sake of appearances, the Dissenters were included, until the glorious era of the revolution in 1688. The acts already mentioned were directed expressly against the Dissenters; but they suffered also by some which were intended especially for the Papists; as for example, the test act.

But now, by the act of toleration, Dissenters were exempted from the penalties of existing statutes against separate conventicles, or absence from the established worship; provided they would take the oath of allegiance, subscribe the declaration against Popery, and the thirty-nine articles, with the exception of three, and a part of a fourth. Meeting-houses were required to be registered; and were protected from insult by a penalty. No part of this toleration is extended by the act to Papists, or to such as deny the Trinity. This was indeed a very meager measure of religious liberty; but the spirit of toleration began now to prevail. Some further attempts were made to comprehend the Presbyterian ministers in the church establishment, by making some alterations in the liturgy; and by saying nothing about re-ordination, but, as before, they utterly failed.

It will be remembered, that by the act of toleration, no more was done than to suspend the penalties of the acts against Dissenters, on certain conditions. These laws are not repealed to this day.

The “**EARNEST APPEAL**,” already named in the margin, dif-

fers from all other essays on this subject, that we have seen; inasmuch as its object is not to complain of the grievances and disabilities of Dissenters; but to demonstrate the many evils which arise out of the religious establishment to the church of England itself. Especially, the author attempts to prove, that as it relates to spiritual edification, church purity, and the facilities of doing good, the ministers and members of the establishment labour under peculiar disadvantages. Our readers will judge for themselves of the force and justice of the remarks contained in this pamphlet. To us they appear, to say the least, very plausible. But, perhaps, none of these writers have sufficiently and impartially considered the consequences which would result from a sudden dissolution of the religious establishment of a country which already contains within itself so many seeds of irreligion, fanaticism, and dissension. We are of opinion, that no evil whatever would arise from denying to the bishops a right to a seat in the House of Peers. It is, in fact, an invidious privilege, which is of no service to the church. The influence of the bishops in parliament is inconsiderable; and, as the peers are generally members of the church of England, there would be little danger of any acts which would militate against the church. If the right of patronage were also done away, and the privilege of electing their own pastors restored to the people, it would, as far as we can judge, be attended with no evil, but with many advantages. But if all the benefices which now support the clergy should at once be withdrawn, the consequences would probably be extremely ruinous, and we do not see how this could be done consistently with the acknowledged principles of law and justice. For, while a few would contribute to the support of the Gospel, a large majority, unaccustomed to the maintenance of their own religious teachers, would give no assistance. The churches would soon be deserted and shut up. Confusion, fanaticism, and infidelity would prevail to an awful degree. We confess, therefore, that we should be afraid to pull down at once a fabric which has been extending and deepening its foundations for ages, lest, in the crash of its fall, the bonds of civil society, with which the ecclesiastical establishment is so intimately combined, should be ruptured, and the whole structure be precipitated into remediless ruin. The events of the French revolution speak to us on this subject with a monitory voice.

There might, however, be a complete separation between the church and state, without depriving the church of England of its property and funds; except the tithes, for in regard to these, it is certain, that they must soon be given up. The popular feeling against the exaction of tithes is too strong to be long re-

sisted. Indeed the government have had it under profound consideration for some time, to substitute some other provision for the clergy, in the place of tithes.

But it is now time that we should pay more particular attention to the cogent reasonings of the author of the pamphlet which we mentioned in the commencement of this article. After an appropriate introduction, the writer proceeds to the consideration of the subject of patronage, and as a specimen of his style and spirit we will give an extract of some length from this part of the discourse.

“ We shall, first, give a condensed view of the principal evils and dangers to which the religious interests of Diocesan Episcopacy are exposed, by its connexion with the state; and then endeavour to show, that the only security for the spiritual character of that denomination, is to be found in its release from the secularizing influence of the state alliance.

“ Among the moral evils, which afflict the Episcopal communion, *patronage* may be considered as exposing its religious character to greater danger than almost any other. Even Churchmen who are not truly religious, admit this; and pious members of the establishment deeply lament what they see no means of curing.

“ What is this evil? It is the legal right, which chancellors, bishops, nobility, gentry, and corporations possess, of presenting certain persons to the cure of souls, irrespective of the approbation or disapprobation of the people over whom they are placed. To this system may be traced nearly all the moral maladies of the established church. To this denial to the people of their inalienable rights, may be traced the abominations of pluralities—of non-residence—of extravagant incomes—and of miserable pittances! To this Episcopacy is indebted for sporting clergymen, in short, for thousands of blind leaders of the blind. We have no doubt, that had it been possible to restore to the people the power of choosing their own ministers, the church would, long ere this, have been placed in its legitimate position.

“ How affecting is the consideration, that out of 10,891 livings in the National church, there are only sixty-four to which the people possess the right of appointing. Men of infidel principles—men who are ignorant of religion, and of the qualifications which religious teachers should possess—having livings in their gift, bestow them on relatives, or individuals recommended to them by some political or worldly consideration. There is reason to fear that this system has been the ruin of millions of immortal spirits; for men have been placed over thousands of



parishes, for generations past, who never, in their public discourses, directed their fellow-sinners to "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world." There is an indifference, a criminal indifference to this evil, on the part of the pious clergy and laity of the established church, quite unaccountable. No voice has been raised against a system of oppression and injustice, as much greater than that of nomination boroughs, as the things of eternity exceed in value and importance those of time. Many churchmen protested against the interference of the nobility and gentry in returning members to the House of Commons; they spurned at the idea of allowing individuals to usurp the privileges of the people, and their remonstrances were successful: yet the very same persons who were zealous and determined advocates for civil liberty, tolerate a system of nomineehip in the affairs of eternity without a murmur, without a protest.\* How can we account for the fact, that the same noble lord, who has been deprived of the power of appointing representatives in Parliament for a particular place, should still be allowed, without remonstrance, to place over its inhabitants, as their religious teacher—as their guide to heaven—a man unknown to them, and ignorant of them; without their consent being sought or obtained—without even the courtesy of previously informing them what are his qualifications for discharging the duties of his office? Are the affairs to be transacted by the British Legislature, of greater importance than those which relate to eternity? Are pecuniary interests more dear to Churchmen than the interests of their immortal spirits? Is the liberty of choosing a member of Parliament more to be desired than the liberty of choosing a teacher of religion—a guide to them and to their children in the way to heaven? Is it more essential, to ascertain the qualifications and the principles of a candidate for Parliamentary honours, than to examine the qualifications, and to ascertain the principles of a minister of religion? Who will assert that pious members of the Church of England are better able to judge of political qualities, than of moral and religious character? Must we then

\* Does not the following list show the necessity for urgent remonstrances on the part of the laity?

Living in the gift of the Nobility and Gentry . . . .	5033
_____ of the Church . . . . .	3769
_____ of the Government . . . . .	1014
_____ of the Universities . . . . .	814
_____ of Public Bodies . . . . .	197
_____ of the Inhabitants . . . . .	64!!
	<hr/>
	10,891
	<hr/>

conclude, that all those Churchmen who were zealous in seeking a reform in Parliament, are unbelievers, or ignorant of the Gospel of Christ, caring nothing about their own salvation or that of their children? We dare not suppose this, for we know the contrary. This indifference among evangelical members of the Episcopal communion, appears, to our view, an ominous circumstance. We are not surprised, when men of the world—when mere formalists, succumb to the despotism of a patron, and raise no voice against *his* choice of a pastor for them. *They* feel no interest in the subject—they act as their fathers did—and they would indeed wonder at any resistance to the exercise of a power like this. Religion presents no aspect of importance to them, and if the regular services of their church are performed, they are perfectly content. From such churchmen, their communion can have no hope, as it regards, real, efficient, enlightened help, in the hour of danger; they form the dead weight in that denomination, and would soon bring it to ruin, were there not numerous real Christians, who preserve the body from entire debasement. But is it not matter of equal surprise and regret, that the better portion of that communion should allow this state of things to continue? They cannot but see the injurious and destructive effects produced by the law of patronage. They must know, that there are thousands of clergymen in their church, utterly unfit for the sacred duties of their office; and who, but for the present system, would never have occupied a station among the professed ministers of Christ. They must also know—for the thing is not done in a corner—that even in those parishes where faithful ministers are placed, there is no security that, when they die, men of similar views will succeed them. The very persons who, under God, owe their conversion to these devoted men—who have been brought together to attend to divine ordinances, so far as the system will allow—may, on the death of their pastors, have men of opposite sentiments placed over them. What remedy have these injured people? They must either consent to receive the instructions of a man who preaches another gospel, or must *leave* the church, and hear the truth in an unconsecrated building, except it happen that a neighbouring parish is blessed with a clergyman who preaches the Gospel. Grievous as the result may be, the patron has only exercised his legal right, a right which *human* laws have given him. In most cases, the people who love the truth, must seek a teacher *beyond* the pale of a church, which, by this antichristian law, robs them of the provisions of the Gospel. Is there a man in the Episcopal denomination, valuing the Gospel more than he values the forms and ceremonies of any church, that can say, these Christian peo-

ple do wrong in becoming Dissenters, in circumstances like these?

"How long will members of the church of England continue to despise their birthright as Englishmen, and their liberties as Christians;—to forget the just claims of God and of conscience, and yield unwarrantable subjection to secular laws in religious matters? They boast of their apostolic, primitive form of Christianity: but surely no denomination, in which the people are excluded from the choice of their pastors, can be either apostolic or primitive. We might, indeed, if necessary, rest the question at issue between the established church and Dissenters on this single point, as alone sufficient to justify separation; for while the Episcopal denomination submits to this law, it must, of necessity, remain a corrupt community. This is a subject which loudly demands immediate attention, for the present condition of the vast majority of their congregations is most affecting. But the existing state of things would have been much worse had not certain means been employed to counteract the evil. 'There has been, for more than forty years, a fund, supplied by the voluntary contributions of evangelical churchmen, by which young men of piety have been supported at the universities, and curacies or small livings afterwards obtained for them;—a circumstance to which 'the church of England' owes a great portion of the evangelical preachers to be found among its clergy."

The next evil which the author mentions as weakening and endangering the Episcopal church, is "the indifference of the great mass of its nominal members to the spiritual character of their own communion." "They may," says he, "esteem themselves good churchmen, and despise others; but they have no desire to see their own denomination pure, zealous, and useful." This state of indifference he traces to the same source, the influence of patronage, in appointing ministers who do not preach the Gospel. Hence multitudes remain in ignorance of the nature and importance of true religion. From early years they are taught to frequent the parish church, whatever be the doctrines preached there, and to shun all other places of worship, though the Gospel of Christ may be faithfully proclaimed in them. People of this description, he informs us, chiefly complain of those abuses which are of a secular nature; such as inequalities in the value of livings, pluralities, non-residence, and cathedral sinecures. "But no desire is expressed by this class of Episcopalians, that the religious character of their clergy should be of a more elevated kind; that errors and imperfections in their formularies should be corrected; or that the discipline of the New

Testament should be practised among their members.”—“If their clergy are merely not immoral, they boast of this negative character. High-toned piety—decided non-conformity to the world, are not generally expected, or even desired.” This state of things is traced by the author of the “Earnest Appeal” to the unfaithful preaching and worldly lives of anti-evangelical ministers. This indifference is also strengthened by the fact that the people have no voice or influence in the appointment of their ministers; and of course feel no interest in the concerns of the church.

“Among the dangers to which the church of England is exposed,” according to this author, “there is not one more alarming than the hostile attitude assumed by Dissenters towards the establishment.” On this subject, he observes, there exists much misconception among Episcopalians. By them Dissenters are considered as the enemies of their church, and as being leagued with infidels to accomplish this object. The author here distinguishes between *the church* and *the establishment*. For, while he acknowledges that they do seek the abolition of the parliamentary sanction by which the church is now supported, he denies that they seek the ruin of Episcopacy as a distinct and important denomination of the Protestant church. “We wonder,” says he, “that pious men can imagine, that the separation of episcopacy from the state is synonymous with its destruction.”

In answer to the question, why do Dissenters attack the established church, he says, “why does that church continue to inflict penalties on Dissenters, because they separate from its communion?” “The established church is by many of its supporters declared to be the only true church of Christ within these realms. Its three orders of clergy are declared to be apostolic; and those who believe in the equality of Christian ministers are accused of heresy. The prelates of that church lay claim to the dignity of being the successors of the apostles; assert that they only have a right to ordain men to the work of the ministry; and that no sacrament can be valid, no soul can be secure, out of the national Episcopal church; that all other ministers are only *pretenders* to holy orders; and that, whatever be their characters or attainments, they are *intruders*, false shepherds, heretical teachers, and illiterate men.”—“When our members are held up to the scorn and contempt of the nation by leading members of a religious denomination, which we believe to be the least spiritual of any in the land, is it wonderful that feelings of irritation should be produced?—We are, in fact, put on our defence by the lofty and exclusive pretensions of our accusers; and we should be acting unworthily, both as men and as Chris-

tians, if we did not, on proper occasions, and in a Christian spirit, show, that the haughty assumption of diocesan Episcopacy is unscriptural; and that the formularies of the established church contain many things opposed to Christian liberty, and to the word of God." The writer then goes on to observe, that if this religion was not sanctioned by the state, Dissenters would be much less disposed to make attacks upon it; but that its claims are such as cannot be granted by them, without being guilty of rebellion against Christ. He then proceeds in the following animated strain :

"When we see the great injury done to true religion, in our own country, and indirectly to the world, by the connexion between church and state; when we believe that the legislative establishment of a church, which acknowledges the king to be its head, is a direct interference with the prerogatives of Christ; when we see Christian liberty restrained, and civil liberty injured; when we behold multitudes of nominal churchmen without any suitable means of religious instruction being provided for them, though by a legal fiction this is supposed to be done for every parish in the kingdom; when we feel the injustice of the laws which still penally affect Dissenters, for acting according to the dictates of conscience; in short, when we can trace all these evils, and many more, to this connexion of a church with the state, what, we ask, is our duty? What would be the duty of Episcopalians, if they were placed in our circumstances, and held the same opinions respecting the nature of Christ's church, on the supposition that ours were to become the established church? Unquestionably it would then be *their* duty to seek a separation between our church and the state; but not to interfere with us, as a Christian denomination, in altering our forms or observances. This *is* now *our* duty, and as soon as this object is effected, we shall cease to have any controversy with diocesan Episcopacy as a denomination. Its high prelatical assumptions will then be comparatively disregarded, if they are not lowered, and all parties will have the privilege of going forward in their career of usefulness. The bitterness of party spirit, the irritation of mind, produced by the arrogant pretensions of a dominant sect, will be unknown; and harmony among all denominations may reasonably be expected. Our opposition, which, we repeat, is not to Episcopacy, but to its incorporation with the state, would then terminate. As a denomination, its own religious character and zeal would then have fair play, without injuring others; whereas, according to its present constitution, it cannot prosper, without treating others with injustice, and directly in-

terfering with that equality of civil privilege which ought to exist among Christian sects. Let not the nature of our hostility be mistaken. We unfeignedly love all that is unquestionably good in the Episcopal church—its great doctrines, and those of its members who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. We shall rejoice in its augmented zeal, purity, and success in the wide field of a yet partially enlightened world; and we are persuaded that the real safety, honour, and usefulness of that denomination, can only be secured by *separation from the state.*”

The demands of this writer, as well as the author of the “*Case of the Dissenters*,” are high and uncompromising; and they appear to represent a large portion of the English Dissenters. They no longer ask merely to have pluralities abolished, residence enforced, tithes commuted, bishops released from attendance in parliament—they will no longer be satisfied with exemption from penalties for non-conformity, and with the privilege of sending their sons to the two universities, of being buried in the public cemeteries, and having the marriages solemnized by their own ministers registered; but they insist on a complete separation of the Episcopal church from the state. They say, “We shall continue to seek this change, because it is just to others as well as ourselves; because the civil and religious liberties of our country can never be secure, while a prelatical hierarchy exercises authority in civil matters, and extends a baneful influence throughout the land: in short, because the interests of religion, both at home and abroad, are deeply injured by the present state of things. We must continue to seek this separation, because we are the servants of Jesus Christ, whose laws are violated, whose authority is usurped, and whose cause is retarded by the unholy alliance now subsisting.”

The next evil affecting the Episcopal church which this writer notices, is the *sectarian* spirit of the establishment. Her claims to a tolerant spirit he utterly denies, and alleges, that history proves that the dominant sect has always been, more or less, bigotted and injurious. He represents the church of England as more sectarian than the church of Scotland. “The latter acknowledges other Protestant churches; but the former refuses to hold communion with any other Protestant denomination; even the sister establishment of Scotland she repudiates as schismatic and anti-apostolic, while she opens her arms to the church of Rome! The ordination of the latter she counts valid, while that of Presbyters is rejected. It cannot, therefore, be expected, that Protestant Dissenters can be viewed as worthy to be admitted to her communion.”

Another evil which occasions great distress to many pious Episcopalians, is the total absence of discipline in their church. On this subject our author makes many forcible remarks ; but as the fact is notorious and indefensible, we deem it unnecessary to enter into particulars.

The next evil, on which he remarks, is the *compulsory* mode by which the Episcopal church is supported; which he represents as "directly opposed to the rights of conscience, the great principles of justice, and the means prescribed by the Christian dispensation." Next, he combats the idea, entertained by many, that if the present plan of support were changed, and the voluntary system adopted, their church would fall. The result of such a measure would probably be disastrous for a time. It is proved by experience, in this country, that a people long compelled to contribute to the support of the Gospel, when this necessity is removed, and they are restored to perfect freedom, will generally do very little towards the support of the institutions of religion. A fair experiment of this kind was made in the state of Virginia, after the revolution; and the result has been, that the Gospel has not been supported; not only have not convenient houses of worship been erected, but most of those which existed, have been permitted to fall into irreparable ruin; and the wealthiest people pay nothing or very little towards the support of the Gospel, and among the poorer class, the opinion has been exceedingly prevalent, that it is wrong for ministers to receive salaries for their services. These facts, however, do not affect the principles which our author lays down. He says truly, "that the apostolic writers enforce on Christians the duty and privilege of giving temporal support to the ministers of the Gospel." If all were duly informed and rightly disposed in regard to this duty, there would be no difficulty; but when a community is only nominally Christian, and ardent in the pursuit of worldly gain, the obligation of this duty is feebly felt. He says again, "The Founder of the Christian religion has not given the civil power any right to demand from believers or unbelievers support for it." This, indeed, is the very hinge of the question, on both sides of which much might be said in the way of argument that is plausible; but it is a question which we have neither space nor inclination to discuss. His next principle is a fact highly deserving our profound consideration. It is, "That the churches of the New Testament flourished, though they voluntarily supported their own worship; or if in any case they received foreign aid, it was freely sent." It may be laid down as a reasonable expectation that sincere Christians will be disposed to support their ministers; but people are not generally pious in

any country. It may be expected, therefore, that a majority of merely secular men will neglect this duty. The question then is, whether, when the people of any country generally neglect to support competent teachers, it is the duty of the civil authority to provide for the maintenance of religion by law. An experiment is now in progress in these United States, in relation to religion, on which the eyes of all considerate men in Europe are turned. The result of this grand experiment it would be premature to announce. We, who are in the midst of it, and witnesses of its progress, are waiting for its further developement. We, of course, wish it complete success, but awful forebodings alternate with our most sanguine hopes; at any rate, we must go forward. To talk of a union of church and state in this country, where so many conflicting sects exist, and where religious liberty is mingled, as it were, with every breath of the people, is more than weakness—it is folly in the extreme. No such event can possibly take place, until the country undergoes a revolution greater than has been experienced on this side the Atlantic. It is, however, a mere watchword for designing politicians, or envious sectarians. No such idea, we are sure, is entertained by any Protestant denomination.

Our author takes up and answers, briefly, but forcibly, the arguments of Warburton in favour of an alliance between church and state; and shows, convincingly, that, at present, the church is completely at the disposal of the civil power; not only in its temporalities, but also in its spiritual condition. The Parliament may lessen or increase the number of bishops; may decrease the number of parishes and clergy; may remove its formularies, creeds, and canons; may abolish subscription; may require new oaths; may sit in judgment on the thirty-nine articles, and discard the creed of Athanasius. "What freedom of thought," he asks, "can exist in a community thus enthralled? Even divine truth is weakened, when it comes to men under the authority of an Act of Parliament. The Episcopal church ought, unquestionably, to have retained the power of altering and amending its own religious forms; for no civil government ought to be permitted to control or interfere with sacred institutions; and till this power is restored there can be no safety. But the state will not surrender it until the compact be entirely broken, and the church give up the patronage of the state, and her exclusive demands, for the sake of obtaining her religious liberties."

The last evil arising to the church from the establishment, mentioned by this writer, is her inability to fulfil the commands of Christ, with reference to the spread of the Gospel, at home and abroad. We are not much struck with the pertinence or



cogency of this consideration. Such, indeed, may be the arrangements and usages of the English church, that her ministers are trammelled in their benevolent exertions; but we see nothing to hinder the pious members of this church from entering into associations for the propagation of the Gospel. And is it not a fact, that many of her ministers are active and influential members of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which has given so wonderful a diffusion to the word of God throughout the world? Some ministers of the establishment were also active and zealous founders or members of the London Missionary Society. But is it not also the fact, that societies of great energy and extensive benevolence exist in the bosom of the church of England, and consist entirely of her members, as the Society in Bartlett's buildings, of which most of the dignitaries of the church are members. The Church Missionary Society is also one of a more evangelical cast, and has manifested as much Christian enterprise, and has possessed as devoted Missionaries, as any other similar body. And if a king, or other rulers, were truly zealous for the spread of the Gospel, what is to hinder them from so exercising their power and employing their resources, as to facilitate the extension of the kingdom of the Redeemer? Is it not predicted that kings shall be nursing fathers, and queens nursing mothers, to the church? There is, however, little reason to expect any valuable aid from the "powers that be," in schemes for evangelizing the world. But there have been royal personages who esteemed it an honour to use their influence to advance the cause of Christ; and prophecy assures us, there will be such hereafter. It is earnestly to be desired and hoped, that civil authorities will learn to keep within their own proper sphere, and not dare to usurp authority in the kingdom of Christ, which must be governed by his own laws and his own officers; for it is not of this world, and abhors that carnal policy by which secular men, and ecclesiastical men also, often endeavour to govern the church.

We are rather surprised, that this respectable writer should enumerate it among the evils of the establishment, that one minister is not permitted to go and preach the Gospel in the parish of his neighbour. This, indeed, may sometimes hinder the doing good; but in every well regulated church, the preservation of order, and the prevention of endless dissensions, require such a rule.

The remainder of this pamphlet is taken up in considering the method by which these specified evils, and others of like kind, can be removed, and the dangers averted. The writer asks, "Is there any reasonable prospect, that when the expected plan of church reform is brought into operation, this will be accomplish-

ed?" He then endeavours to show, that any *religious* reform in the Episcopal church is impracticable while it remains in alliance with the state. He insists, that the only hope of pious Episcopalians is in a complete separation of their church from the state. "From these evils and dangers," he says, "the state will not and cannot deliver them, except by leaving Episcopacy free, and on a level with other Christian sects." He then proceeds to inquire, whether a reformation can reasonably be expected from the three branches of the legislature, the king, lords, and commons, but determines, for plausible reasons, which he assigns, that no relief can be expected from that quarter. He next endeavours to show, that the desired deliverance from these evils cannot be reasonably expected from the bishops and clergy; or finally from the laity of the established church; and comes to the same conclusion in regard to them all: that no reformation of a *religious*, or thorough kind, can be reasonably hoped for from any of these sources.

"The chief hope for Episcopacy, is in the religious character and principles of the pious clergy and laity. If they remain indifferent, or if they are satisfied with a defective reform; if they do not use means to free their church from the evils above named, even though a separation from the state should be the consequence, they will be answerable for the result. Let the pious clergy especially do their duty; let them openly and candidly state their convictions; let them seek a spiritual character for their church; and try to close the door against the entrance of mere hirelings; let them use means to restore the rights of the members of their communion; let them be the guides and leaders in seeking relief from the despotism of patronage; let them demand, as an essential part of their office, the liberty of keeping persons of known irreligious character from the Lord's Table; and the happiest results will ensue.

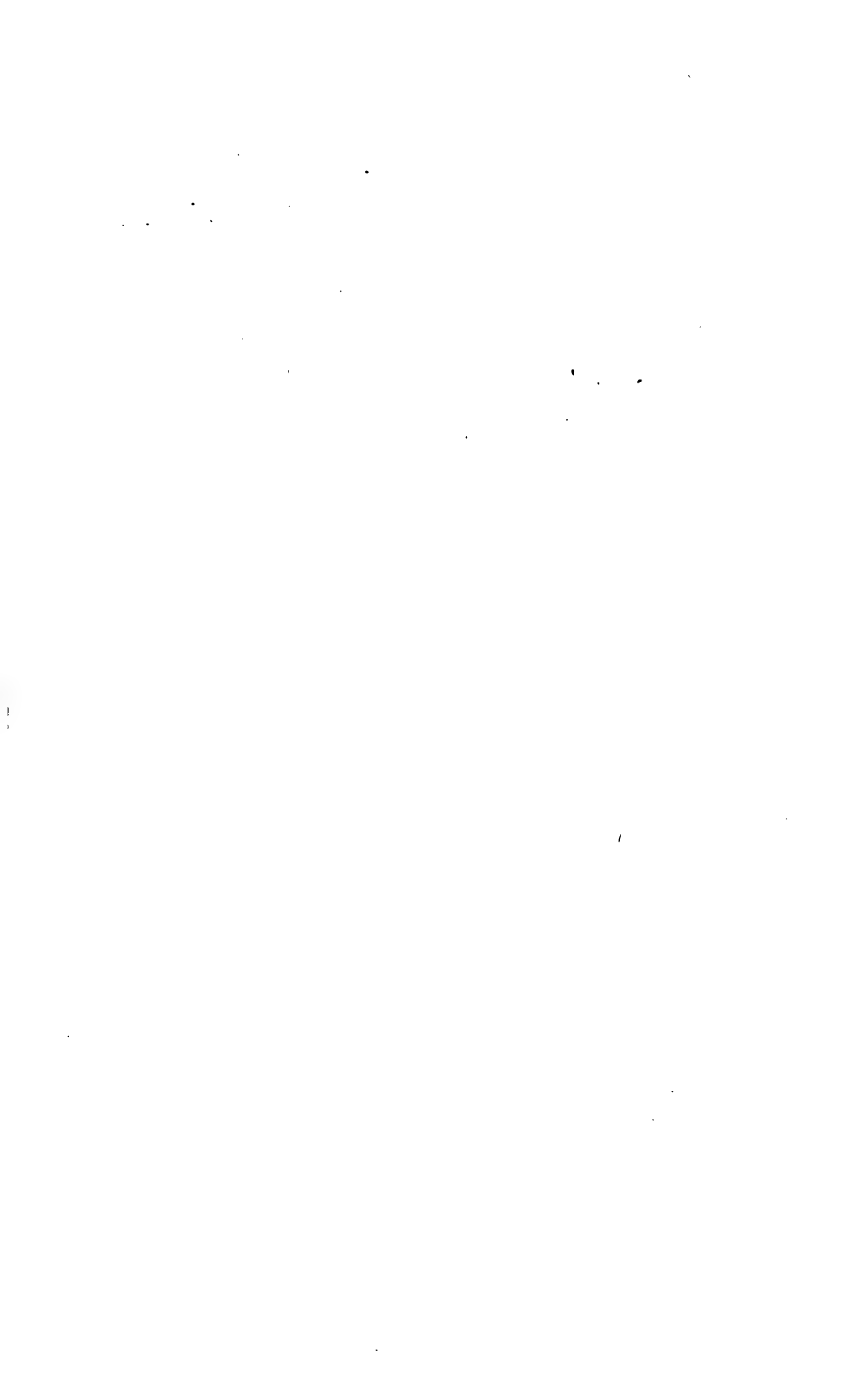
"Surely there rest with the pious laity of the establishment, responsibilities of no common order. If their conviction is, that their church greatly needs a *religious* reform, let them state their conviction to their ministers; let them candidly examine the questions, which at present agitate the Christian church, respecting the nature of Christ's kingdom, and let truth have free course. If they should discover, that their ministers are afraid to act up to their convictions, let them attempt to inspire them with moral courage. Let them, above all, seek to be guided, in their reform of Episcopacy, by the New Testament. If the laws of Christ are recognized, as authoritative in this matter, we do not fear the result. Either the Episcopal communion will be *religiously* reformed, or its spiritual members, lay and clerical,

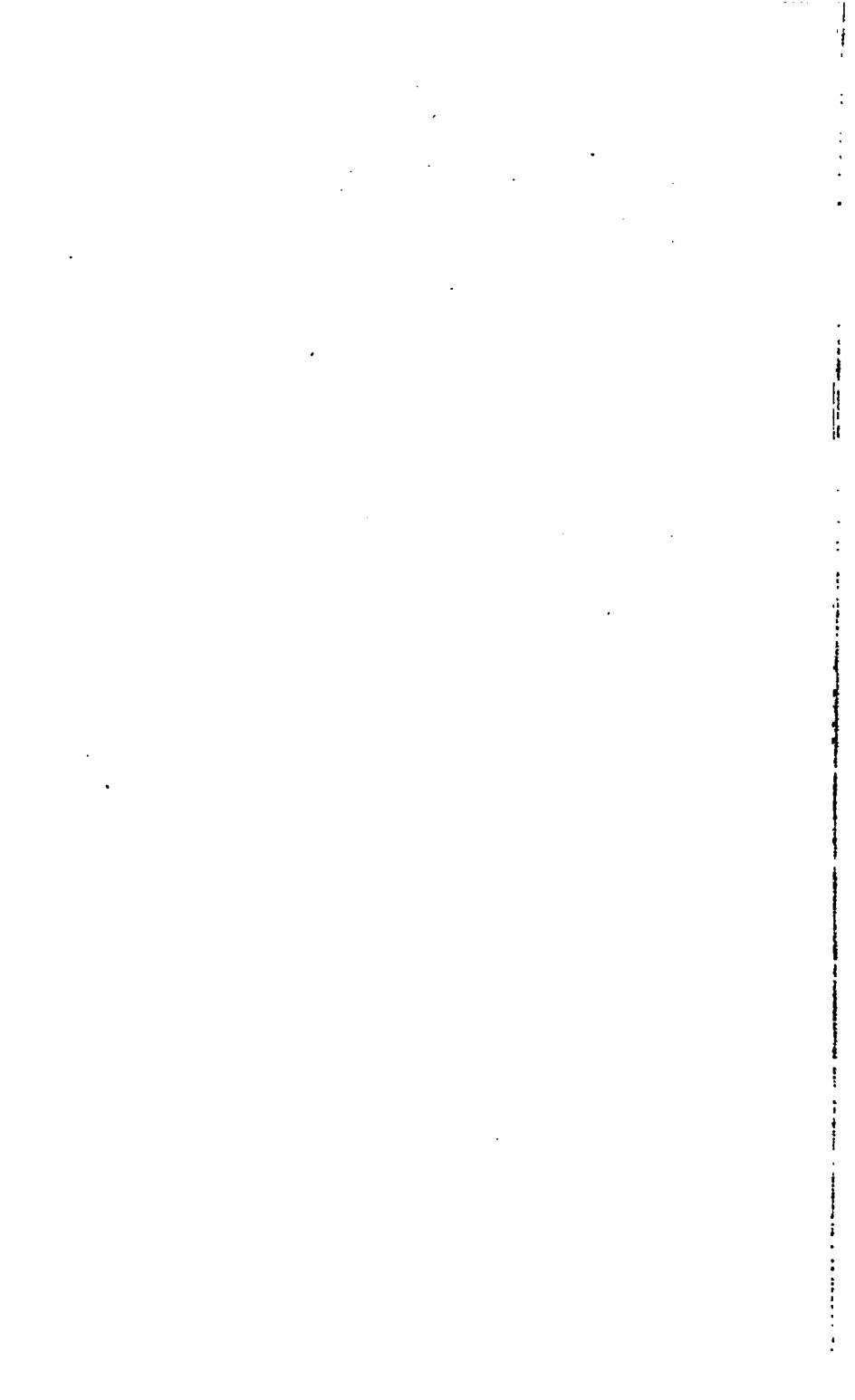
will separate from it, and form a distinct Episcopal denomination. A separation from the state; by promoting religious reform, might prevent the necessity for the latter; which we are quite ready to allow, must be a painful alternative. Many cannot bear the thought of being compelled to separate from a church with which all their early associations are connected. They love their own forms, they prefer their own liturgy; nor can they see any other existing denomination, with which they could cordially associate. We would say to such persons—let your decision be the result of conviction; take no step but what the Word of God and conscience sanction; but, at the same time, be careful that proper means are used to understand the subject, to enlighten the judgment, and to instruct the conscience. Take nothing for granted: let not early habit and strong attachment overcome plain, commanded duty. Let no principle of *expediency* supersede the authority of Christ. Let no fancied hope of being more useful in the established church, even in its corrupt condition, than if separated from it, tempt the pious clergy to do evil that good may come. Let not the serious laity suppose that this matter should be left to their teachers. They form the strength of Episcopacy—it could not exist as a denomination without them; and every individual, holding communion with that church, is bound to think and act, in a question like this, as if all the success of the attempt depended upon his individual exertion. This is the *crisis* in the *religious* character of Episcopacy. If the reform, which is expected from the government, only touch secular evils, Episcopalians may rest assured that the power of the state will be greater than ever over their church. It will make patronage and other evils worse than before, for it will *confirm*, in the nineteenth century, the usurpations and errors of the sixteenth.

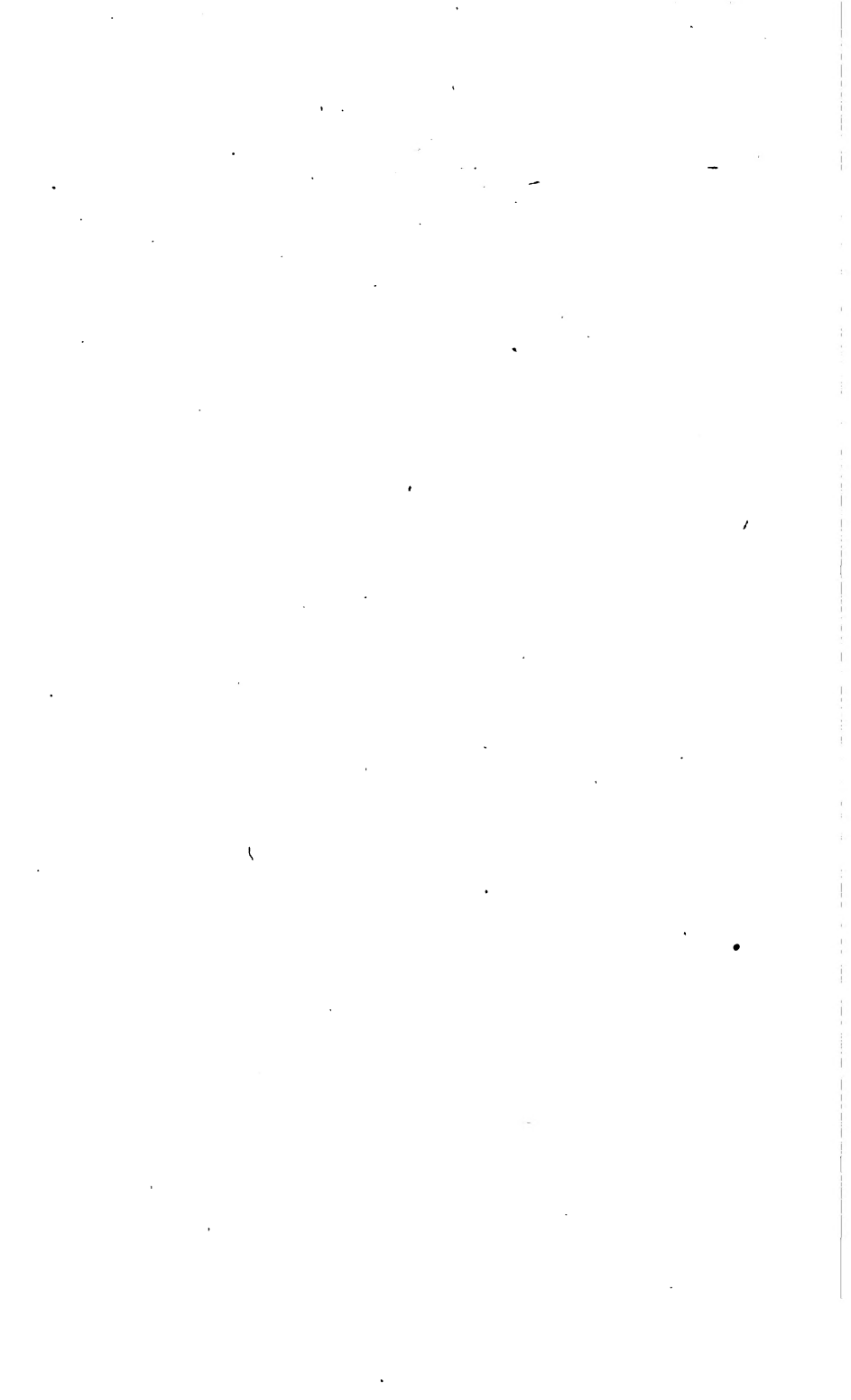
“In seeking a *religious* reform, Episcopalians alone should be urgent and persevering. Dissenters do not wish to interfere with any alterations they may think necessary in their forms or ceremonies. Something must be done immediately by Episcopalians to secure a better change than a mere plausible and inefficient reform. If they wait to see the effects of the ministerial change, we fear they will only add to evils, which are already almost too great for remedy. The nature of Christ’s kingdom will, ere long, be better understood by churchmen; they will be brought to the conclusion, that Christ is the only Head of the church. Already, a mighty advance has been made in the public mind on this subject; and it only requires the influence of good men, of all denominations, to secure Christian freedom for every section of the Christian church—freedom from state oppression, and liberty to obey all the commands of the Son of God.”

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